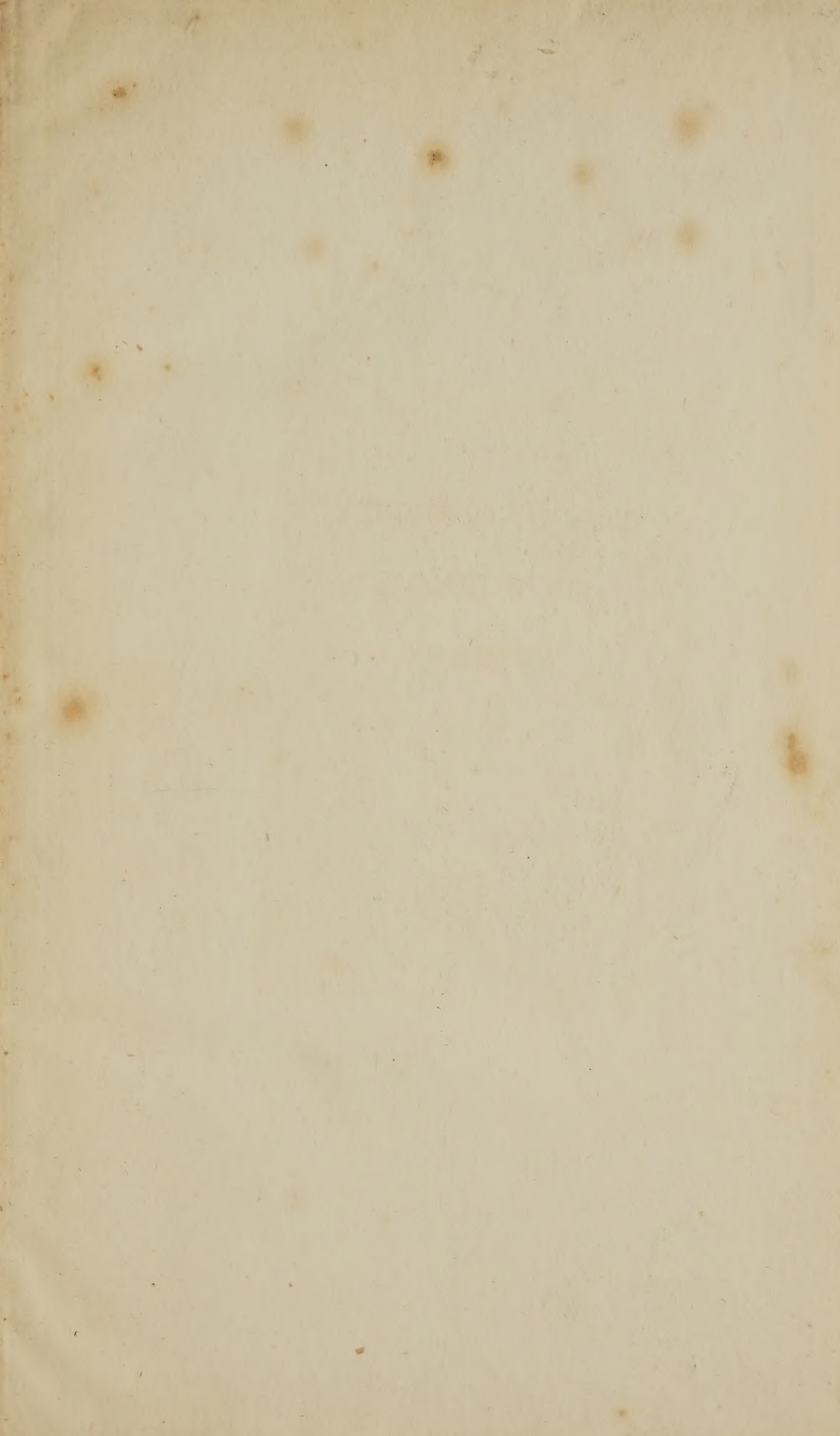


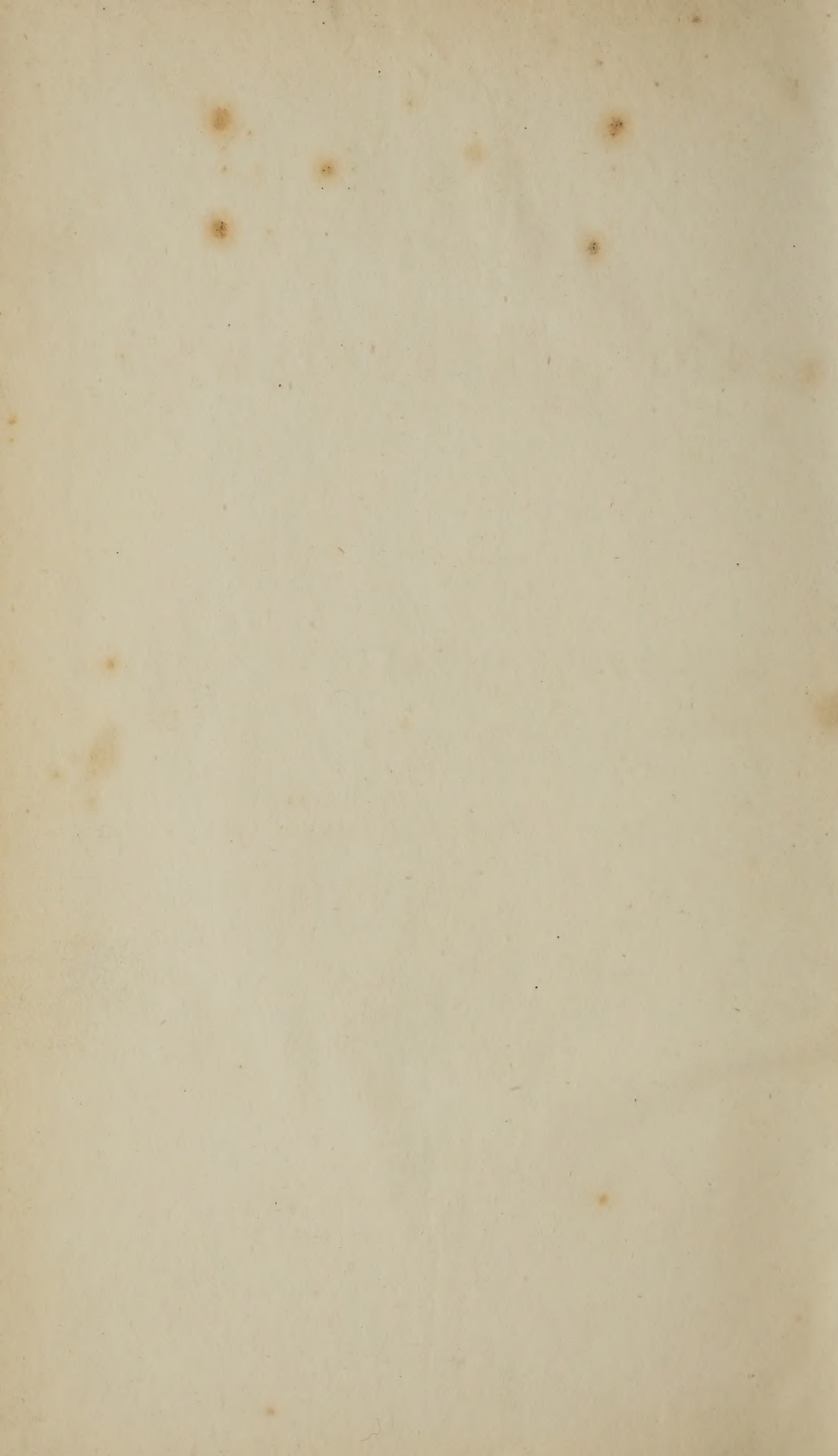


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2. *L'Europe depuis l'Avènement du roi Louis-Philippe*, par M. CAPEFIGUE, pour faire suite à *l'Histoire de la Restauration du même auteur.* Tome i—viii. Paris, 1845, 1846.
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HISTORY—a charming songstress in her youthful days, *Clio gesta canens*, clothing in sweet minstrelsy her legendary lore, and in her maturer years a stately dame, slow and careful in gathering her stores of knowledge, and grave in her delivery—has of late caught the infection of the times, travelling onwards with railroad speed, snatching up her information as she flies along, and dealing it out again as rapidly as she collects it, in journals and pamphlets without number, which she scatters in every direction to mark her passage. How should it be otherwise? The hurricane of changes that is sweeping over the world, leaves no time for reflection: events which formerly would have been spread over a succession of ages, are now crowded into the brief space of a single life. The fashion of our progress through time is as much altered, as that of our progress through space by the substitution of the lengthened train for the compact stage-coach, and the hissing locomotive for the team of neighing steeds. A day's journey on the top of a well-appointed, fast coach—a vulgar incident of life some years ago—has now become a kind of oasis of bygone pleasantness for memory to dwell upon; how prancingly

the showy cattle of the first and the last stages did their work, as if it were mere play to them ; how at the foot of some steep ascent the passengers alighted, some to ease the horses and others to stretch their legs ; how over the level plain, and over hill and dale the coach rolled merrily onward, turning the country into a vast panorama with shifting scenes, of which the living guide-book on the coach-box did the honours ; and how, arrived at his journey's end, the traveller might, if he was so inclined, sit down and, while he sipped his tea, transfer to his note-book the impressions he had received and the pictures he had collected in his mind as he passed along. There was a pleasure, too, and plenty of fun, in marking the characteristic differences of the conveyances in different countries: the *Diligence* with its two rows of three horses abreast, its heavy-booted postilion, and its conductor à la *militaire*, who, if you took your seat in the *impériale*, would shorten the journey with stories of the *grand capitaine* and his campaigns ; the *Eilwagen* (like its French namesake *lucus a non lucendo*) with its unicorn team, and its discordant sounds of cracking whip and blowing horn and *tausend Donnerwetter* ; the *Hauterer* or *Vetturino* with his raw-boned hacks crawling at a snail's pace over the road, destroying the poetry of travel by the intrusive homeliness of his discourse, and the balmy sweetness of the air by the insufferable stench of his *canaster*. All these are fast passing away from the face of the earth, with their expressive features of varying nationality ; and in their place, whithersoever you direct your journey, whether you travel in Belgium or in France, in Italy or in Germany, or in good Old England, there is, or shortly will be, with hardly any perceptible difference, the broad, well-cushioned railroad-carriage, in which you stow yourself away like a piece of living luggage, to be hurled at a pace which does not permit your eye to rest on a single object, through dark tunnels under the hills, and on ugly banks across the valleys, where the happier traveller of former years feasted his eye on the beauteous face of nature ; and when you have reached your destination, you know no more of the country through which you have passed, than what may be gathered from the railroad bill which you obtained at the terminus along with your ticket.

And even so it is with our progress through time : the leisure of contemplation which our fathers enjoyed, while they acted their part on the world's stage, is not vouchsafed to their busier and, for that very reason, not wiser sons. Men are driven along as by the pressure of a crowd from behind, which leaves them no time to stop and consider whither they are going ; those that are in the front ranks, and supposed from their position to direct the movement, find it a hard matter to keep on their legs, and to pre-

vent themselves from being thrown down and trampled on; and the course which they take is determined, not by reflection or choice, but by the direction of the impulse by which they are pushed onward. The secret of this change in the aspect of the world and in the character of its movements is, that a power has been set in motion in the masses, which acts in the moral world with the same gigantic force as steam does in the physical world; the power of the carnal, selfish intellect, developed and heated to high pressure temperature. That power, brought to bear upon every part of the social machinery, without the influence of religious principle to regulate and direct it, is every where endangering the ancient institutions which present obstacles to its progress, and scattering destruction and desolation around it. Its development has been so simultaneous, its results are being so rapidly communicated from country to country, that the distinctive features of national mind and character are fast disappearing before the influence of a cosmopolite civilization, or rather, we should say, perhaps, a cosmopolite barbarism; for there is no greater safety than the intellectual savage, the savage of civilized life.

The peculiar character of that power, that which it exhibits every where and under every variety of circumstances, is an exclusive reliance on the intellect of man, an exclusive devotion to his material interests. It recognises no connexion between this world and another, so as to place the social aims and appliances, the theories and institutions of this world, in subordination to the higher purposes of that other world. It deals with religion as with a mere matter of private opinion, which is to be kept out of the calculation of legislatures and governments, except so far as the agreement of a considerable number of individuals in one and the same belief may give to that belief a certain social importance; and accordingly, the numerical strength of any given creed is the measure of the countenance and support which it may be expedient to give to it. The difference between truth and error in matters of religion is as completely set aside as if no such difference existed; Popery and Catholic truth are looked upon as two different systems of Christianity, just as the Linnæan and Natural Systems are two different systems of botany; and their respective merits are discussed much in the same way as those of the narrow and the broad gauge. Of reverence for principles of revealed and eternal truth that infidel power knows nothing; for the experience of past ages it has a sovereign contempt; it pays honour only to its own crude speculations, and has confidence only in its own rash experiments.

This power, the growth of which dates about a century back, and which, confined in the first instance to the world of literature,

is working its way more and more down into the masses, is evidently gathering strength in preparation for a tremendous struggle, which probably will constitute the final crisis of this world's existence, and which will have for its object entirely to annihilate every principle and every system which has directly or indirectly an origin higher than of this earth; to throw down every altar and every throne, and to proclaim the omniscience of reason and the omnipotence of the popular will; to abrogate every divine right as a treasonable offence against the sovereignty of man. Meanwhile, as in ordinary warfare skirmishes between the outposts, and onslaughts between the more advanced bodies of the hostile armies, precede the mighty battle in which the opposing hosts are drawn up in the fulness of their strength, and by which the fate of empires is finally decided, so before the last and universal conflict between the carnal power of the intellect and the spiritual power of religion, partial contests take place from time to time, and of these the first and fiercest was the fearful and bloody drama enacted in France half a century ago. After the license of anarchy had reached such a height as to render even the iron rod of military despotism a blessing, and after this despotism had in its turn rendered itself intolerable by its haughty and oppressive bearing, the opposing principle, which recognises a divine ordinance set over the affairs of men, seemed for a moment to regain its ascendancy; but the power of infidelity was only repressed and not subdued; it soon rose again triumphant, and prudently avoiding the excesses by which its former victory had been turned into defeat, it ranged itself under the self-imposed discipline of the Napoleon of Peace.

It is in this light that, after stripping them of all the adventitious incidents of circumstances and persons, the events must be regarded, which, as the works enumerated at the head of this article show, have become matter of history, before the ink has had time to dry, with which the ordinances of the 25th of July and the compact of the 9th of August were written. Whatever might have been the faults of the unhappy monarch who staked and lost his crown; whatever the errors of his ostensible ministers; whatever the insidious character of the secret influence by which both were directed; however upright, on the other hand, may be the intentions, however consummate the ability, however noble the bearing of the prince who took hold of the proffered reins of power, still the fact remains, that CHARLES X., *by the grace of God, King of France*, was the expression of the principle of a divine ordinance in church and state; and that LOUIS PHILIPPE, *by the will of the people, King of the French*, is the representative of the self-sufficiency of man in matters both

of religion and of government. It is true that the religion, under the auspices of which Charles X. ruled and forfeited his kingdom, is a corrupt religion; and it may be that he strained his regal power beyond its legitimate compass; but the question at issue was not the truth of the faith which he maintained, or the legality of the acts of his government; it was against the very principle of a state religion of any kind whatever,—against the principle of a royal power which took its rise in the appointment of God, and not in the will of the people, that the nation rose under the auspices of leaders, who openly declared that France could and should have no peace until the principles of 1789 should become the basis of the constitution. This is equally apparent from the account of both the writers whose works are now lying before us, notwithstanding the general opposition of their views, and the personal bitterness with which they treat each other in their writings.

As regards M. Capefigue, he has no pretension to be the advocate of any principle, or to have any definite standard by which he weighs men and parties and their proceedings. Success appears to be the criterion by which he forms his estimates; his heart's allegiance is to the powers that be; not, however, because they are ordained of God, but simply *because* they are, and *while* they are, the powers. This point is urged against him with considerable effect by M. de Polignac, in his *Réponse à mes Adversaires*, in which, adverting to the epithet, *tête foible*, applied to him by M. Capefigue, he says:

“No doubt that author has never found himself compromised in any grave or serious political event, for, if I am not mistaken, after having been the faithful partisan of the restoration, to which he even gave the support of his pen in the *Quotidienne* and in other journals, while it had the wind of fortune in its favour, he abandoned its cause, and visited it with his wrath, in the very first days of its adversity; in one word, having always ranged himself on the side of the stronger, he could not but escape always from the dangers which accompany a reverse, and thus earn for himself the designation of a *tête forte*.”—*Polignac, Réponse à mes Adversaires*, p. 56.

The anecdotes which M. Capefigue tells of his childhood, when M. Anglès-Capefigue (whether his father, or another near relative, does not appear) fell a victim to the murderous excesses of the revolutionary bands at Marseilles, accounts for his instinctive detestation of all party violence; and his own statement, that in the course of his political career he has had the opportunity of seeing and hearing every shade of opinion, being admitted to the political circles of the different parties, marks him as a man whose principles are of no very decided cast. If he has any pre-

dilection for one system or set of men rather than another, it is for the administration which was displaced by M. de Polignac, towards whose chief, M. de Martignac, he appears to have entertained sentiments of great personal devotion; a circumstance which accounts in a great measure for the feeling of personal hostility with which he regards his successor. His religious views, though not Ultramontane, are those of a decided Romanist, and he agrees with M. de Polignac in charging the French Revolution upon Calvinism; but of the truths of religion he speaks occasionally in a somewhat staggering tone, which leaves it doubtful whether "Catholicism" is, to his mind, more than an eminently useful system of restraint upon the passions of mankind. In speaking of the condition of the working classes under the restoration, he says:

"Was it not frightful to think of the demoralization of the inferior classes of society? Who, then, could cast their minds into the mould of a social and moral system? Religious education, doubtless, could do it; that is to say, a teaching adapted to the want among them of morality and comfort. In taking popular instruction out of the hands of the ecclesiastical corporations, the Constituent Assembly had, I believe, committed an error; because the religious bodies bridled the passions at the same time that they imparted light. Men who labour much, and in the sweat of their brow, can hardly help feeling a certain irritation against the state of society which condemns them to incessant toil. The working man will therefore remain restless and insubordinate, unless the belief in a future life is inculcated upon him, unless obedience is made a matter of duty with him, unless the *legends of heaven and hell* are presented to his mind."—*Capefigue, L'Europe depuis l'Avènement du roi Louis-Philippe*, tom. i. p. 253, 254.

This, it must be confessed, does not sound very satisfactory as to M. Capefigue's own personal belief in those "legends," and savours more of political conservatism than of faith in matters of religion. In a writer who has taken in hand the history of a conflict in which religion bears so conspicuous a part, we hold this to be a material disqualification; but it is not the only one of which we have to complain. M. Capefigue has evidently had access to a very large mass of state papers and despatches, and through his acquaintance with men of different political parties, to many private channels of information. But instead of making use of these for the purpose of presenting his readers with characteristic sketches of the events he treats of, and of the men that took a part in them, bearing, by reason of the opportunities at his command, the stamp of authenticity, M. Capefigue is content to daub his pages with interminable transcripts of documents, connected together by incoherent fragments of narra-

tive, and desultory trains of reflection, the most prominent quality of which is, what in his own language is expressively called *platitude*. Often, indeed, the transcripts are taken from documents already known to the public, by means of the journals and other records of the history of the times; but occasionally they are unpublished pieces, which M. Capefigue has the merit of making known for the first time. This merit he takes care the reader should not overlook, impressing him duly with the fact that all the secrets of the diplomatic world have been surveyed and scanned by the author who has undertaken to guide him through the mazes of contemporaneous history. "*J'ai parcouru longtemps les archives des affaires étrangères, et la correspondance secrète des ambassadeurs.*" . . . "*Un grand nombre de mémoires secrets étaient mis sous les yeux de Charles X.; j'en ai eu plusieurs dans mes mains.*" . . . "*J'ai eu dans les mains les dépêches qui furent lues au conseil des ministres.*" . . . Such are some of the ever-recurring phrases by which M. Capefigue points out to his readers the vast extent and secret character of the materials which he has had at his disposal; materials which, if we are to believe him, are accessible to no one but himself; "*C'est à l'aide d'une grande masse de faits et de renseignements, qui ME SONT PERSONNELS, que j'ai rédigé ce travail,*" he says, of his account of the Congress of Vienna. Now when an author gives extracts within inverted commas, it can hardly be supposed that they are not what they profess to be; when he makes a general statement of his own on the strength of what he has had *dans les mains* and *sous les yeux*, it would be unfair to suspect that, like Sheridan, he "has no bag," by the contents of which he might establish his assertions; and if the information to which M. Capefigue so refers, is all real and genuine, he is undoubtedly to be applauded for the extent of it which he has collected together. Yet after all,—and here it is where M. Capefigue's mistake lies,—to command an abundance of materials is one thing, to possess judgment and talent for using them properly, quite another thing. As a man does not become a painter by laying in a large stock of colours, so a man does not become a historian by poring over a large mass of documents; a truism copiously illustrated by the volumes of our author, between whom and a historian there is all the difference which there is between the scene-painter, who represents a certain set of objects agreeably to the stage directions, and the artist who embodies in his picture some high thought of the mind, to the setting forth of which every object he delineates is subservient. Yet even this fault, great as it is, is not the most serious which we have to find with M. Capefigue's performance. There is, in the very extent and depth of the secret information of which he boasts, a something

that excites suspicion; it seems difficult to understand how it was possible for him to know all that he says he knows, so accurately and so certainly, even to the most private conversations of the potentates of Europe and their ministers of state, unless, indeed, we take M. Capefigue to be a kind of political Asmodeus, from whose scrutinizing glance no palace, no cabinet, no boudoir in Europe is secure. We honestly confess that, as we read through his volumes, we could not suppress an ugly suspicion of this nature, in spite of all our efforts to resist the temptation to such manifest uncharitableness; and we were not greatly surprised when we met, in M. de Polignac's "*Réponse à mes Adversaires*," with the following observation:

"One word more respecting the author in question and his book (*L'Europe depuis l'Avènement du roi Louis-Philippe*). In his historical account of the days of July, he gives the contents of letters to the king which he attributes to me, and which I declare I never wrote; he often makes me speak a language which I never held; he puts into the mouths of some members of the diplomatic corps words addressed to me which I never heard; in short, faithful to the system which he has adopted in his first historical libel on the restoration, he does more than write history, he invents it."—Polignac, *Réponse à mes Adversaires*, p. 57.

This is a sad blow indeed to the authenticity of M. Capefigue's statements; but it is by no means the rudest shock which the credibility of his historical anecdotes has to sustain. He inflicts occasionally upon himself far harder blows, by contradicting in one place distinctly what he has as distinctly asserted in another. One example, rather a curious one, may suffice. In the *Histoire de la Restauration* we have the following graphic account of the forebodings which filled the minds of the ministers in preparing their *coup d'état*.

"Men of sense and men of business do not play at *coups d'état* without having their minds greatly engrossed by the future; M. de Polignac, with his inconceivable levity, might deceive himself; but the sad and solemn tone which reigned during these discussions, clearly showed that several of the ministers felt the greatness of the dangers to which they were exposing the throne. Every moment some word or other escaped; some contemplated the portrait of Strafford, others dwelt complacently on the idea of a great act of self-devotion; all were aware of the responsibility which weighed upon them. This responsibility they were all willing to undergo, for they all affixed their signatures to the ordinances, as if they had felt it an honour to share the common danger."—Capefigue, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vol. iv. p. 251.

But what is the version which the same historian gives of the

very same matter in another place, without assigning any reason for the change in his statement, and without any apparent cause, but his own "inconceivable levity" as a compiler of political chit-chat? In his history of Europe, since the accession of Louis Philippe, he argues that the Polignac ministry were acting under a firm conviction of the perfect legality of the course pursued by them, and then continues :

"So reasoned all the ministers, especially M. de Polignac; there was, therefore, no room for any one to heave sighs, to look at the portrait of Strafford (which was not in the Council Chamber), or to offer his head to the king in signing the government measures; if the ordinances were not considered absolutely legal, they were at least supposed to be strictly in accordance with the provisions of the constitutional charter."—*Capefigue, l'Europe depuis l'Avènement du roi Louis-Philippe*, vol. i. 321.

Such palpable contradictions necessarily destroy all confidence, if not in the author's veracity, at least in the accuracy of his information, and in the care which he has taken to select and arrange his materials; the more so as in other respects too traces of the greatest negligence and ignorance are apparent in his performances. Considering that M. Capefigue is *polyhistor*¹, in the least creditable sense of the word, one of those whose pen, as M. de Polignac appropriately quotes,—

"peut tous les mois, au moins, enfanter en volume,"

it is not to be expected that his writings should exhibit that careful digestion of materials, and that elaborate accuracy of diction, which are the result of adherence to the canon *nonum prematur in annum*. Still we might expect, that one who makes such high pretensions to an intimate knowledge of all the intricacies of European diplomacy, should not fall into ludicrous mistakes; as, for instance, when he gravely informs us that Lord Castlereagh calling Lord Stanhope "his honourable friend," in a debate on the occupation of France, was a clear proof that he was but too much disposed to adopt Lord Stanhope's policy; we

¹ The list of his larger historical writings, which amount to upwards of fifty volumes, comprises works on *Charlemagne, Hugues Capet et la Troisième Race, Philippe-Auguste, l'Histoire du Moyen Age, François I. et la Renaissance, la Réforme et la Ligue, Louis XIV., Louis XV., Louis XVI., l'Europe pendant la Révolution Française, l'Europe pendant le Consulat et l'Empire de Napoléon, les Cent-Jours, Histoire de la Restauration, les Diplomates Européens, l'Europe depuis l'Avènement du Roi Louis-Philippe*. The fact is, it is as much as M. Capefigue can do to remember what he himself has written, and to quote himself, which, by the way, he often does. The "*Voyez du reste mon travail sur les Cent-Jours, la Restauration,*" &c. &c., is of frequent occurrence.

might expect that he should not be guilty of mutilations of proper names, as when he speaks of the house of "*Hoppe* and Baring," of "*Lord Witworth*," the English envoy at Paris; of "*Lord Fitz Sommerset*," sent on a special mission to Madrid; and last, not least, of the conspiracy of "*Thwiswold*." We say nothing of Lord *Vellington* and the *Wighs*, because these, being properly spelled elsewhere, may be set down to the account of the printer; but we fear the same allowance cannot be made when he calls the king at arms *héros d'armes*, instead of *héraut d'armes*, as he ought to have written.

In spite of all these blemishes, great and small, however, the volumes of M. Capefigue will still be found, in the hands of those who know how to discriminate, valuable contributions to the history of our own times, especially as far as France is concerned; as they contain a vast quantity of the crude material, which minds better qualified for the task may hereafter work up in a manner more worthy to be dignified with the name of history.

Very different in character from M. Capefigue's demi-historical, demi-apocryphal compilations, is the work of Prince Polignac. However erroneous in some respects we may think the principle of which it is the expression, it has the merit of unfolding and upholding that principle with a consistency and loftiness of thought which reflects the highest credit upon the character of the author. It is just such a book as a man might be expected to write, who has staked his all and his very life itself on the maintenance of a principle which is with him an article of faith; and what is more, infinitely more, to the credit of the noble writer, there is not in it any of that bitterness and that violence which are so often allied with uncompromising adherence to certain principles. There are in his *Réponse à mes Adversaires*, passages which sufficiently show the prince's ability to handle the gall-dipped iron-pen of personal controversy, but they are few, and written upon great provocation. Among those who have laid themselves open to his castigation, M. Genoude, editor of the *Gazette de France*, and M. Capefigue, are the most conspicuous. The former touched at once his literary and his personal vanity to the quick, by applying the epithet *insensé* to his book, and taxing him with having "neither learned nor forgotten any thing;" whereupon M. de Polignac smartly retorts by telling M. Genoude, who, it seems, gloried in calling himself his "*aide de camp*" in the days of his power, that he at least cannot be charged with not having forgotten any thing, and goes on to put him in mind of a variety of circumstances, the recollection of which ought to have prevented the versatile editor from attacking his exiled patron in a style which says as little for his political consistency as it does for his

personal gratitude. Of M. Capefigue, and the strictures on his productions, contained in the work of M. de Polignac, we have already spoken; he provoked the wrath of the ex-minister by his often-repeated allusions to his being an obstinate man, a *tête foible*, and above all, to his cold impassibility during the fearful conflict in which he involved the monarchy. *A propos* of this last reproach, the prince mentions two interesting anecdotes which show, that however fatal his "impassibility" may have proved to the royal cause, it stood him in good stead for his personal preservation. As they are characteristic, both of M. de Polignac's temper of mind, and of the savage and sanguinary spirit which is still brooding in the hearts of the French patriots, we shall transcribe them in his own words:

"That author," he says, in allusion to M. Capefigue, the '*tête forte*' who always sided with the stronger party, "might naturally be ignorant that in the presence of danger the features ought never to betray the anguish of the heart; the terrible events through which I have passed in my lifetime, have more than once confirmed this truth in my eyes. It is to this apparent impassibility that I stood again indebted for the preservation of my life, shortly after the revolution of July, when I was arrested alone in a secluded house a quarter of a league from Granville, by a score and a half of young patriots in a state of great exaltation armed with pistols and daggers. For the space of two hours I was detained by them, and while some of them plied me with the most insidious questions, I heard others near me say to each other in an under-tone, 'If we could get out of him but half a proof that he is the person whom we imagine we have caught, we would stick the knife into his heart.' My coolness, however, disappointed their expectation. Another and a still stronger instance of the same kind happened on the following day, when being conducted as a prisoner to Saint-Lô, I had arrived, accompanied by two members of the municipality of Granville, at Coutances, a town in Normandy, for the purpose of changing horses, and the population, which two days before had driven out all the authorities, sub-prefects, mayors, and gendarmes, on being maliciously informed of my arrival, all on a sudden surrounded my carriage with shouts for blood. From the midst of that mob, which in its ferment presented a lively image of the principle of popular sovereignty in all its purity, a man then stepped forward and cried, 'Be easy, he shan't escape us, I'll do for him.' The dress of the fellow was that of a journeyman butcher; he jumped on the step of the carriage, the door of which he opened, and presented himself before us with a large knife in his hand, looking with a ferocious eye for his victim. I was sitting on the front seat of the carriage, the knife of the assassin grazed my breast, and the least movement indicative of fear would have provoked murder. But, thanks to God, no movement was made; my companions imitated my impassibility, and the man withdrew in a state of uncertainty, saying, 'I don't know which

to strike.' Meanwhile the horses had been put to, the postilion started them at a gallop, and got the carriage clear at the moment when a voice was heard advising the people to overturn the carriage in order to insure their vengeance. This shows how useful it is to be able sometimes to conceal under a calm exterior the tumultuous thoughts which are excited by the presence of a great danger."—*Polignac, Réponse à mes Adversaires*, pp. 56, 57.

Such scenes as these were certainly not calculated to inspire M. de Polignac with any very great admiration for the principle of the sovereignty of the people; but his opposition to that principle does not rest on antipathies engendered by personal causes; it is founded upon deep thought, and upon profound religious convictions—convictions which, as expressed by him, have far more in them of Catholic truth than of Romish error.

"There are," he says in the introduction of his work, "those who refuse to recognize, in the concatenation of the events which fill up the ages of the world, an action superior to that of man: perhaps it is their interest to deceive themselves; as for me, I here frankly declare that I am not one of those who reject the idea of a divine intervention in the affairs of this world. The hand of God rolls the ages before Him, but his wisdom controls the impulse which He gives to them; He is long-suffering because He is the Eternal; and if in his providence He permits crime here below, it is for the purpose of bringing out virtue in greater brightness; if He tolerates the extravagances of pride, it is for the purpose of demonstrating its impotence more clearly. In the midst, however, of the impassioned struggles which time brings with it, allays, and raises again, his fatherly eye marks and guides more especially that innermost feeling which warms the heart of his true children, which is purified through suffering, and forms in this place of exile the first bond of that love which afterwards is crowned with a blessed immortality. All the facts which in the course of ages group themselves apart from this divine feeling, belong to the earth, and partake of the frailty of their origin; the other facts only hang together, succeed without destroying each other, and present, so to speak, only the progressive development of one and the same action, which derives the principle of its strength and of its life from above.

"In truth, thrones and empires crumble; nations overwhelm each other; they change their habitation, their names, their laws, their language; but they advance, in a manner, only over heaps of ruins, the very remembrance of which history sometimes forgets to record. The religion of Christ alone outlives those ruins: this is the chain which connects one age with another, an indestructible chain, of which his enemies are unable to change either the strength or the durability; the daughter of heaven, but militant upon this earth, that religion takes a share in all our troubles and our sufferings; she offers her tears and the blood of her martyrs as a holocaust for us; but God upholds her in the conflict, inspires her with his breath, illumines her with his light; He

does more, He fills her with his presence; He fixes his abode in the heart of the children which he reserves for her; for the heart of the Christian is here below the Lord's home."—*Polignac, Etudes Historiques, &c.*, pp. 23, 24.

That a mind imbued with such convictions should in practical life be the advocate of the church as a national institution, and of the principle of legitimacy in politics, is to be expected; nor is there in the abstract views of M. de Polignac on church and state questions any thing but what the lovers of the church and monarchy in every country must heartily approve. The mistake into which he fell, was not that he held these principles, and that he opposed them to the infidel and democratic tendencies whose influence is as yet fearfully prevalent among the French people; it lay in this, that he identified his church principles with the Romish communion, and his principles of legitimacy with the impracticable notions and extravagant pretensions of the *ancien régime*, of which Charles X. was the royal incarnation. This was his fundamental error; the error from which even the bitter experience of his failure and his subsequent misfortunes has not delivered him. It was this error which led him to grasp with rather too eager a hand those reins of power which his subsequent conduct showed that he was unable to hold with the firmness and severity required by the fierceness of the opposition arrayed against him. And assuredly never did any man succeed to the possession of power, not only under greater personal disadvantages, but under circumstances more unfavourable. Upon this point the testimony of M. Capéfigue is conclusive: he dates the ruin of the elder branch of the Bourbons as far back as the dissolution of the Villèle administration, of which at the close of its career he forms the following judgment:—

“ M. de Villèle may accuse himself of having inflicted a fatal blow upon the Bourbons of the elder branch. He wore out all the springs of government by overstraining them; he handed over to his successors all the arms of power in a wasted and decayed condition; henceforth there was nothing but concession; because every thing had been too violent, too completely at variance with law and opinion; every thing had been pushed to extremes; the country had been wantonly agitated. In consequence of the headlong adoption of a bad system, it had been necessary to strike down whatever offered any resistance; and as resistance spread more widely in proportion as the social order was more completely departed from, the result was, that every thing was struck down, and the hostility at last became universal. The legitimate influence of the government over the elections could no longer be exercised, on account of the manner in which it had been abused; in the provinces the power was no longer respected on account of the frauds which it had

committed; the control over the journals was worn out by the strange abuse of the censorship; religion was powerless, the clergy were denounced as enemies; the crown was universally distrusted, and the country was clamorous for guarantees, because no faith was any longer placed in promises. What I find fault with M. de Villèle for is, that *he rendered any government impossible after him: there lies the real cause of the ruin of the elder branch; it is not to be sought in any thing else.* It began when the septennial ministry placed all in opposition against the monarchy. And what means of resistance to so mighty a movement did that ministry bequeath to its successors? A power which the feeble probity and the vacillating system of the Marignac ministry could neither raise nor strengthen in the eyes of the country."—*Capefigue, Histoire de la Restauration*, vol. iv. pp. 71, 72.

It sounds rather inconsistent with this view of the condition to which matters had been reduced by the Villèle administration, to hear M. Capefigue declare elsewhere, that even after the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies by the Polignac ministry, and the re-election of the same hostile majority,

"Every thing was possible with a Martignac ministry; a cabinet guided by the loyal opinions of the Duke of Richelieu might have arranged every thing; M. Pasquier proposed a coalition ministry which would have brought back the defection votes; but nothing of the kind was done; and then nothing remained but to have recourse to extraordinary methods. . . ."—*Capefigue, L'Europe depuis l'Avènement du roi Louis-Philippe*, vol. i. p. 314.

This assuredly was not the case; the Martignac ministry fell by its intrinsic weakness, by its want of a definite purpose; the system of concession had been tried, tried in vain and exhausted; there remained but one experiment to be made, and that was a return to decidedly monarchical principles; the accession of M. de Polignac to power was that experiment; in his hands and those of Charles X. it could not but fail; still it was a necessary experiment, the only alternative left to the crown in the condition to which the country had been reduced primarily by the ultramontane and royalist extravagances of the Villèle cabinet. But while in justice to Prince Polignac it must be admitted that he succeeded to an impracticable position, it cannot be denied that the difficulties of that position were much aggravated by the very fact of his appointment to the chief power, and by the manner in which he wielded that power. At a moment when the country was in a state of universal irritation and growing excitement, in consequence of a system of hostility on the part of the monarch, and the jesuitical clique by which he was surrounded, against the public rights guaranteed by the charter; when, moreover, a large

and powerful party made its jealousy for the charter the pretext of an opposition whose real object it was to place the democratic element in the ascendant, it was surely unwise in the extreme, to select as the first adviser of the crown a man who in the very infancy of the constitutional monarchy had made himself conspicuous, by demurring to take the oath and his seat in the house of peers, on the ground of a decided objection to the terms of the charter. Such an appointment was calculated to create, among those who were sincerely attached to the existing constitution, a suspicion that the charter itself was to be tampered with ; while it afforded to the enemies of the constitution an excellent pretext for those measures of violent opposition, which ended in the overthrow of the monarchy and the triumph of their principles. But if the appointment of Prince Polignac was impolitic, the manner in which he executed the task he had undertaken was, if possible, still more ruinous to the cause of the monarchy. He had to deal with an implacably hostile principle, in opposition to which he meant to assert the divine right of royalty. To carry out this assertion successfully, it was absolutely necessary to strike a blow ; and if a blow was to be struck, it was essential that it should be struck effectually, with such energy and promptness, as would paralyse the opposition, and secure to Charles X. and his minister that dictatorial power of which they stood in need, and which they might possibly have used, as it is evident that Prince Polignac intended to use it, for the regeneration of society. Instead of this, however, the blow was struck in the clumsiest and feeblest manner possible. M. de Polignac boasts that the secret of the fatal ordinances was most scrupulously guarded, so much so, that he excuses the omission of a variety of precautionary measures which the government ought to have taken, by his unwillingness to do any thing which might give the alarm as to the course determined upon by the ministry ; and he makes it a matter of complaint and accusation against the liberal party, that they were in a state of complete organization, ready for resistance, the very moment the ordinances appeared. But although the specific measures comprehended in the ordinances were kept a profound secret, it was notorious, and had been so for a considerable time, that a *coup d'état* of some sort was in contemplation. Not only was the question of the expediency of a *coup d'état*, and of its possible results, freely canvassed in the political circles of Paris, but it became the subject of communications from the different European cabinets to the French king and his government. The opposition had therefore abundant notice and time to prepare for the day of conflict, at whatever moment, and upon whatever issue that conflict might take place.

The indiscretions of which Charles X. himself was guilty in this respect almost surpass belief. Even so far back as the close of the Martignac administration, the king had betrayed his *arrière-pensée*, of having recourse to force of arms, if the following anecdote told by M. Capefigue may be relied on:—

“The chamber had proved violent and even factious on the occasion of the war budget. M. de Caux (the minister of war) had returned from it sad and thoughtful. ‘Well,’ said the king to M. de Caux, ‘how did you find the chamber?’ In a fit of ill-humour the minister replied, ‘Abominable!’ At these words Charles X. drew M. de Caux aside, and thus addressed him:—‘Well! you admit at last, M. de Caux, that this cannot go on any longer; may I depend on the army?’ and so saying he seized him by both hands. M. de Caux saw that he had committed an imprudence. ‘Sire,’ answered the minister, ‘the question is, for what purpose?’ ‘Unconditionally,’ replied the king. ‘If your majesty were to appeal to the army by pointing to the charter, and in the name of the charter, you would obtain absolute obedience; but apart from the charter, I can assure you, not; and this is how I prove it. I have had a statistical survey of the army drawn up: to say nothing of the non-commissioned officers and the common soldiers, I find that out of twenty thousand officers there are not five hundred who are gentlemen, and not one thousand who have a private income of 600 francs. With such materials, how can you enact the *ancien régime*?’ ‘The charter, the charter!’ continued the king, ‘who wants to violate that? No doubt it is an imperfect performance! but I shall respect it. As for the army, it has no business with the charter.’—*Capefigue, Histoire de la Restauration*, vol. iv. p. 180.

Still more curious, as an indication that coming events were casting their shadows before them, is the conversation which took place some time before the July revolution, at a ball given to the king of Naples by the Duke of Orleans, between the Prince and M. de Salvandy, the account of which, coming from the pen of the latter statesman himself, possesses a more authentic character. M. de Salvandy had, in passing near the Duke, indulged himself in a *jeu d’esprit*, by observing to him, “This is quite Naples fashion, Monseigneur; we are dancing on a volcano.” Upon this the Duke laid hold of M. de Salvandy’s arm, and the following remarks were exchanged:—

“‘That there is a volcano,’ said his royal highness, ‘I believe with you; it is not, however, my fault; I shall not have to reproach myself that I did not endeavour to open the eyes of the king. . . But what am I to do? nothing is listened to, and Heaven knows where all this will lead to!’—‘Very far, Monseigneur, I am persuaded.’—‘Certainly,’ replied his royal highness, ‘I do not know what may happen; I cannot tell where they will be six months hence; but I know very

well where I shall be. In any event I intend to remain with my family in this palace; to have been driven into exile twice by the faults of other people is quite sufficient; I shall not be caught in the same way again. Whatever danger there may be, I shall not stir from this; I shall not separate my own and my children's destiny from that of my country; such is my fixed determination. I make no secret of my sentiments. Quite recently at Rosny, I have said very freely what I think of it all; and there, the king of Naples, who was with us, has formed a very correct estimate of our position. That prince, who is so broken down, though he is by four years my junior, is a man of great sense; external circumstances compel him to be an absolute king; but his inclinations are not that way, and he made some very judicious observations. A conversation of yours was mentioned at Rosny.'—'Monseigneur, I have said that they are undoing the monarchy; and I am equally convinced that the fall of the throne will compromise, perhaps for a century to come, the prosperity and liberty of France.'—'Regretting as much as you do,' continued the prince, 'the course in which the king is engaging himself, I am not quite as much afraid as you are of the results.' . . . *Capefigue, L'Europe depuis l'Avènement du roi Louis-Philippe*, vol. i. pp. 184, 185.

This conversation, in which even the idea of a revolution, in imitation of the English Revolution of 1688, was introduced, shows to what extent the public mind was prepared for the course pursued by Charles X. and his ministers, and for the consequences which it was likely to entail. It was, therefore, childish, in such a state of the public mind, to imagine that secrecy as to the particular ordinances would enable the government to take the public mind by surprise, and give it the advantage of coming down upon its opponents before they had time to prepare themselves for resistance. That an unwillingness to contemplate beforehand scenes of bloodshed, a reluctance to engage in a decisive struggle, had their share in the irresolution displayed by M. de Polignac at the critical moment, and the inefficiency of his measures, there can be no doubt; and we feel that the man deserves to be honoured for much of what in the minister was highly blamable. Still there is a general character of what almost amounts to imbecility in the arrangements made for the execution of the ordinances, which clearly proves, that whatever might be the abilities of M. de Polignac in other respects, he was not destined by nature to be a contriver of *coups d'état*. At the very outset, the insertion of the ordinances in the *Moniteur*, without taking, at least simultaneously, steps for securing their immediate execution, was a fatal mistake; and no less so the total ignorance of the intentions of the ministry, in which all the officers of the government were kept, who derived their first knowledge of

measures, in the execution of which their hearty and energetic co-operation was required, like the rest of the public, from the announcement in the official journal. Instead of making sure of the persons of those likely to take a leading part in a popular movement, if it had but been by means of an efficient *surveillance*; instead of making provision for the employment and support of the masses of workmen whom it was in the power of the rich manufacturers to discharge, and thereby to throw in a state of idleness and discontent into the general ferment, it was thought sufficient to have the playbills altered, so as to exclude performances likely to lead to political allusions and applications, and to keep the gates of the Palais Royal closed. The military, instead of being brought to act decisively in a body, were thrown in among the people in small detachments, and had time and opportunity afforded them for fraternizing with the insurgent population, while, at the same time, they were left exposed in the most cruel manner to hunger and thirst, by a total neglect in the victualling department. The subordinate agents, too, were ill chosen and ill directed. The measures of coercion against the journals were tardily and feebly enforced; so much so, that the fate of the kingdom hung for several hours upon the refusal of a journeyman locksmith to execute the orders of the police. The chief of the police of Paris, Prefect Mangin, after writing a few insignificant reports to the minister, made out a passport for himself under a false name, and decamped for Brussels early on the 29th; and Marshal Marmont, to whom the military command was entrusted, negotiated with those against whom it was his duty to have fought. The whole action of the executive was paralyzed at the very moment when it ought to have displayed all its powers with promptitude, energy, and firmness. From this reproach nothing that M. de Polignac alleges in his book can clear him; he planned a counter-revolution, but he had neither the sagacity nor the courage to carry it out; and all that he achieved, therefore, was to provoke to the uttermost the resentments of the liberal party and the populace.

But while historical truth requires this to be stated, it is not to be forgotten that M. de Polignac was forced into the position in which he found himself, by the infatuated old king, towards whom his loyalty knew no bounds; and that while he appears to have intended a speedy return to a regular system of government, looking upon the dictatorship assumed by the ordinances as upon quite a transient measure, he meant all along to confine himself within the strictest limits of legality. On this point he makes a triumphant defence, clearly proving, out of the mouths and by the acts of the opposite party, that the 14th article of the

Charter, upon which the ordinances were founded, justified them in a legal point of view. We select, from the passages given by M. de Polignac, two which are remarkable, as coming from two of the ministers of the new dynasty. On the 29th of December, 1830, it appears that M. Guizot, in a speech addressed to the Chamber of Deputies, expressed himself on this point as follows:—

“When the Charter appeared in 1814, what did the power do? It took care to set down in the preamble the word *octroyé*, “granted,” and in the text, the 14th Article, which conferred the right of making ordinances for the safety of the State; that is to say, the power attributed to itself a right anterior to the Charter and independent of it; in other words, a sovereign, constituent, and absolute power.”—*Polignac, Études Historiques*, p. 338, note.

Still more decided, as to the legality of the ordinances, and the essentially illegal character of the constitutional changes effected by the July revolution, is the language of the Duke de Broglie, in the Chamber of Deputies, on the 5th of January, 1833:—

“Thus, in spite of the Charter and the laws, we expelled, in 1830, an irresponsible sovereign; and afterwards we banished for ever the members of his family and all their descendants, without having any legal grievance to allege against them; thus we impeached the ministers of Charles X. without authority, and, in the absence of any law, we made one expressly to meet their case, and gave it a retrospective effect.”—*Ibid*, p. 339, note.

The most conclusive, however, of all the proofs of the legality of the ordinances, is the fact, that in the revision of the Charter, previous to the accession of Louis-Philippe, the 14th article was actually expunged, on the ground of its leaving in the hands of the crown a power dangerous to the public liberties. M. de Polignac is, therefore, perfectly justified in asserting that it was not a violation of the Charter which cost Charles X. his crown, and endangered the heads of his ministers; they did what it was “lawful” for them to do; but assuredly they also did that which was not “expedient.” Whether by other hands and other methods the crisis could have been avoided, is altogether a different question; nay, it seems doubtful whether, even if the royal cause had triumphed during the memorable days of July, it would have been possible to have carried on the government of a country in which principles so essentially hostile to the church and the monarchy had taken such deep root, and risen to such a fearful height of political influence, even in the higher, and

especially in the wealthier classes of society. M. de Polignac himself seems to think, that the most complete success in putting down the riots which ended in revolution, would have left the country in an embarrassing and problematic position; and the whole of his argument goes to show, that sooner or later a conflict between the principle of divine right in Church and State, and the principle of religious neutrality and popular sovereignty, in other words, of infidelity and anarchy, must inevitably have ensued. The origin of this principle he traces back to Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and the other leaders of the Reformation, whose advocacy of the right of private judgment was, in his opinion, the first fatal blow inflicted upon the recognition of divine authority either in religion or in politics. He sums up in a kind of pedigree the connexion in which he places the Reformation of the sixteenth century with the revolutionary and atheistical excesses of the eighteenth, inserting between the two, as the intermediate link, the scepticism and indifferentism of the seventeenth century. Of the character of the philosophical school which rose about the middle of the last century, M. de Polignac draws a powerful and, unhappily, not an exaggerated picture:—

“Nothing is more easy of proof than the conspiracy of the philosophism of the eighteenth century against the Catholic religion. Its end and its means have been disclosed to us by its disciples. Three of these may in some sort be considered as personifications of different parts of a system adopted by them all. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, by his insidious doubts, his false, vague, and contradictory reasonings, seems to have made it his business to demonstrate the incapacity of the human heart to believe in the truths of the Catholic religion; and, this incapacity being once acknowledged, faith became naturally extinct; a negative cannot form the basis of any religious belief. Voltaire, taking off the mask, attacks religion as a whole and in its details, he persecutes it with his scoffings, pursues it with his slanders, and in his satanic rage pours forth upon it, for want of argument, the gall of ridicule. Lastly, Diderot, more impetuous than the other two, sounding withal the note of victory before the end of the combat, sums up together the consequences of the philosophical system, of which he is the *Séide*, and preaches materialism, which he represents as the sublimation of human reason; but he was several years in advance of the events of his age; his voice, more prophetic than those of his friends, was not at first listened to with the same favour. And how indeed was it possible that in an intelligent nation that wretched axiom, the sum of all the philosophical principles of the fiery encyclopædist, could find acceptance, that “*between man and his dog dress makes the only difference*?” Besides, Diderot was mistaken. When man degrades himself so far as to sink into materialism,

² The Life of Seneca, by Diderot.

it is not the peaceful instinct of the animal, which is the symbol of fidelity, that guides him; the rage of the tiger devours his soul. Proofs of this assertion will not be wanting.

"If the hatred of this impious sect was in appearance directed chiefly against the Catholic religion, the reason is, that it well knew that the downfall of that religion, had it been possible, must have drawn after it the overthrow of every other religion; but notwithstanding the feigned patronage which the philosophers condescended to bestow, on certain occasions, on the Protestant doctrines, they were not in fact less the enemies of Protestantism than of Catholicism. All authority, of whatever kind, every check imposed upon the passions of man was hateful to them; whether the authority were religious, moral, or political, their object was to annihilate it altogether. We have only to listen to their principal adepts; they will inform us of the sentiments and projects of their sect.

"These regenerators of society will teach us, in matters of religion, that the immortality of the soul is *'a mere barbarous and pernicious dogma, which leads to despair, and is incompatible with all legislation;* that the soul is *'not a being distinct from the body;'* that the God of the Jews and Christians is *nothing more than a chimera and a phantom;* that they are tired of being told that twelve men were sufficient to establish Christianity, and that they mean to prove that *one is sufficient to destroy it;* having further in their impiety designated the Saviour of the world by the term *l'infâme*, they will be found encouraging each other in crushing *l'infâme*, rejoicing together over the contempt into which, as they say, *l'infâme* has fallen with all respectable people throughout Europe, and congratulating themselves on the speedy advent of the time, when cobblers, servant-girls and the *canaille* will be the only people that will still believe in the religion of Christ.

"In point of morality they will teach us, that the ideas of justice and injustice, of virtue and vice, of glory and infamy, are *purely arbitrary, and dependent on habit;* that *self-interest is the only and universal test* of the merit of men's actions; that the law which condemns married persons to live together after they have ceased to love each other, is *a barbarous and cruel law;* that the command laid upon children to love their parents, is *a matter of education rather than of nature;* that remorse is *nothing more than the anticipation of the physical pains* to which crime exposes us, and that a man who is above the law, *commits without repentance the dishonest action* which is useful to him.

"Furthermore, with a view to overturn the order of society established in Europe, they will teach us, that the true monarchy is nothing more than *a constitution invented for the purpose of corrupting the morals of the people and enslaving them;* that if the authority of kings comes from God, it is *in the same way as the diseases and plagues which afflict human kind;* that kings are the *chief hangmen* of their subjects; that *force and stupidity are the only origin* of their thrones. One of them, apostrophising the kings, is heard to exclaim; *'You tigers, deified by*

other tigers, do you really think that you shall attain unto immortality ?' And lastly, another indulges himself with a public expression of the wish 'to see the last of kings strangled with the entrails of the last of priests.'"—Polignac, *Études Historiques*, pp. 46—49.

All this mass of blasphemy, immorality, and rebellion, M. de Polignac shows, in a note in the appendix, to be faithfully compiled from the original writings of the philosophers themselves ; and very justly argues that the sanguinary and brutal scenes of the French revolution were nothing more than the practical exemplification of those horrible doctrines. But M. de Polignac loses sight of an important fact, which it is not likely that he would notice, but which must be kept in view, in order to form a correct estimate of the primary causes which led ultimately to results so deplorable. He attributes, as we have seen, the rise of this vile and infidel philosophy to the Reformation ; and on this point we differ from him *toto cœlo*. We are not at all disposed to underrate the mischief which the principle of private judgment, asserted by some of the foreign reformers in all its crudity and arrogance, has caused in weakening men's faith in, and submission to, God's word and ordinance. We are aware that that principle, so asserted, leads of necessity to schism, and experience has abundantly proved, that schism, if it does not begin, invariably ends in heresy and unbelief. Yet even for this mischief we hold the Church of Rome to be responsible in the last instance, because it was she who by her corruptions, and her pertinacity in adhering to them, provoked the excesses into which the spirit of the Reformation, essentially a religious and a holy spirit, was betrayed. But in a far more direct manner do we hold the Church of Rome chargeable with the blasphemies and abominations which M. de Polignac has so forcibly condensed. It was not from Protestant communions, not from Protestant seats of learning, that the race of infidel philosophers sprang : they issued from the bosom of the Romish Church ; the very chiefest among them was the disciple of the Jesuits, brought up in their learning and morality. And no wonder that the boundaries which divide right and wrong had no sanctity in his eyes. We have only to scan the moral theology of the Jesuits, and we shall find there, along with the infamous doctrine of probable opinions, the seed and the justification of all the enormities of which the philosophers of the eighteenth century were guilty in matters of religion, of morality, and of social order³. All the landmarks of the divine law, whether revealed or written

³ In proof of this the reader need only compare the specimens of the casuistic theology of the Jesuits, given in vol. v. of the English Review, pp. 72—81.

in the heart, and all the foundations of faith in the truth of God's word, had long been removed by the presumptuous substitution of the alleged infallible authority of the Church of Rome, for the external historical evidences of Christianity, and its internal spiritual sanctions; and of the arbitrary decisions of the casuists pronounced in "the tribunal of penance," for the eternal principles of truth and holiness proclaimed by God himself in his holy word. The Romish Church had in the sixteenth century refused to be reformed; she had opposed to the remonstrances and the entreaties of those who could no longer brook her corruptions, nor hide under a bushel the light of God's truth which had broken in upon them, the deliberate affirmation of all the false principles on which her system was based, in the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the systematic endeavour to give to those principles a practical ascendancy in the affairs of Europe, by the establishment of the Jesuit Order. She was now in the eighteenth century made to eat the bitter "fruit of her own way;" she who had "despised all reproof," was now "filled with her own devices."

And as the solemn lesson of the sixteenth, so has the terrible lesson of the eighteenth century been lost upon her. No sooner has she regained her footing in the land laid desolate by the iniquity that had issued forth from her, than she exhibits her determination to resume the position formerly occupied, and to renew the pretensions formerly advanced, by her. She has passed through the discipline of affliction, but she has not been exercised by it; she has received no correction. When in the train of the combined armies of Europe Louis XVIII. returned twice to the throne of his ancestors, under the ægis of the Holy Alliance, that mystical league of crowned heads in defence of the divine right of kings, the restored sovereign felt that the stability of his throne and the success of the royal mission entrusted to his hands by the providence of God, depended on his accommodating himself, as far as was consistent with right principles and with his own dignity, to the altered spirit of the times, and to the wayward humour of a generation cradled in anarchy and reared amidst the din of arms. But he was not permitted to follow in peace and unmolested that course of conciliation, which alone could render the application of remedial measures for the healing of the wounds of the nation possible. He was surrounded, and by public opposition, by private remonstrance, and by the dexterous management of his personal foibles, drawn in spite of himself into a line of policy, the fatal results of which he foresaw and deplored. So sensible was he of the violence done to his own principles of government, that when the line of policy advocated by his brother

was permanently forced upon him, he considered himself to have virtually abdicated the throne in his favour.

The reign of Charles X., therefore, virtually began at the identical period which M. Capefigue points out as the commencement of his ruin; the formation of the Villèle ministry at the close of the year 1821. For more than eight years, with the short intermission of the Martignac ministry, which had recourse, when it was too late, to conciliatory methods, and thereby aggravated the difficulties in which it had found the country, did the congregationist party try the patience of a highly inflammable people, which had sucked hatred to the principles of that party with its mother's milk, under the auspices of a prince, who with many qualities that would have adorned his character in a private station, combined that superstitious tone of mind, and that invincible obstinacy, which constitute the bigot. That he was, as has been confidently stated, regularly affiliated to the Jesuit order, is perhaps improbable; but that the system which he pursued was the system of that order, and that he pursued it not so much under the pressure of external influence, as by the impulse of a strong personal conviction, is indisputable. The character which this gave to the entire government of Charles X., is well described by M. Capefigue, whose testimony on this point may the more be relied on, as he is a decided partisan of the Romish Church, and an advocate, within certain limits, for her political ascendancy:—

“Two causes principally contributed to the ruin of the crown; in the first place, the clumsily organized supremacy which it was intended to give to the clergy, and the incomplete and mongrel attempts to re-establish an aristocracy; in the second place, the pertinacity of Charles X. in retaining his ministry and the septennial chamber. The royal piety increased with advancing years; a time arrives when the fear of death seizes and dominates a weak soul; one has only to imagine clever and ambitious men turning to account this dread of a future life of torment and of anguish, bringing it face to face with some aberrations and follies of youth, and it is easy to understand how an ardent imagination may be carried away by the practices of religion, that sure refuge from the storms of life. I shall not repeat ignoble calumnies, and the rumours of sacred initiation and affiliation to the Jesuits, those lies which at a later period were reproduced in caricatures. Charles X. had a lively faith, a generous belief; he lost himself, but he was not a hypocrite⁴. I have already said what the congregation was: at the accession of Charles X. it developed itself on a larger scale, attaching itself to the

⁴ We beg M. Capefigue's pardon for interrupting him; but does he mean to insinuate that, to become a Jesuit, a man must be a hypocrite? *Εἰπέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης αἰεὶ ψεύσται.*

court and the ministry ; it was to be found in the council of state and in the privy council ; it secured for itself a special minister ; the Bishop of Hermopolis took the portfolio of worship, and although notions of gallicanism occasionally balanced the convictions of the prelate, his tendency was altogether favourable to the interests and opinions of the religious party. It will not be expected of me that I should pick up the thousand and one fooleries which have been hawked about France on the subject of the Jesuits ; filthy pamphlets were published ; every thing comes aright to the parties, provided they attain their purposes ; I leave in the dirt all those ‘ confessions ’ and ‘ revelations ’ which were put forth ; the factious need a bugbear ; the Jesuits were flung down to the people ; they were not only men of intelligence, activity and ardour, who obtained the mastery over society and over a royalty which they were about to bring to destruction, but in the eyes of the parties they were perverse men, and monsters in the category of human feeling. What then were these Jesuits, their statutes, their habits, their influence ? What mysterious and mighty influence did they exercise over the government ? A few fragments of the Jesuit order had united themselves together in France under the name *Pères de la Foi*. When Napoleon rebuilt the altars, their statutes, being reproduced from the ancient constitutions of the proscribed order, were denounced to the ministry of worship ; an order of M. Portalis decreed the dissolution of their establishment. All hope, however, was not lost ; the ingenious spirit of the Jesuits invented a thousand resources. Under the protection of Cardinal Fesch and of several bishops, they penetrated into the high saloons of the aristocracy and of the empire, as well as into the palaces of the old opposition of M. de Staël. At the restoration their position was changed ; the piety of Louis XVIII. was not profound enough to induce him to give effectual protection to the order of St. Ignatius ; nevertheless the royal ordinance which exempted the *petits séminaires* from the laws of the university, favoured the domination of the *Pères de la Foi* over the entire system of public education ; they had houses at Dôle, at Bordeaux, at Sainte-Anne-d’Auray, at Montmorillon, at Aix, at Forcalquier, at Vitry, under the central direction of Mont-Rouge and Saint-Acheul. Their strength consisted chiefly in that hierarchy of affiliation, by virtue of which they had protectors and supporters every where. The clever and powerful founder of this institution had in a manner called upon the whole human race to second the congregation which he had established. Under the vulgar name of *jésuites à robe courte* any layman could be admitted to take a part in the life and the spirit of the society. I cannot tell how many noble lords and distinguished men were affiliated to the Jesuits : it has been affirmed in some pamphlets of Charles X. himself. I believe that he who once was the noble and graceful Comte d’Artois, might have given, at the deathbed of a former mistress, a chivalrous promise to return to religious principles and ardent faith ; but between this repentance of the follies of youth, and an affiliation to the Jesuit order, a sort of donning of the religious

habit, there was a distinction which the parties were unwilling to make. It is true, however, that all who surrounded the king, his most pious servants, the Duke of Montmorency, the Marquis of Rivière, that host of bishops and priests who supported his throne, rendered admirable service to the institute of the Jesuits. All worked together to extend its ramifications; not only all the children of the court and of the highest families, but all the sons of public functionaries, and all who looked for advancement, were sent to be educated by the Jesuits; for as soon as it was ascertained that the Jesuits exercised an influence over the government, they were adored as favourites. Around this aggregation others formed themselves, which were real emanations from it, and served as complements to it. The young men who did not become professed members of the society, formed themselves, on leaving the Jesuit schools, into affiliated associations for sound studies under the pious direction of M. de Montmorency; at a more advanced age they were recommended to associations for sound literature; they were incorporated in the immense association for the propagation of the faith, a kind of congregation in which the poor and the rich alike contributed at the low rate of five centimes a week. Workmen had the offer of entering the affiliated association of St. Joseph. The prisons also had a congregation of their own. All this was connected together and kept in admirable order. Nevertheless, I must not fail to mention, the society of Jesuits had lost that high character of civilization and intelligence which had formerly called it to such high destinies. One of the principal causes which had contributed to enlarge the circle of its conquests, was their indisputably high state of education, their scientific superiority over all then existing institutions; an elevation to which the modern Jesuits were far from having attained. Still St. Acheul and Mont-Rouge more especially were visited by the most purely devout portion of the court; they went thither for religious retreats, for *neuvaines*, for recreations without number; there the fathers and the young novices were often seen around a rich billiard playing against noble antagonists, knights of the orders, or peers of the realm. Their *protégés* were every where; their affiliation extended to every branch of the government. The episcopate protected their order; the minister of ecclesiastical affairs, M. Frayssinous, lived with them almost on a footing of commensality; he used to go for retreats to Mont-Rouge. At court the Great Almonry was wholly theirs; M. de Latil favoured them openly. The friend and intimate confidant of royalty, M. de Latil had rapidly risen from an obscure position to the dignity of cardinal and the archbishopric of Reims. He was one of those prelates of ardent spirit destined to play a part in the great world, who in other times had troubled both the State and the Church. The chaplains of Princes, gentlemen such as MM. de Montmorency, de Blacas, de Rivière, loved the institute of the Jesuits; they would have looked upon the day of their public and avowed restoration as upon a great epoch in the annals of the monarchy: the sons of St. Ignatius had likewise brought under

their influence the woman who governed Louis XVIII., in order to have the mastery over the mind of the old monarch. In every ministerial department the Jesuits had placed one of their friends: near the president of the council they had M. de Renneville, a young man who filled an important official department, but who at the same time never failed to attend to any recommendation from the chiefs of the religious association; at the ministry of the interior they had M. Franchet; at the police, M. Delavau; in the royal household, M. de Doudeauville; at the foreign office, M. de Damas; at the post-office, M. de Vaulchier; and by these means all was connected together, and the government offices were peopled with their creatures. With singular tact they never lost sight of each other throughout life; the superiors kept their eyes upon every one, even the humblest of their pupils; they assembled them together on the great annual solemnities, never ceasing to mould them to their common purpose. Several members of the Chamber of Peers were affiliated members of the holy order; in the Chamber of Deputies the order had the majority. An invisible hand directed all these wires, and dictated to the government the views it should adopt and the political course it should follow. Hence all those projects and measures derived from one common inspiration, which carried France out of the orbit of her national character, and suffered not her indifference to be at rest. I consider this secret action as one of the great causes of the downfall of the dynasty, not only by reason of what it actually effected, but by reason of the suspicions to which it gave rise. It became the stalking-horse for every species of accusation against the kingly power; the Jesuits were laid hold of for the purpose of making the government unpopular, they were made the objects of attack, with a view to disguise the blows aimed at the monarchy."—*Capefigue, Histoire de la Restauration*, vol. iii. pp. 364—368.

The origin of this fatal influence reaches high up in the history of the restoration; the machinations, of which the *Pavillon Mar-san* formed the head-quarters, and which as early as 1818 assumed the audacious character of a conspiracy having for its object to obtain the abdication of Louis XVIII., were followed up with all the wiliness and perseverance which at all times have characterised the movements of the Jesuits. They overcame, after many ineffectual struggles, the better judgment and sounder principles of the elder Bourbon; and when his death placed the pupil of the Jesuits on the throne, the mask was prematurely thrown off in a moment of unguarded exultation. It was then that the various projects, which had been adjourned from time to time, for restoring to the clergy generally, and to the monastic orders in particular, and among them especially to the Jesuits, their ancient powers and privileges, were pressed forward; it was then that it was proposed to remove every remaining restriction (for much had already been done in this direction) by which the

power of receiving bequests, especially death-bed bequests for religious foundations, was circumscribed; then that attempts were made to crush the freedom of religious discussion, by making attacks upon the religion of the state a high crime and misdemeanour; then that the persecuting spirit of the Romish Church was again exhibited in all its blood-thirsty hideousness, extorting from the king's government a project of law in which desecration of the holy vessels was made a capital offence, and the horrible punishment of the parricide decreed against him who should lay sacrilegious hands upon a consecrated wafer! It was then that a peer of France proposed to substitute for the black veil in which the face of criminals is enveloped when they are led out to execution, in the case of persons condemned to death for sacrilege, a red veil, with a view to give to the religion of Christ an additional sanction in the hearts of the people; then that the bench of bishops, unwilling that their votes should be lost for the support of this sanguinary measure, declared that, contrary to the ancient maxim, *Clerici ne intersint vindictæ sanguinis*, they would give their opinions and their suffrages, alleging that the question was not as to the application, but only as to the enactment of a law affecting human life; then that one of their number, Cardinal Bonald, horrified the Chamber by opposing to the remark of M. de Chateaubriand, that the character of the Christian religion was to pardon rather than to punish, the merciless reply: "If the good owe their life to society by way of service, the wicked owe it by way of example. A former speaker has observed that religion enjoins upon man the duty of forgiveness; but at the same time it enjoins upon the power the duty of punishing; for, says the Apostle, 'he beareth not the sword in vain.' The Saviour prayed for forgiveness for his murderers, but his Father heard Him not; nay, He extended the punishment upon an entire nation. As for sacrilege, by a sentence of death you remit it to its natural judge."

Such were the indications which the Church party gave of the spirit by which they were animated, when they imagined that the power had completely passed into their hands. A people sincerely attached to the principles of the Christian faith might by such exhibitions have been goaded into a reaction; how much more a nation which had scarcely emerged from the public profession of infidelity, the vast majority of which could see nothing but the mummeries of priestcraft in the ceremonies, for the protection of which the bloody axe of the guillotine was so clamorously invoked. But while a review of the pretensions and proceedings of the Congregationist or Jesuit party makes it evident that a reaction must have been the inevitable consequence of their sense-

less and wicked conduct, it is no less evident, on the other hand, that the spirit from which that reaction proceeded, is a spirit essentially evil, a spirit which, as it gives not to God the honour due unto his name, never can bring down a blessing upon human society. And to this side of the picture we must now turn, if we would obtain a correct view of the deplorable condition of France, given up to the conflicting influence of two evil and destructive principles, while in the place where truth ought to stand with healing in her wings, there is nothing but a miserable void. For this purpose we turn back again to the work of M. de Polignac, who after reviewing the different aspects under which France has exhibited herself at the different phases of her history since the revolution of 1789, in a series of spirited sketches⁵, sums up in the concluding chapter his judgment of her present political and social condition.

“‘If,’ he says, ‘we cast our eyes upon the country as a whole, we see a perpetually restless and diseased society, given up to a few empiricks, who consult it without listening to it, and prescribe for it

⁵ We deeply regret that our limits will not permit us to follow M. de Polignac through these interesting sketches. They are written in an animated style, and contain much deep thought and many striking observations, which will amply repay the labour of an attentive perusal. We must content ourselves here with giving an outline of his argument. After the introduction, in which he announces the principles and the general plan of his work, he takes up in the first chapter the history of France at the death of Louis XIV., and traces the development, in the course of the eighteenth century, of the infidel and antimonarchical notions which led to the French revolution. The second chapter follows the course of that revolution through the excesses of blasphemy and cruelty which characterized it; the third chapter contains a rapid outline of the career of Napoleon; the fourth chapter gives the history of the restoration down to the fall of the Villele ministry; the fifth that of the Martignac administration, and of his own down to the critical epoch of July, 1830; the sixth is occupied with the July revolution itself; the seventh is devoted to an examination of the principles of that revolution and of the government that has risen from it; and the eighth to a discussion of “the Utopian notions of government current in the present age.” An appendix contains a variety of interesting documents. 1. A collection of extracts from the writings of the philosophers of the eighteenth century. 2. A short history of the order of the Illuminati. 3. A memorandum of the attempt at a negotiation between Bonaparte and Louis XVIII., made by the former in 1803. 4. The justification of the Duc de Vence from the charge of his having been accessory to the murder of the Duc d’Enghien. 5. A memorandum of M. de Polignac’s own mission to the south of France during the *Cent-Jours*. 6. Memoir addressed to the king by M. de Polignac and several other peers, in explanation of their refusal to take the oath of obedience to the charter. 7. Letter addressed by Monsieur (Charles X.) to his brother, Louis XVIII., in 1818. 8. Memorandum respecting the Duke of Montmorency’s manuscript history of the Congress of Verona. 9. Memorandum touching the opinion of the Duke of Orleans on the subject of the Spanish succession. 10. Historical notes touching the resignation of M. de Chateaubriand in 1829. 11. Report of the Ministers to the king, on which the ordinances of July, 1830, were founded. 12 and 13. Memoranda respecting the military force at Paris at the period of the July revolution.

without knowing or examining its ailment; every one individually sets himself up as supreme judge of the actions of others, and appeals to a sovereign will which is continually invoked and nowhere to be found; the electoral colleges carry the sceptre, the elective Chamber wears the crown, every thing is made to rest on the nation; the electors beget the deputies, and the deputies the laws, and the king-people, indignant to see its sovereign power concentrated in the hands of an exceedingly small number of its own subjects, rises every now and then to vindicate its injured rights, on which occasions it issues its decrees in the public streets by means of barricades, paving-stones, daggers and gunshots. This conflict of incongruous interests and rights creates in the nation a state of secret and constant perturbation, which renders it always dissatisfied with the present, and often careless of the future which it does not yet foresee or comprehend; on falling back upon itself, it finds within itself only individualities, whom no social tie links together for any common purpose; every where isolation reigns, and, following quickly in its wake, selfishness, rendered more intense by the religious eclecticism which the heads of the instructing body are propounding; and in consequence of this we see, in the moving panorama which this nation presents, opinions, wishes, interests, fears and hopes continually crossing, thwarting and opposing each other, often without motive and without result. The friend of to-day becomes to-morrow an enemy, and *vice versâ* the fist that strikes to-day, is to-morrow extended as a friendly hand; the faces change their masks, the characters are inverted, the legitimists become liberals, and they in their turn cry up the restoration; it seems as if the entire population was thrown into a state of movement and agitation by the shaking of the fool's bell.

"And this is what is called a state of society!

"But, it may be said, France presented nearly the same moral aspect under the restoration. I am very much disposed to admit this; and the consequence was, that the restoration did not last long; yet withal we must not forget that the elements of disorder were not then altogether the same. The dissolvent principle of the sovereignty of the people was not then the constituent basis of our society; the disorganising action of that principle was gradually introduced into it by its followers; it was then that the struggle began; some imprudent friends of the throne, seduced by brilliant theories, the consequences of which escaped their notice, aided, unknown to them, the triumph of the hostile principle; the monarchy succumbed. Now that principle is victorious, it is in the ascendant: it is acknowledged as the foundation stone of the institutions which rule the country; its rights are secured; in vain it is attempted to paralyze its action; it is always able to regain its strength and its ascendancy, but on condition of keeping society in a state of perpetual commotion; because rest is death to it."—*Polignac, Études Historiques*, pp. 366—368.

But by far the most interesting part of the observations of

M. de Polignac on the present condition of France, is the view which he takes of the existing system of public education.

“ It makes one’s heart ache to see poor France given up into the hands of sceptical sophists, who are witty upon every subject, and do not show common sense in any thing. By the permission of Providence, the discussion of a question relative to public instruction has brought their evil will and their secret tendencies to light. Henceforth, at all events, the heads of families and the moral and religious part of the country must consider that they have had sufficient warning ; for our new philosophers have abundantly revealed their *arrière-pensée*. According to them the antiquity of the Church of France, which counts its centuries, is to render homage to the forty years’ existence of the present university, which alone comprehends the method of education suitable for the young ; a method which consists, as far as politics are concerned, in not considering the first revolution as a long continued crime, nor Bonaparte as an usurper overthrown by his own fault ; and as regards morals and religion, in respecting in the child the liberty of conscience ; whence it follows that you must let him wander about without guide, without advice, among all sorts of religious creeds, and all the ancient and modern systems of morals, from those of Epicurus and Plato to those of Locke and Spinoza, with which it is absolutely necessary that he should be made acquainted ; leaving him at a subsequent period to discriminate between error and truth, to choose whatever belief or system he likes, or, if it should so please him, to adopt none at all ; for which reason also the instruction in philosophy which gives a clear and distinct knowledge of natural and divine subjects, is to be left without control in the hands of that infallible university. That university affects surprise that the ministers of the living God, appointed by Him for teaching successive generations all moral and religious truth, should take offence at the erroneous and impious principles which the teachers of the university school seek to inculcate into the hearts of the young men. What right, indeed, has any one to doubt the moral and religious orthodoxy of these teachers, considering that several of them, with the approbation of their superiors, hesitate not to proclaim by word of mouth and in writing, that ‘ the question as to the existence of the soul is premature ;’ that ‘ Christianity has become extinct, and is nothing more but dust or a tomb,’ that the pretended divine revelations are ‘ nothing but human conjectures ;’ that the theology which suited formerly, is ‘ nowadays fit only for children ;’ that ‘ religion is the work of men,’ and other like doctrines. Our modern philosophers, with a view to give to their darling work a greater authority, pretend to revive the rights of the ancient French universities of the time of the monarchy ; but they purposely forget to mention, that at that period no other than Catholic teaching obtained in public instruction ; a professor who should have departed from it, would have been turned away in disgrace ; the discussion respecting the privilege of conferring degrees, attributed to the universities, was then quite a secondary question. It is really amusing to see, moreover,

what pains these same philosophers take to place their university establishment under the patronage of the supposed virtues which they ascribe to its founder Bonaparte, who, a Turk in Egypt, and in Europe the jailor of the sovereign Pontiff, had considered the restoration of public worship merely as a political engine, and the colleges which he established, only as nurseries for training up citizens to the profession of arms; and yet they have expunged by their own mere authority one of the fundamental articles of the institution which they patronize; the article which laid down the precepts of the Catholic religion as the basis of the instruction to be imparted in the university. No doubt they prefer the teaching of a moral and religious eclecticism, or even of pantheism, for, as they say, liberty of conscience is, above all, to be respected in the child.

“What is the result? The child grown up to be a young man, accustomed to decide all the grave questions of morality and religion according to his tastes and his unbridled inclinations, reserves to himself very properly the same independence when the decision turns upon questions of politics and government, which are much less important than the former. Thence arise naturally conflicts of opinions, of wills, of rights, and, in a very short time, social disorder. What indeed are human laws in the eyes of those who trample the laws of God under foot? Thus is immorality of life engendered by immorality of teaching; and what immorality of teaching can be greater than that of not daring to condemn moral and religious error in the presence of youth?

“We have only to cast our eye upon the present state of France, in order to ascertain the depth of the evil which such a system of instruction has at last introduced even into the less enlightened classes of the population; there irreligion calls forth the corruption of morals, and begets oblivion of the first social duties. Accordingly the number of crimes increases daily; cases of theft, assassination, poisoning, are multiplied at a frightful rate; and justice itself has lately been constrained to avow that, within the space of no more than ten years, society had been horror-struck by ninety-five parricides. In addition to these excesses, against which the French Criminal Code cannot prove otherwise than impotent, there is an extravagance of another kind, but of not less guilty a character, the disgust of life carried out into suicide; never was self-murder more frequent in France than it is at present. Debauchery thinks to find in it a refuge from shame; misfortune, an end to its suffering; *ennui*, an oblivion of every thing in the abyss of annihilation; even the veriest children sometimes endeavour to get rid of an existence which they find already too long. Life, in truth, is often no more than a heavy burden to him who concentrates in it all his hopes.”—*Polignac, Études Historiques*, pp. 376—380.

Lest it should be supposed that the picture here drawn by Prince Polignac, of the demoralization of the rising generations of France, is exaggerated, we place side by side with it an extract from the account which M. Capefigue gives of the state of society

within six years of the July Revolution, the latest period to which his work reaches down.

“At no period had there been more frequent attempts at self-destruction; and those who abandoned life in cold blood, in order to explore the strange mysteries of death, were not men of mature age, whose years had been steeped in fruitless pleasures or bitter delusions; they were, for the most part, young men, and especially young girls; every morning the journals announced five or six suicides; here lovers, scarcely emerged from childhood, locked in each other’s arms, sought a common grave in the waves, and their bodies were recognized a few miles lower down; there they flung themselves down upon the pavement from a roof, or from some high tower; or they opened their veins like the ancients; or they had recourse to suffocation by charcoal, that death-sleep into death. Suicide was especially common among frail creatures between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one; sometimes even children attempted their life with a feeble and trembling hand. Whence arose all this disgust, this disenchantment of life? From the absence of all spiritual ideas, from that materialistic system of doubt and sensuality, which, destroying the tints by which the illusions of life are coloured, made life appear like a bottomless abyss and a causeless result. There was no remedy for this disgust, no means of arresting the *ennui* of souls blighted by void and despair. The character of the new generation had been fashioned under the influence of plays and novels written against the regular state of the family and of society; boundless ambitions exhausted themselves at the first start; all was to be enjoyed hastily before plunging into annihilation. There was a zest and a pleasure in raising the cup to the lips and draining it at one draught. The “worm which dieth not” was every where, in the depth of the heart and under the fresh outside of earth’s fairest fruit; the imagination having presented to it so many pictures of exhausted vice, of darkened existence, of asphyxy, poison, assassination, had grown familiar with the tomb, in the eyes of some the end of every ill. Youth stands in need of faith for its preservation; if at its commencement life is without illusions, what has it left? nothing but a melancholy disgust, whence it seeks to penetrate the riddle of the tomb.” — *Capefigue, L’Europe depuis l’Avènement du roi Louis-Philippe*, vol. viii. pp. 260—262.

The close juxtaposition, not to say identification of “faith” and “illusion,” in this passage, is not calculated to inspire us with much confidence in that system of religious belief which the author professes, and which is proposed by him and others as the panacea for the moral disease which he so eloquently describes. But we must not digress. M. Capefigue goes on to illustrate his general statement by the particular circumstances of two cases, celebrated in the annals of French criminal jurisprudence, those of La Roncière and Lacenaire, and after tracing their con-

nexion with the literature and the materialistic theories of the day, he thus proceeds :—

“ In this way was society delivered up to the sophists, as in the days of the deep decay of the Roman empire. Its pleasures, its amusements, its festivities savoured not a little of this absence of moral principle ; the world was moving in the extremes of sensuality. The whole of this period is marked by open adulteries, by outrages upon the public morals, by the bestial condition of the lower classes ; among whom there were scarcely any marriages, but cohabitation under the same roof, incest, worn out libertinism. According to statistical data which may be depended upon, the number of illegitimate children at Paris, equals that of children born in wedlock ; the superabundance of vice overflows on all sides, and, as it were by way of compensation, one half of those who die, take shelter in the hospital during their last illness.”—*Capefigue, l'Europe depuis l'Avènement du roi Louis-Philippe.* vol. viii. pp. 264, 265.

Having thus corroborated the testimony of M. de Polignac by that of a historian less liable to the suspicion of hostility against the existing state of things, we now resume the thread of the Prince's reflections at the point where we interrupted them :—

“ When one beholds such scenes of depravity carried to such an excess in the heart of the society of France, one is indeed struck dumb with astonishment to hear one of the *coryphées* of the eclecticism of the university (M. Cousin) proclaim aloud, that it is the business of society to interfere in education, and to *fashion it*, as it were, *after its own image*. Is that erudite philosopher really ignorant that education is never to be moulded upon the image of any society ? for every society is nothing more than an aggregate of men, and every man is by nature the slave of his passions ; while, on the contrary, the object of education is to teach man to struggle against his inordinate affections, and not to listen and to yield to them.

“ At the sight of so monstrous a deviation from the laws enjoined by simple prudence, and from the first notions to which a knowledge of man's frailty leads, can it be a matter of surprise that the Church of France, afflicted and alarmed by the scandals likely to arise from it, should lift up her voice and endeavour to avert the evil which she foresees ? Has she then no longer the mission of separating the chaff from the wheat, and of teaching those eternal truths of which she alone is the faithful depository ? Is the faith of her people no longer committed to her, and is it not her first duty to enlighten and to sustain that faith, by preserving it from the snares of falsehood and seduction ? No doubt she has no other weapon than the word ; but that word ought to be authoritative, powerful, instant, for, in matters of moral and religious instruction, it is the echo of the word of God.”—*Polignac, Études Historiques*, pp. 380, 381.

This eloquent appeal which M. de Polignac makes on behalf of the Church of France, a Church unhappily disqualified by her impregnation with popish corruptions for answering the call which the present state of society in that country makes upon her, and to fulfil the high destinies of a Christian Church placed among a godless people,—that same appeal we make on behalf of the Catholic Church of England. The same tendency to moral and social disorganization is corroding the vitals of our people. The same symptoms are developing themselves, though as yet in a less acute degree. Religious indifferentism, the fruit with us not only of the wide diffusion of an infidel philosophy under the garb of “useful knowledge,” but of the interminable gainsayings of a prolific sectarianism, is at the root of the disease under which the social system labours. The deadening effect which it produces upon the vital powers of the soul, is aggravated by the practical materialism of the age; a materialism far more ignoble than the theoretical materialism of speculative philosophy, because, while this refines upon abstruse questions from an unwillingness to believe in the reality of any thing but matter, the other—the practical materialism—debases the mind by teaching it to value and to love nothing but what is material, of the earth, earthy. Hence the utilitarian spirit of our social theories, the utilitarian character of our entire system of government and legislation; hence the reckless competition, the fraudulent trading, the gambling speculation, the jobbing corruption, the sordid love of pelf and the heartless selfishness, which pervade all classes of society, and set upon every occupation and every rank of life the base stamp of Mammon service. Hence, again, the gradual decay of the deeper and more ennobling studies, and the prostitution of literature, which, forgetful of her high origin, and lost to a sense of her own dignity, panders to a depraved taste, rendered daily more vicious by its influence. Minds of a loftier stamp, which cannot descend to the mercenary methods on which success in the race of life has become dependent, are ground between the upper and nether millstone of necessity and anxious care, while a public which has neither time for thought nor taste for food of a more solid or a more refined description, bestows its literary patronage on minds which make merchandize of their gifts in a host of ephemeral productions, whose only object is to divert the mind, and to beguile the hours of dull exhaustion which succeed the unhealthy excitement of an overstrained existence. And while this canker of moral and intellectual depravation is eating daily deeper into the national mind and character among the higher and middle classes, the lower classes of the population are living in a state of civilized helotism, forced to toil beyond measure for their daily

subsistence, cut off from the means and opportunities of innocent and rational recreation, driven to drown the sense of their miserable existence in the stupefaction of animal indulgence, seasoned on the holy day of rest by the weekly supply of an infamous journalism, which fills their imagination with hatred and contempt for their rulers and teachers, and with images of cruelty and profligacy, taken from the melancholy annals of vice and crime. And while such is the wretched and hopeless condition of the parents, their children are growing up amidst ignorance and squalor, untaught, undisciplined, unblest, baptized but not christianized; the immoral example before their eyes, and the instinct of vice within their hearts, adding year after year to the impure and enervated multitude whose existence is brought under the notice of society only by the penal inflictions of the law, and by the, alas! too impotent voice of philanthropy; and all the while the action of the Church, the only power that can rescue and heal amidst such causes of moral degeneracy and spiritual perdition, is kept in abeyance, or nearly so, by the opposition of the principle of godless education, in accordance with the godless character of the age.

When, then, will the Church—by which term we understand not her clergy only, but her clergy and laity together—arise to assert her position as the instructress of the nation, her right to train, in the way he should go, every child which parental authority does not individually and expressly claim for the separate folds of popery and dissent? When will she rise to the height of her destiny, and oppose to the fearful and daily increasing invasion of infidelity, of error and superstition, that power of truth and love which the true Church of Christ alone can wield? When will she, laying aside the crotchets of antiquarian pedantry, the dulness of an erastian conservatism, and the treacherous dependence on wealth or political influence, lay hold on the national mind and heart of England, and with a tender sympathy for the sorrows of each individual heart, and a godly zeal for the salvation of each individual sinner, confound the shallowness and selfishness of the age by deep thought and generous feeling, such as the truth of Christ and his holy love can alone beget in the heart of man?

- ART. II.—1. *Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis*. Ed. J. A. GILES. Oxford, 1845-6, 8 vols. 8vo. [I., II. Lives. III., IV. Letters of Becket and others. V., VI. Letters of Foliot and others. VII., VIII. Works of Herbert of Bosham.]
2. *The Life and Letters of Thomas à Becket, now first gathered from the Contemporary Historians*. By the Rev. J. A. GILES, D.C.L., late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1846.
3. *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England*. By JOHN, LORD CAMPBELL, A.M., F.R.S.E. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1845.

WITHIN the last year we have had two new biographies of Becket¹. We might have looked for a third; but the Littlemore Myths have come to an untimely end; the authorities of the communion to which the writers have joined themselves being, it would seem, by no means desirous that such productions should go forth to the world as from their own body, however willing they may have formerly been to welcome them as the testimonies of aliens. We must, consequently, be content to draw our information from less poetical sources.

It cannot be said that either of the late biographies is any great addition to our means of understanding the subject. Lord Campbell was not led to write the life of Becket by any especial interest in him. He has not singled him out as an eminent ecclesiastic, but has taken him in his turn, as one of a series of chancellors. The life is in quality such as might be expected,—a clear and lively sketch, written apparently in haste, with little reference to the original authorities, and without any very scrupulous acknowledgment of the author's obligations to his immediate informants. It is to Lord Campbell's credit, that, in a matter so little connected with his usual studies as the general question of Becket's merits, he does not pretend to dogmatize, but contents himself with a simple statement of such arguments as he has met with on either side.

¹ The prefix *a*, which has latterly been dignified with a French accent, appears to have originated in vulgar colloquial usage. See H. Wharton, quoted in Wordsworth's *Ecccl. Biog.* i. 31. 3rd ed.

With Dr. Giles, too, St. Thomas was at first but one of a series; the eight volumes which stand at the head of our list being a portion of a very extensive undertaking—a complete republication of our early ecclesiastical writers, of which about forty volumes have already appeared. In the course of his labours as editor, it appears to have struck Dr. Giles that a work of some interest might be composed of extracts from the Becket correspondence and the narratives of the early biographers, with some slight additions of necessary connecting matter. The outward appearance of the book thus made—its sparse printing, the absence of an index, the scantiness and looseness of the references—at once indicate to the eye that the readers of the circulating libraries are the class for which it is intended. These may, we should think, find it readable enough; but we cannot rejoice that a book so little likely to influence them for good should have been manufactured for their special entertainment, or that one so little conducive towards a right estimate of the questions involved, should have been manufactured at all.

Dr. Giles's larger publication has utterly amazed us; for, not having examined the earlier volumes of the "*Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," we had no idea of his style of editing. To do any thing like justice in the matter would require a far greater amount of labour than we are disposed to bestow on it, as our concern is rather with the hero than with the editor. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with saying, that if ever the learned librarian of Lambeth should have exhausted the humours of Fox and his editors, he may find Dr. Giles no unworthy successor to the honours of Messrs. Townsend and Cattley.

The most elaborate of late works on the subject is that which forms the fourth volume of Mr. Froude's "*Remains*." The papers were written at a time when the course of politics and of popular religion had excited the minds of many Churchmen to a state of continual and vehement protestation against whatever the world of latter times appeared to have agreed upon. Mr. Froude took up Becket as a man who had been slandered by lax and unsound writers. He had the twofold purpose of showing, (1) that the facts relating to the Archbishop had in many respects been misrepresented; and (2) that he had been judged on wrong principles. In some points Mr. Froude established his case; in others it is too apparent that he writes as a mere apologist, anxious rather to make out that his hero's conduct *may* have been right, than to ascertain whether it really *was* so. And while we acknowledge that Mr. Froude has, on the whole, the better of the adversaries whom he has chosen to encounter, we cannot but think that there were writers before him,—some of

them contemporaries, and others of earlier date,—whose view of the case is more correct than his, as well as than that of Hume and Lyttelton.

No one who regards what is passing around him, and has any sense of the reality of things, would now write exactly as Mr. Froude and others wrote from seven to fifteen years ago. Not that the events of a later time have had any tendency to increase our confidence in statesmen; but they have shown us by most melancholy experience, that dangers from secular politicians are not our only dangers. We think, therefore, that the present time is more favourable, than that in which Mr. Froude wrote, for an impartial appreciation of the Becket controversy; we think that his view, and that of those who agree with him, is not one which ought longer to remain as the last that has been taken by English Churchmen.

While some of our late writers have bent themselves to enlist our religious sympathies on the side of Becket, a distinguished French historian has, as the reader is probably aware, endeavoured to give a wholly different colouring to the question. The Archbishop's troubles were, according to M. Thierry², a struggle, not of the ecclesiastical and the secular power, but of the Saxon and the Norman races. In his pages Becket is the representative of the Saxons—the *people*—asserting *their* cause against the oppressive descendants of the conquerors, and therefore upheld by their sympathy in his contest, and consecrated by their veneration after death. The Saxons are M. Thierry's universal solvent—like the Gnostics in Hammond's Commentary, or the Jews in "Coningsby." He finds the influence of race uttering itself every where; or, if he cannot find it, he has little scruple about making it. We shall have frequent occasion to advert to this theory,—which we believe to be utterly untrue, except with such qualifications as take away from it all that is peculiar or considerable.

Dr. Giles has added largely to the accessible materials for the history of Becket. The addition is not, indeed, of a value proportioned to its bulk; for the new letters of Foliot³ are for the most part of no great interest; the portions of Herbert of Bosham's life which were not already known through the Quadri-logus, consist mainly of tedious moralizing and rhetorical flourishes; his "*Liber Melorum*" is (as Dr. Giles appears painfully to feel) unreadable for any one but an editor; and much of the other new matter is merely a repetition of the old. Dr. Giles,

² Hist. de la Conquête de l'Angleterre, t. i. pp. xviii—xx; iii. 158. We refer to the Brussels edition of 1835.

³ Printed from a MS. in the Bodleian.

however, has done well in publishing all this, and we only wish that he had edited it better. The life by Edward Grim, before known by the abridgement in Surius' "*Acta Sanctorum*," is now published at full length; one by Roger, the monk who waited on the Archbishop while resident at Pontigny, one by an unknown writer, from a MS. at Lambeth, and others of less importance, are said to be entirely new.

The chief original sources of information then are,—

1 and 2. The lives by Grim and Roger—animated and interesting narratives, but very incomplete accounts of Becket.

3. The life by William Fitzstephen, who describes himself as the archbishop's "fellow-citizen, chaplain, and messmate, remembrancer in his chancery, and reader of papers in his court, a witness of his trial at Northampton, and of his passion⁴." This is of greater pretension than the others, with some affectation of literature.

4. The life by Herbert of Bosham.

5. The "*Quadrilogus*," compiled from Herbert, William of Canterbury, John of Salisbury, and Alan of Tewkesbury, with a few passages from a fifth writer, Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough⁵.

6. The letters of Becket, Foliot, and their contemporaries⁶.

The popular story of Becket's birth is as follows. His father, Gilbert, became the captive of a Saracen in the Holy Land. The Saracen's daughter fell in love with him, aided him to escape, and some time after followed him to England—knowing but two words whereby she might help herself in her quest of him—the names of London and Gilbert. As she was wandering about Cheapside, "*quasi bestia erratica*," says Brompton⁷ (like a cow in a fremd loaning, as Scott might have translated it), vociferating her lover's name, and attended by a train of idle boys, she was recognised by Richard, the servant of Gilbert, and companion

⁴ S. T. C. i. 171. A learned friend of ours, who, in Lord Campbell's words, (Pref. p. ix.) "has amassed a noble collection respecting all English lawyers in all ages," is inclined to identify the biographer with a person of the same name who was sheriff of Gloucestershire and a justice itinerant in the latter part of Henry II's reign.

⁵ There are two *Quadrilogues*; the earlier was published at Paris, 1485. That which we have used is the second, published with the Becket Letters by Christian Lupus, [Wolf], Brux. 1682.

⁶ Dr. Giles's arrangement of these is most inconvenient. We do not advise our friends to have recourse to his volumes, except for such of Foliot's letters as are not to be found in Lupus. The rest may be better read in Lupus, with the guidance of Mr. Froude's chronological list. Moreover, the letters of John of Salisbury and Arnulph which are in the old collection, are transferred to other volumes of the *Patres Eccl. Anglic.*, which contain the works of the writers.

⁷ *X Scriptores*, Lond. 1652, col. 1053.

of his adventures. And the tale ends as it ought to end—in her baptism by the name of Matilda, which took place in St. Paul's, no less than six bishops sharing in the administration, her union with Gilbert, and the birth of a son, who was in due time to be developed into St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Dr. Giles sees “no reason to doubt⁸” this story, and it is told without any show of misgiving by Thierry, by Froude, and by Michelet⁹. Mr. Turner also adopts it, although not without some doubts¹; and the assumption of its truth has been made to account for various things, such as the character of Matilda's devotion, her son's social position, his vehement “oriental” temperament, nay, the delicacy and whiteness of his hands².

As to some of the details, authors are not quite agreed. One represents Gilbert as a gentleman travelling for the improvement of his mind—like Lord Lindsay or Mr. Eliot Warburton; others make him a crusading knight. Sir James Mackintosh (who, however, only argues for the possibility of the story, not for its truth,) supposes him a trader, journeying in the way of business³. M. Thierry boldly turns him into an exemplification of the Saxon theory. Gilbert, he says⁴, was one of those Saxons who, “yielding to the necessity of a subsistence,” took service under Norman masters, and thus, in some inferior capacity, he attended an anonymous knight to the Holy Land. If we desire proof of this, the historian refers us to Brompton, who represents Gilbert as a penitential pilgrim, attended by a servant of his own,—and to the Scotch ballad of “Young Bekie” (once familiar to London streets through the travestie entitled “Lord Bateman”), in which he figures as a lord of castles and broad lands, impelled to rove by an enlightened curiosity!

The marriage, we learn from M. Thierry, made a great noise⁵, as well it might. It is, however, remarkable that no sound or echo of this noise reached the contemporaries who lived in intimacy with the offspring of the union, and wrote his life, such as Grim and Roger, Herbert and Fitzstephen. These, and other early writers, while they mention the parents of the Saint, while they describe their station and characters, say nothing whatever that could imply any peculiarity in their history—that Gilbert had ever been in the East, whether as master or as servant, as inquiring traveller, crusader, palmer, or merchant; or that Matilda was other than the home-born child of Christian parents. In short, the story is a fiction, unsupported by any authorities

⁸ Life, &c. i. 14.

⁹ Hist. de France, iii.

¹ England during the Middle Ages, 3rd edit. i. 221.

² Froude, 91.

³ Hist. Eng. i. 153.

⁴ iii. 95.

⁵ iii. 97.

older than Brompton, who wrote in the reign of Edward III., and the compiler of the earlier *Quadrilogue*⁶.

There is, however, another question as to Gilbert, which is important for its bearing on M. Thierry's theory—Was he a Saxon at all?

We do not think, with Mr. Froude and Dr. Giles, that the appearance of his name, if spelt *Bequet*, is of any great moment towards settling the point. It *might* have been, as M. Thierry says, the Saxon *Beck*, with a diminutive of Norman form added by those among he lived. There is, however, the testimony of Fitzstephen⁷, who states that a Norman origin was a bond of connexion between Gilbert and Archbishop Theobald⁸; and the author of a memoir now first published from a MS. at Lambeth, states that Gilbert was a native of Rouen—one of many who settled in England after the Conquest for purposes of commerce,—and that his wife was named Rose, a native of Caen⁹. This writer is certainly mistaken as to the mother's name, but the account of the father's emigration is probable enough.

We do not profess to see our way clearly in this question. On the one hand, there are notices which connect the family of Becket with Normandy; on the other, its establishment in London is spoken of in terms which do not well agree with the idea of Gilbert's having been the first who crossed the channel¹. We might, indeed, conjecture that the grandfather was the original settler; he, like his son, may have borne the name of Gilbert, and his wife may have been named Rose; but this is merely a conjecture, attempted by way of harmonizing statements which are in truth contradictory.

Whether Norman or Saxon, there is no doubt that the parents of Becket belonged to the most respectable class of citizens, and that Gilbert at one time was Sheriff of London.

The birth of Thomas, which is dated in the year 1118, could not, of course, take place, without some omens of his future greatness. When the case of the emir's daughter was propounded by Gilbert for the opinion of the bishops, the Bishop of

⁶ It does not occur in that of Lupus.

⁷ S. T. C. i. 184.

⁸ S. T. C. i. 184. "Gilbertus cum domino archipræsule de propinquitatē et genere loquebatur, ut ille natu Normannus, et circa Tierrici villam, de equestri ordine, natu vicinus."

⁹ S. T. C. ii. 73.

¹ Thus Becket himself writes, "Quod si ad generis mei radicem et progenitores meos intenderis, cives quidem fuerunt Londonienses, in medio concivium suorum habitantes sine querelâ, nec omnino infimi."—Ep. i. 108. p. 167. ed. Lup. As his object in the passage is to assert the respectability of his origin, it is strange that he says nothing of his descent from a Norman knightly family, if he *had* such descent to boast of.

Chichester broke out into prophecy. Matilda, during her pregnancy, had dreams, not very consistently reported, nor very aptly interpreted of the results which were to follow; and on the day which witnessed his entrance into the world, a fire began at his father's house and laid waste a great part of the city—typical, according to Grim, of the fire of devotion and the zeal for church building which were to burst forth in consequence of his martyrdom.

Gilbert, meanwhile, according to the legend, was again in the Holy Land; for on the morrow after his wedding he told Matilda that his night thoughts had allowed him no rest, and that he must again take the cross; to which the pious heroine consented, on condition that Richard should be left with her as interpreter and steward. This absence is said to have lasted three years and a half, and is, we need hardly say, as fabulous as the former.

The parents are described by Grim as in their lives like Zacharias and Elizabeth. We are told² that Matilda used to weigh her boy from time to time, putting into the opposite scale provisions, clothes, and money, and afterwards distributing these to the poor. She carefully taught him the principles of religion, and by her direction he chose the Blessed Virgin for his especial patroness. Matilda died when Thomas was twenty-one years old. The date of Gilbert's death we have not noted; his means had been much reduced, by repeated fires and other calamities, during the boyhood and youth of his son.

At the age of ten, Thomas was placed under the care of the Prior of Merton in Surrey, and after leaving that house (where, according to Fitzstephen, his father, on visiting him one day, was inspired to prostrate himself before him, in reverence of his future eminence) he attended the schools of London.

A rich baron, Richard de l'Aigle, who was in the habit of lodging in Gilbert's house when in London, took much notice of the lad. Handsome, clever, and agreeable, he became the chosen associate of the baron's amusements. He hunted and hawked with him during vacations, and once, while hawking in his company, had a narrow escape from being drowned in a millpond—his preservation being ascribed by the old biographers³ to a miracle, which Dr. Giles, not usually sceptical, explains away in the very spirit of a Paulus.

Becket next passed some time at Paris,—in order to get rid of his native accent, according to Thierry and Lord Campbell. On his return he spent some years as a clerk in an office,—that of a

² Roger, in *S. T. C.* i. 97.

³ Grim, in *S. T. C.* i. 9; Roger, *ibid.* 96. There is a curious discrepancy between these reports.

rich merchant, his kinsman⁴, according to some writers, while Fitzstephen places him with the sheriff of London. He was soon to emerge from such employment.

Two Norman ecclesiastics, who used to lodge in his father's house, were struck with the young man's promise, and became the means of introducing him into the household of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as we have seen, is represented by Fitzstephen as ready to welcome him for his father's sake. This event is dated by Dr. Giles about 1145, the twenty-seventh year of Becket's life.

He advanced rapidly in the favour of his patron, yet not without exciting some envy. Roger de Pont l'Évêque, an eminent clerk of the Archbishop's train, had all that malignant hatred of rising merit for which Mr. Fitzwarren's cook is infamous in every nursery. Twice was our ecclesiastical Whittington driven by the persecutions of Roger to flee from his master's roof; and twice he was led back, not, (like his civic antitype,) by the persuasions of vocal bells, telling of high destinies in store for him, but by the good offices of the primate's brother, Walter, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

In 1147, this friend was promoted to the bishopric of Rochester, and Roger succeeded him in the archdeaconry. By this time, however, it is probable that Becket was able to keep his own ground. Preferment flowed in on him rapidly, and from various quarters. He held the living of St. Mary-le-Strand, and that of Otford, in Kent; he was a prebendary of St. Paul's and of Lincoln. Finding himself inferior in learning to some of the clerks around him, he obtained leave to study in the then famous law schools of Bologna, (where Gratian was professor,) and Auxerre. He was employed by the archbishop in various delicate missions to Rome and elsewhere, especially one in which he procured a bull prohibiting the coronation of Eustace, son of King Stephen⁵.

Roger was raised to the archbishopric of York in 1153 or 1154⁶, and Becket became archdeacon in his room. The office gave him the first place among the clergy after the bishops and abbots⁷, with an income of a hundred pounds a-year.

In the end of 1154, King Stephen died, and was succeeded by Henry II. The troubles of the late reign had been favourable to the advancement of the Church in secular power, and its chiefs had ground for apprehending that what had been gained under

⁴ The name *Octonumini*, whatever it may be, does not look like Saxon.

⁵ Gervas. Doroborn. ap. X Scriptores, 1371.

⁶ Bp. Godwin dates his consecration, Oct. 10, 1154.

⁷ Dr. Giles affects to write "abbats."

cover of confusion, might be lost on the restoration of order. It might be assumed that a king of twenty-two years of age would be open to impressions from either party, and as it was certain that some important persons were prepared to influence him against the Church, it seemed advisable that a counteracting influence should be provided. By the recommendation of Theobald, and with the concurrence of Philip, bishop of Bayeux, and the politic Arnulph, bishop of Lisieux, the Archdeacon of Canterbury was introduced into the court. We may suppose that his exertions in the matter of Eustace, so important towards securing Henry's peaceable succession, were not forgotten; and he well knew how to improve the favourable impression created by his own services and the influence of his patrons. He is described to us as tall and handsome in person, of eloquent and witty speech, an accomplished chess-player, a master in hunting, hawking, and all manly exercises. With such outward advantages, and with great talents and solid acquirements to back them, it was no wonder if he soon gained an ascendant over the mind of the young king; and in the first year of the reign he was raised to the dignity of chancellor⁸.

The history of the chancellorship, and of the various functions which were connected with it at different periods, has been so lately brought before the general reader by Lord Campbell and his reviewers, that we may fairly hold ourselves excused from entering on the subject. Becket was, during his tenure of the office, the king's chief confidant and adviser; and as such he is entitled to a large share of the praise which is due to the measures then taken for improving the state of the country. Many castles which had sprung up during the troubled reign of Stephen, to the injury of the crown and the oppression of the people, were razed to the ground—the chancellor assisting in the execution as well as in the counsel. Robbers were put down, families were reinstated in possessions of which they had been wrongfully deprived, agriculture and other peaceful arts began to flourish anew, and one great ecclesiastical abuse—the practice of keeping bishoprics and abbeys long vacant, for the sake of securing for the crown the profits during vacancy—was mitigated, if not abandoned⁹.

⁸ The appointment is variously dated from 1155, (the first year,) to 1158, (the fourth). Our learned friend, already mentioned, says, "The Great Roll of the first year no longer exists; but in that of the second year I find positive evidence that he was chancellor, and quite sufficient by reference to satisfy me that he was chancellor in the first year." Foliot charges him with having *bought* the office, "*certâ licitatione propositâ.*" Epist. 194.

⁹ We take the liberty of inserting the qualification, although it is not found in our authors. For the proceedings at Northampton showed that very large sums must have been received from vacant preferments by Becket, who, as chancellor

The private intercourse of the sovereign with his chancellor was on the most intimate footing. When serious business was over, says Fitzstephen, they played together like boys of the same age¹; they were companions in all manner of diversions; and often, when the chancellor was at dinner, entertaining, as his custom was, a splendid party of nobles, knights, and others, the king would step in without ceremony, in returning from the chase, and would either drink a cup and begone, or jump over the table, and seat himself as a guest.

In addition to the chancellorship, Henry conferred on Becket the wardenship of the castles of Eye and Berkhamstead—the former with 140 knights attached to it; and to his ecclesiastical preferments were now added the provostship of Beverley and the prebend of Hastings. In those days the chancellor was not a patron, but a receiver of benefices; and such were Becket's popularity and influence, that, according to Fitzstephen, he might, by merely asking for things as they fell vacant, have become, in time, the one sole incumbent of all church preferment²!

Fitzstephen rises above himself in describing the chancellor's state. The troops of attendants—the profusion of gold and silver plate,—the sumptuous fare,—the throngs of knights and nobles who enjoyed his magnificent hospitality,—the daily supply of rushes in winter, and of green branches in summer, that those who could not find room on the benches might not soil their dress by sitting on a bare floor—the voluntary homage of many barons—the eagerness of distinguished parents to place their sons in a household which was reckoned the best school of noble breeding, and of which even the heir-apparent of the kingdom was an inmate—these and other circumstances are dwelt on by the ex-secretary in a style which leads us to suspect that, although

had the custody of them; and much of the money which supplied his lavish expenditure was doubtless derived from this source.

¹ S. T. C. i. 191.

² Dr. Giles endeavours to excuse the monstrous accumulation of preferments which his hero enjoyed, while he was yet not a priest. "If," says the biographer, "it should seem strange that he held some of these appointments even before he was in deacon's orders, it must be remembered that the deacon was not the lowest ordained person in the Church at that period. The distinctions between clerics and laics was such that the subordinate ranks of the clergy were fully competent to instructing the ignorant people committed to their charge." (i. 37.) We had not expected to find a writer of Dr. Giles's opinions propounding that instruction is the only thing to be administered by a Christian pastor; and indeed the context seems to intimate that by *instructing* is meant *keeping them in ignorance*. The real state of things appears to have been, that such prosperous ecclesiastics as Becket regarded their parishes merely as sources of income, and devolved the care of them on some poor clerk, or monk of a neighbouring house. The system, whatever it may have been, was evidently one of prodigious abuses; and these abuses Becket, when he came out in the character of a general reformer, made no attempt whatever to remedy.

he had followed his patron in the more spiritual part of his career, his memory was by no means unwilling to revert to the splendours of which he had been an admiring partaker while the saint was as yet a child of this world.

The most signal display of Becket's magnificence, however, was, when in 1159 he went on an embassy to France, in order to ask the Princess Margaret in marriage for his royal pupil³. Fitzstephen's account of this reads like a fairy tale. The carriages drawn by five horses each; the huge train of clerks, knights, men-at-arms, falconers with their hawks, huntsmen with their dogs, and domestics of all kinds; the menagerie of strange beasts; the fierce mastiffs which guarded each waggon; the apes mounted on every sumpter horse; the grooms riding "in English fashion;" the prodigious apparatus of plate, chapel-furniture, cooking-utensils; the barrels of beer; the chests of books, money, clothes, and provisions—altogether formed such a sight as had never before been seen along the road. From castles and cottages, from villages and towns, crowds of natives rushed forth, with shoulders shrugged, hands uplifted, and eyes distended in blank wonderment—asking, as well they might, with strange French exclamations, who might be the chief of all this marvellous procession; and on hearing that it was the King of England's chancellor, they were lost in speculation as to what the master must be, if the officer's equipage were so magnificent.

His behaviour at Paris was in keeping. The king, whose custom it was to pay all expenses of ambassadors, had ordered the Parisians to sell no provisions to the Englishmen; but Becket was aware of this, and had sent out disguised purveyors, who bought up enormous quantities from the towns and villages around, so that on arriving at his lodgings in the Temple, he found them stored, at his own cost, with three days' provision for a thousand men. All Paris was astonished by the sumptuousness of his table; a dish of eels which cost a hundred shillings "*sterlingorum*," was long after famous. He distributed splendid gifts with a lavish hand. In short, the Duke of Northumberland, at the coronation of Charles X., was but a faint shadow of the ambassador-extraordinary of Henry the Second.

A less amicable expedition into France followed shortly after. The Queen of England, Eleanor, had been the wife of the French king, Louis VII., from whom she was divorced on his return from the crusade. By an agreement between Louis and the Count of St. Gilles, the latter had been allowed to retain the duchy of Toulouse, which he had before held under some sort of convey-

³ Dr. Giles reverses the order of this embassy and the war of Toulouse.

ance from Eleanor's father⁴. The condition of the agreement was, that the territory should be regarded as the dowry of a French princess, whom the count had married; and Henry now contended that, as Eleanor was not benefited by the arrangement, her right to the duchy revived on her divorce. By the chancellor's advice, an important novelty was introduced in levying the troops for the enforcement of Henry's claim; the personal services of the king's vassals being commuted for a *scutage*, or rate levied on every knight's fee, in order to the payment of mercenaries. The town of Cahors was taken, but the attempt on Toulouse was unsuccessful.

Becket led to the war seven hundred knights at his own expense. They were distinguished on every occasion, and he himself at their head. Among other exploits, he unhorsed in single combat a valiant French knight, Engelram de Trie, and carried off his horse as a trophy. Dr. Giles, of course, is disposed to defend the performance of such deeds by a high ecclesiastical dignitary, on the ground that it was not without precedents⁵. The fact, however, is evident, that, besides being contrary to many canons⁶, such acts were felt by Becket's contemporaries, even while they admired his gallantry, to be inconsistent with his profession and position.

Notwithstanding this, however, public opinion had already fixed on the king's favourite as the most likely person to succeed on a vacancy in the see of Canterbury; and soon after the death of Theobald, which took place in April, 1161, it appeared that such was Henry's intention. The chancellor was about to take leave of him at Falaise, for the purpose of proceeding into England on political business, when the king told him that the chief object of his journey had not yet been mentioned—that he was to be Archbishop of Canterbury. The chancellor, it is related⁷, drew Henry's attention to the gay and secular dress which he had on, as a proof of his unfitness for the highest spiritual office; he declared, that if he should become archbishop, their friendship must turn into bitter enmity. It may have been¹ that the smile which accompanied the words was intended

⁴ Lingard, ii. 200, 12mo. ed.

⁵ Dr. Giles tells us that "a vast interval was supposed to lie between the deacon's and the priest's offices, so wide indeed, that the former was at liberty to act, in almost every respect, as a layman." i. 66. It is not for us to reconcile this with what we have quoted in the note, p. 10.

⁶ Lyttelton, ii. 101.

⁷ Herbert, in S. T. C. vii. 26.

¹ As is suggested by Southey, whose sketch of Becket's history, in the "Book of the Church," is superior to all others as a narrative, and perhaps not inferior to any in justice of view.

to counteract their effect; at least, it is certain that Henry did not take them seriously, but continued to suppose that in promoting Becket, he was forwarding his own views of policy in the affairs of the Church. The chancellor is said to have declared on other occasions his unwillingness to undertake the burden of the primacy, and at last to have given way only at the solicitation of the pope's legate, Cardinal Henry of Pisa.

The vacancy lasted above a year. It was not until May, 1162, that a deputation of three bishops, with Richard de Luci, grand-justiciary of the realm, arrived at Canterbury, bearing the king's license to the monks for the election of an archbishop, and his recommendation of Becket as a candidate ².

Here, as in many other parts of the history, there is a discrepancy between the accounts of the old biographers; each, apparently, making such a statement as he conceived to be most for the honour of his hero. Thus while one represents the monks as hesitating to elect Becket only because he was not, like former archbishops, a monk, and as delighted with the nomination of a person otherwise so admirable ³, we are told by others, that his character was fully discussed, and his courtly and secular habits freely handled by objectors ⁴.

It is evident, in any case, that there was some difficulty in winning over the monks, and we may suppose that some part of the time before the arrival of the commissioners had been spent in secret negotiations with them ⁵. All passed off well, however, at Canterbury, and a day was fixed on which the prior and monks should complete the election at Westminster, in presence of the bishops (who claimed a share in the choice of a primate), and of the temporal great men of the kingdom.

The election was unanimous, but not without some previous show of opposition from a personage who will be often mentioned in the sequel—Gilbert Foliot. He was of a family which had been settled in England since the Conquest, and is described as at this time "an aged man," of much learning, one "who never

² The appointment of bishops was virtually in the king's hands, as his license was necessary before the clergy proceeded to an election, and his approval before the consecration of the elect. The right of electing to Canterbury was a subject of dispute, until Innocent III. settled it in the reign of John. The cathedral had been established in a monastery, and in such cases the monks commonly possessed the privilege of election, which in other cathedrals belonged to the chapter. In the case of the metropolitanical see, however, the bishops claimed a part. Lingard.

³ Roger, in *S. T. C.* i. 106.

⁴ Herbert, in *S. T. C.* vii. 26. Anon. Lambeth, *ib.* ii. 76.

⁵ Grim seems to intimate something of the kind, by saying that the promotion was deferred until the king should extort (extorqueat) the consent of the monks.

tasted flesh or wine," and who increased his austerities in proportion as he rose to more eminent station⁶. He had been prior of Clugny, and abbot successively of Abbeville and Gloucester. He was now bishop of Hereford, and a few months later was translated to London. His character for sanctity was high, and his influence great. Mr. Froude describes him (p. 38) as the chief of the "religionist party;" but we cannot help thinking that in the description of this party there are certain elements derived from the nineteenth century, which tend to give an untrue impression as to Foliot's character. On this point, Dr. Giles is (for once) not the echo of Mr. Froude, and remarks that, "notwithstanding his opposition to Becket," Foliot is shown by his correspondence to have "entertained no mean opinion of the privileges of the clergy in general, and especially of the see of Canterbury⁷."

The chief value of the *new* letters is, indeed, that they help us to understand the writer's character, as accumulated letters *must* do, however unimportant in other respects. He appears in them as a busy man; somewhat fond of meddling in the affairs of his neighbours; not altogether above an occasional job; an adroit spiritual flatterer of persons in high station; well-intentioned in the main, but too fond of scheming and of politic expedients. We cannot bring ourselves to agree in Archdeacon Churton's description of him as "a wise and moderate man, who acted in honest prudence⁸;" rather, indeed, a want of straightforward honesty appears to us the main defect of his character⁹.

That Foliot opposed the election of Becket is certain; but the circumstances are variously stated. His enemies ascribe his opposition to envy, and represent him as wishing to get the

⁶ Roger, in S. T. C. 107; Fitz. ib. 202. John of Salisbury, in his *Policraticon* (written before the quarrel), reports an amusing confession of Foliot. "Cum monasterium ingressus esset, fervens adhuc igne quem de novo conceperat, magistratuum suorum ignaviam arguebat. Nec mora, promptus in modico, miseratione complicitum motus est, nondum tamen pepercit majoribus. Paulo post, ad priores ascendit; prioribus compatiens, carpere non cessavit abbates. Factus est et ipse abbas; et propitius in coabbates episcoporum cœpit vitia intueri. Tandem et ipse episcopus, episcopis parcit. Nec tamen invidiæ vitio ipsum arbitror laborasse, sed vir prudens, quod hominibus quodammodo ingentum est, eleganter expressit." (Quoted by Godwin, *De Præsulibus*, 178—9.)

⁷ S. T. C. v. p. viii.

⁸ *The Early English Church*, 1st ed. p. 349.

⁹ Fitzstephen brings a charge against him which may be interesting to our rubrical friends—that he was in the habit of varying the names of the persons in bidding of prayer, (king, prince, archbishop, &c.) according to the state of the political wind.—(S. T. C. i. 251.) Among his accomplishments was one which may bespeak for him the sympathy of some who are little disposed to admire his conduct—a remarkable facility in allegorical misapplication of Scripture.

archbishopric for himself. This imputation he strongly denies in a letter written to Becket at a later time¹. If he had sought the office, he argues, the most important person to be gained was the chancellor,—the king's chief counsellor and favourite; and he appeals to Becket whether any application had ever been made to him. He declares his only reasons to have been a desire of the Church's welfare, and a wish that her rights should not be violated by the intrusion of a person so notoriously unfit as the king's nominee. The withdrawal of his opposition is attributed by his adversaries to chagrin at finding that the baseness of his motives was generally seen through, and that therefore no one would second him. His own statement is very different—that he yielded to nothing less than a threat of banishment against himself and all his kindred². It is stated in a letter of John of Salisbury to Becket, that Foliot was the only person who did not express pleasure at the nomination; that he was soon shamed out of his opposition, and then was one of the first to vote for Becket, and the loudest in praise of the election. Whether this be as conclusive as Mr. Froude (p. 592) supposes, or not, we may observe, that *if* Foliot congratulated Becket in the manner described, his insincerity cannot have been greater than that which prompted the Archbishop soon after to write to him two exceedingly flattering letters on the subject of his translation to London³. And we may add, that the tone in which Becket's elevation is spoken of by his partisans in different parts of their narratives is not very consistent. Foliot's objections may have arisen from base and selfish feelings, but surely there *might* have been an opposition free from evil motive, and nowise deserving of infamy; since any one who, on the ground of the candidate's previous character, and of the manner in which the election was controlled, should have set himself against (what is said to have been) the universal acclamation in its favour, would have done nothing else than what was afterwards done by Becket himself, when he resigned his

¹ The charge was repeated on the *next* vacancy, and was then again denied by Foliot, Ep. 269.

² *Exilio crudeliter addicti sumus, nec solum persona nostra, sed et domus patris mei, et conjuncta nobis affinitas et cognatio tota.*—Ep. 194, S. T. C. v. 268. This letter was first published by Lord Lyttelton, who supposes that it and others were omitted by Lupus on account of their unfavourable bearing on the character of Becket. Its genuineness has been impugned by Mr. Berington, but is sufficiently vindicated by Mr. Turner, i. 233. Mr. Froude, without going into *that* question, considers himself entitled to disbelieve what is stated in the letter, on the ground that it was not a private communication, but a “published pamphlet,” intended to vindicate the writer and asperse Becket, at a time when the latter was banished and all communication with him forbidden. (588.) We cannot admit the inference.

³ Giles, i. 145—158.

archbishopric into the hands of the pope, as an office to which he had attained unworthily and irregularly.

On the way to Canterbury, after the election, Becket desired Herbert of Bosham to report to him what men should say of him, and to admonish him of his faults⁴. He had made choice of a monitor who was not likely to trouble him with frequent expostulations.

The archbishop-elect was ordained priest at Canterbury by his old friend the Bishop of Rochester, on the Saturday after Whitsunday, 1162; and on the octave (which from that date was celebrated in England as Trinity Sunday⁵) he was consecrated by Henry, Bishop of Winchester, brother of the late King Stephen.

The promotion of Becket to the archbishopric was followed, as every reader knows, by a change in his manner of life; but there is a question as to the nature of this change—what was its extent, and how was it managed? It is commonly supposed to have been something extremely sudden, violent, and conspicuous; that Becket had hitherto been altogether a man of the world in appearance, and now all at once threw himself into a course of ostentatious asceticism. The late apologists, on the other hand, endeavour to prove that this is an exaggeration in both ways; that while chancellor he showed a sense of his duties as an ecclesiastic, and his life was pure to a degree then unusual; that the alteration of his habits was gradual, and was carefully guarded from every thing that might savour of ostentation.

The scorn and indignation bestowed by these apologists on the writers who have chimed in with the popular belief, and have assisted in propagating it, appears to us somewhat unfair. For the Becket of the popular belief, whether true or false, is no invention of Fox, or Lyttelton, or Hume, or Goldsmith, or Exeter Hall. He is a tradition derived from his admirers of the days before the Reformation; and those who in a mistaken spirit of admiration originated that ideal which is so offensive to Protestant tastes are the parties on whom the falsification ought to be charged. The notion of an abrupt change is more congenial than the other to the spirit of vulgar religionism—popish as well as puritanical. Even in the contemporary biographers and panegyrists there is language which might seem to intimate *such* a change⁶, although their more particular details may serve to

⁴ S. T. C. vii. 31.

⁵ Fleury, last ed. iv. 647.

⁶ William, in S. T. C. ii. 5. "*Tanquam jam transformatus in virum alterum.*" Herbert, ib. vii. 38. "*Tanquam veteris hominis indumento rejectâ purpurâ, sicut*

correct our interpretation of it. But when Thomas of Canterbury was raised to the rank of a saint, he became, according to the principles of those days, fair game for the fancy of his admirers. Imaginary adventures were ascribed to him—and even as we have seen, a mythical origin, as was the case with ancient demigods. The accounts of his life were studded with a profusion of miracles; his character was idealized at will; and that which is now treated as a slander of his enemies, was in fact the expression of the reverence of his devotees. It was his admirers, even his contemporary admirers, who dwelt on the particulars of his mortifications, without marking the process by which he may have gradually increased them; it was they who insisted on the frequent discipline, on the shirt of hair with its verminous population, hourly inflicting on the saint a torment, in comparison of which the sufferings of his martyrdom were but a trifle⁷. The suddenness of his change was even enshrined as a glorious fact in narratives which became a part of the service of the Church⁸. In short, the ostentation is the only part of the prevailing idea which is to be referred to the moderns, and this is rather an inference (surely very colourable) than an invention.

The popular notion, however, is considerably wrong. What Becket's more private habits were in the days of his chancellorship, we cannot very confidently say. He was, we are told, (and we may easily believe it,) munificent in his almsgiving, as in his other expenditure⁹. His purity has been impeached, but, the biographers assure us, unjustly; and various stories are told in his purgation¹⁰. As to this, indeed, it would seem from the statement of one friend, that the most secular period of his life—the chancellorship—was more blameless than some earlier portions of it¹¹. And it is said, that in the days of his splendour he was in the habit of subjecting himself to constant discipline; Fitzstephen

corpore sic et mente exiit aulam, exiit purpuram, et cilicium induit, novum novi hominis habitum," &c. We have corrected Dr. Giles's *exiit*.

⁷ Grim, in S. T. C. i. 82. "Cilicium sic bestiunculis obsitum ut levius isto pristinae diei fuisse martyrium quivis judicaret, et hostes majores minoribus minus nouisse." Mr. Froude, who had before him no other authority for the vermin than Fitzstephen, declares that "he sees no adequate proof" of it.—(564.) But even if Grim and Fitzstephen were false witnesses, the fact is not to be slurred over, that Becket's contemporaries dwelt on this as a token of sanctity.

⁸ Thus it is said in a "Passion," which appears to have been read as a lesson, "Consecratus, repente mutatus est in virum alium. Cilicium clam induit," &c. S. T. C. ii. 146.

⁹ Roger, in S. T. C. i. 103—4.

¹⁰ Grim, *ibid.* 13.

¹¹ Fitzst. in S. T. C. i. 189. The manner in which such things are spoken of gives us a shocking idea of the morals of the clergy in that age of professed celibacy. See e. g. Godwin de Præsulib. p. 677.

furnishing us with the very names of the flagellators at London and at Canterbury.

The archbishop's course of life, however, was to be stricter than the chancellor's. It is, indeed, a mistake to suppose that he cast off all outward pomp; and when M. Thierry¹ tells us, that within a few days after his consecration he had "stripped off his rich attire, disfurnished his sumptuous palace, broken with his noble familiars, and allied himself with the poor, the beggars, and the Saxons," the misstatement in favour of the writer's theory is altogether ludicrous. *What* palace was it that Becket unfurnished? We presume that he removed from that which he had previously occupied; but if the meaning be that the archiepiscopal residence in his time was worse furnished or kept up than in Theobald's, (which is the only meaning that would be relevant,) we are amply assured of the contrary—that his establishment was more splendid than that of any former archbishop. And while it is true that he paid especial attention to the poor, and that some of this class daily fed in his hall, the rest of what is stated in this passage appears to be pure invention. He was, indeed, soon involved in quarrels with various nobles; but this was not from any enmity of Saxon against Norman, or of one class against another; but because these *individuals* interfered with what he regarded as the rights of his see; and the mention of Saxons is here, as in many other places, a gratuitous insertion of M. Thierry.

Herbert describes the order of the archbishop's hall. Near him sat his clerks; at some distance sat his knights and men-at-arms, that their unlettered ears might not be annoyed by the sound of the Latin books which were read aloud for the edification of the clergy. The food was plentiful, and of the best kind; and so far was the archbishop from limiting his company to beggars and Saxons, that his enemies accused him of having about him "not men of religion, but lettered nobles²." "All the gifts of grace in him," says Grim, "were so veiled by outward pride, that even when he was archbishop, one would have supposed him a man who lived for nothing but the pomp of this world³."

His own habits were now severe. He slept little, and ate

¹ iii. 109.

² "Non religiosos sed literatos nobiles."—(Ep. i. 53. ed. Lup.) Which Mr. Froude somewhat strangely renders "not persons remarkable for their religion, but for their *intellectual rank*." "Religiosos," we suppose to mean *monks*.

³ S. T. C. i. 13. Dr. Giles reads *accitasse*, which we have translated as if it were *extitisse*.

sparingly. His usual drink was water, in which hay⁴ had been boiled to render it unpalatable. He devoted much of his time to religious study. Nor do we see any reason (except the general untruthfulness of the early biographers) to doubt that his use of the hair shirt dates from the beginning of his archiepiscopate. His liberality in almsgiving is much insisted on by his contemporaries. Theobald, it is said, doubled the alms of the former archbishop, and Thomas doubled Theobald's; when, however, it is stated, after much detail, that a tenth of his income sufficed for this quadrupled almsgiving, we cannot help drawing some inferences not quite consistent with the idea of "mediæval" charity which is now generally current to the disparagement of our own.

Much is said (as we have already intimated) of the pains which Becket took to conceal his sanctity. The dishes served up to him were of the most delicate kind, and his abstinence was exercised in the matter of quantity, by which means it might the better escape notice. Herbert⁵ tells a story of a stranger monk, who was one day observed to smile at the daintiness of the archbishop's food." "If I mistake not, brother," said the archbishop, somewhat nettled, "there is more of greediness in your eating of your beans than in mine of this pheasant." And the biographer goes on to say that the censor, although he did not care for delicacies, was noted, during his stay at Canterbury, as "*revera avidus comedo grossiorum*."

A similar concealment was practised in the matter of dress. "He wished," says Grim⁶, "to avoid men's eyes until the new plant which Divine grace had set in his breast should be more deeply rooted, so that it need not fear the blasts of the world; and therefore he did not at first change his attire." It was not until one of his attendants had been told in a dream to warn him against retaining a secular dress, and until he found that the monks murmured at his wearing it in the choir, that he assumed another habit. "His outward appearance," says Fitzstephen⁷, "was like the multitude; but within all was different." And Herbert tells us that his dress was gay during the first year, and afterwards respectable and grave, "*ita ut nec exquisitæ essent sordes, nec affectatæ deliciæ*"⁸. Over the cilice, he wore a monk's habit, as Abbot of the Monastery of Canterbury, and above this the dress of a canon, so that he might be in conformity with the clerks⁹.

⁴ *Fœnum*. This is probably the *fennel* of some modern statements.

⁵ S. T. C. vii. 63.

⁷ S. T. C. i. 203.

⁹ Giles, i. 121, from Fitzst.

⁶ S. T. C. i. 16.

⁸ *Ib.* vii. 41.

In almsgiving, too, he is said to have studied secrecy. Besides those deeds which might be done before men without any especial profession of sanctity, he had, we are told, thirteen poor men privately introduced into his apartments every evening. He washed and kissed their feet, regaled them with a plentiful meal, during which he himself waited on them, and sent them away with a present to each of four pieces of silver.

This last part of the story, we must think, throws suspicion on all the rest. The daily taking in of beggars, foot-washing, feeding, and giving of silver, could not be carried on without becoming known. "The fame of them," says Lord Lyttelton¹, "was increased by the affectation of secrecy;" and such *must* have been the consequence, whether intended or otherwise. And in all likelihood some part of the other observances also got abroad. It might be, indeed, that no one but the Saint's confessor or his chamberlain saw his hair shirt while he lived; but might not whispers of it be spread, whether through the one or two who were in the secret, or from mere surmise? Other saints had been discovered to have practised secret austerities; what more probable than that the like should be *assumed* by a religious party with respect to one whom it was disposed to look up to?

But was the Archbishop in all this acting the part of a hypocrite? We believe nothing of the kind.

The motive of the prelates who introduced him to the king was, as we have seen, a hope that, by the influence which he was likely to gain, he might secure the interest of the Church; and some of the biographers tell us that he always kept this object in view. They represent him as continually averting measures which were intended against the Church, and as becoming an unwilling instrument of such as he could not prevent, in order that by taking the execution into his own hands he might make it press less heavily on his brethren than it would otherwise have done.

However this be, it is certain that he showed no outward sign of unwillingness to join in the king's measures; nay, that he was generally regarded as the instigator of them. In the war of Toulouse, especially, he was supposed to have advised the imposition of a peculiarly heavy tax on the clergy; and so secret was the fact of his having been really adverse to it, that Theobald threatened to excommunicate him at the time, that Foliot long after charged him with having "plunged a sword into the bosom of his mother the Church," by the exaction, and the Bishop of

¹ ii. 342.

Exeter was not aware of the real state of the case until informed by John of Salisbury, in 1166².

In procuring the chancellor's election to the primacy, Henry supposed, of course, that he should continue to find him a ready agent of his will, especially in matters relating to the Church³. Becket is said, indeed, as we have seen, to have declared that, if the promotion should take place, his friendship with the king would be changed into enmity; but it is certain that, whether from the manner in which the words were spoken, or from whatever other reason, Henry did not believe them, and went on without any apprehension.

His surprise, therefore, was great at receiving, as the first communication from the new archbishop, a request that he would provide himself with another chancellor. What was the motive of this? The office of chancellor was not considered incompatible with that of a bishop, either on account of its nature or on account of the labour attached to it. Bishops and archbishops had held it before, and were to hold it in later times. The chancellorship must, indeed, have been less splendid and stirring in the hands of the archbishop than it had been in those of the archdeacon, but there was nothing in its proper duties which might not very well be reconciled with his new function. At least, if the offices were incompatible, the time for declaring them so was ill chosen. On the one hand, Becket might have stated his conviction to Henry, before the irrevocable step of raising him to the primacy had been taken; or, on the other, he might have waited until he should be able to say from experience that one man could not suffice for the two duties. The resignation was, in truth, nothing less than a declaration of what Michelet calls "the duality of religion and the state"⁴. The archbishop could no longer serve the king as his officer; he must be independent⁵.

² See Froude, 578. There is another particular charge of acting against the Church, which Lord Lyttelton has brought forward, and Mr. Froude, (followed, of course, by Dr. Giles,) has undertaken to refute,—that in a dispute between the Bishop of Chichester and the abbot of Battle, the chancellor put himself forward to assert the king's power as divine against that of the pope as "ab hominibus concessa." We are not concerned to answer Mr. Froude's argument (575—7); but we must except against his inference that Becket *must* have been clear, because he afterwards referred to the case as an instance of Henry's oppression. Never, perhaps, was a man less capable than Becket of viewing his own conduct and position dispassionately. It would have been quite according to his character to reprobate, as if he were altogether guiltless, an act in which he had been a chief instrument.

³ Grim, in S. T. C. i. 13.

⁴ Hist. de France, iii. 167. Brux. 1840.

⁵ Dr. Lingard's remark here is hardly in keeping with his usual care to abstain from the more vulgar kind of fallacies. "A more certain path would certainly have offered itself to ambition. By continuing to flatter the king's wishes, and by uniting in himself the offices of chancellor and archbishop, he might in all probability have ruled without control in church and state." But ambition is a perverse thing!

Henry could not but feel that he was deceived. Not a word had the chancellor breathed as to retiring from his service, until by the king's earnest exertion he had been seated on the throne of Canterbury; and then all at once the "duality" was proclaimed. Becket was no longer the servant of the Crown, but purely the representative of the Church; he was independent of the king; he might become his antagonist; and this seemed very like a preparation for coming forth as such.

While, however, he was so eager to divest himself of the chancellorship, he was in no hurry to give up another preferment, which to many eyes appeared less reconcilable with his new dignity—the archdeaconry of his own diocese; and it was not until after much delay, and at the king's repeated instance, that he was brought to do so. The panegyrical biographers in general omit this passage of the story. Dr. Giles, of course, is disposed to defend his hero. "This is," he says, "another point of which modern historians have availed themselves to malign his character; but the account of the affair which has come down to us is so meagre, that it may be difficult to ascribe to the affair its true character." Perhaps it is not the truest inference to suppose that Becket's conduct in the matter was blameless, *because* his eulogists thought it well to suppress all notice of it. The fact may possibly have been as Archdeacon Churton states in his excellent little work on our early Church history⁶, that Becket "may have acted as he did solely from an unwillingness to appoint a friend of the king's to be Archdeacon of Canterbury." Certain it is, that Geoffrey Ridel, the person eventually appointed, was a friend of Henry, and proved to be an enemy of the Archbishop; but we cannot think that Archdeacon Churton's is the *necessary* construction of the passage in Diceto, who, without saying any thing of Ridel, or of the king's wish to recommend him as successor, merely tells us that Becket for a time put off transferring the archdeaconry, and then, "*transtulit tandem, sicut rex petiit*"⁷. On the other hand, we do not believe, with Mr. Turner, that a love of the considerable emoluments attached to the office was his motive, or even one of his motives, for wishing to retain it. His whole history declares that he was *not* grasping as to money.

The Archbishop's next acts were of a nature to make numerous and important enemies. Many of the possessions of his see had been alienated to lay hands, and these he determined to resume,—in order, according to Grim, that he might be able to increase his charities, but more probably, we think, that he might assert the rights of his office to the full extent in which he conceived them.

⁶ 1st ed. p. 343.

⁷ X. Scriptores, col. 534.

The transfer had probably, in many cases, been wrongful and informal, and if so, there were courts which might have been appealed to for redress. But Becket was at no time fond of quiet and tardy measures; he proceeded at once, by main force, to oust the farmers and seize the lands, declaring that no one had any right to call him to account for such proceedings. The two most famous cases in which a resumption was attempted, were both connected with grants of William the Conqueror. In the one, the Archbishop claimed the custody of Rochester Castle, on the ground that it had been bestowed on his predecessor; in the other, he required Roger, Earl of Clare, to do him homage for the castle and honour of Tunbridge, although the earl's family had for almost a century held it of the Crown, having originally acquired it from the Conqueror in exchange for a possession in Normandy⁸. Fitzstephen states that Becket had fortified himself with the king's permission before entering on the resumptions. If so, there can be little doubt that the license was acted on in a way which Henry had not anticipated.

The two cases just mentioned, so curiously connected and contrasted, gave indication of an alarming principle. Every thing that had ever been given to the Church was to be claimed; nothing that had been parted with was to be abandoned. Documents were to be valid or worthless according as they made for or against the claims. Nobles and knights, nay, the king himself, began to feel themselves insecure in their possessions. Courtly clerks, and those who depended on lay patrons, trembled lest they should be ejected from their preferments without any prospect of acquiring others. There was no lack of unfriendly suggestors to point out to Henry the dangerous nature of the new primate's doings.

About Christmas, 1162, the king landed at Southampton, and Becket went with young Henry, who was still under his charge, to meet him. The accounts of their interview are contradictory in the extreme. Herbert represents the king's behaviour as most cordial, while Diceto speaks of it as showing by its coolness that the days of the Archbishop's favour were over⁹. Henry was gratified, says Dr. Giles, to find that his nominee was in high repute for piety; he put on an air of contempt, says M. Thierry, "at seeing in a monk's frock the man whom he had made so much of when attired as a Norman courtier, with dagger at his side, plumed cap on his head, and boots with their long points turned back like rams' horns." The accounts of the impression made on the spectators are, of course, equally irreconcilable¹.

⁸ Lyttelton, ii. 347.

⁹ X. Scriptores, col. 534.

¹ It appears to have been on this occasion that Henry procured the resignation of the archdeaconry.

Whatever the king's demeanour may have been at Southampton, it is certain that he still left his heir-apparent in the archbishop's hands; and when, on setting out for the Council of Tours not long after, Becket restored the royal pupil to his father, it is said by Herbert that they spent some days together in the most friendly manner².

The chief object of the council, which met in May, 1163, was to declare in behalf of Alexander III., against the antipope Octavian, who was supported by the Emperor of Germany. Both on his journey and at the council, Becket was received with the most distinguished honours. It is said by William of Newbury, that on this occasion he resigned his archbishopric into the pope's hands, on the ground of having been irregularly advanced to the dignity, and that the pope graciously restored it; but probability is with the statements of other writers, who refer the incident to a later date. It appears that Becket attempted when at Tours to procure the canonization of his predecessor Anselm,—a prelate who had many claims to such an honour, but whose enrolment in the catalogue of saints at this time must have seemed like a canonization of resistance to the temporal power, and especially to the sovereign of England. The pope was not prepared for such a measure, nor was Anselm canonized until the reign of Henry VII.

Ever since the elevation of Becket to the primacy, persons had not been wanting who attempted to influence the king against him; but, soon after his return from Tours, there fell out some things which might have sufficed to provoke Henry without any commentary from the whisperers of the court. We cannot tell in what order they occurred, nor does it greatly matter.

One of these affairs is not quite fairly represented by Dr. Giles³. "The Church of Eynesford," he tells us, "was in the gift of the see of Canterbury, and had been bestowed by Becket on one of his clerks, whose name was Lawrence. The lord of the manor of Eynesford, whose name was William, objecting to his right of nomination, expelled Lawrence's people." The biographer ought in justice to have stated the ground of William's objection, viz., that the archbishop's claim of patronage was something altogether new to him. It was founded on a principle, which, if ever allowed, had long been dormant—that the archbishop had a right to bestow all churches which were situated on the manors of his tenants. Becket may have been in the right, but he certainly

² By a mistranslation of Herbert, Dr. Giles places this meeting at "Rumnel," i. e. we presume, Romney; for in geographical names Dr. Giles never attempts to correct the errors of the old copyists, or to identify the places which are mentioned.

³ i. 162—3.

was the aggressor; and lest we should be too much shocked at the violence of William's proceedings, it ought to be remembered, that not only were they in the usual style of the rough-handed barons of that age, but that the primate had just given examples of precisely similar violence in cases of disputed possession.

William was a tenant of the king, as well as of the archbishop; and when excommunicated by the one, he appealed to the other. Henry ordered Becket to absolve him, reminding him that the king's tenants-in-chief ought not to be excommunicated without an intimation to the sovereign⁴. The archbishop for a time stood on his rights, declaring that the king had nothing to do with excommunication or absolution; but at length, with a very ill grace, which left no sense of obligation, he agreed to do as was required.

In another case, the primate appeared as a sort of Hampden. The king proposed, in a council at Woodstock, to add to his revenue certain monies which had been customarily paid to the sheriffs throughout England,—a sum of two shillings on every hide of land⁵. Becket stood forward to oppose the proposal. The money, he said, was not paid as a due, but voluntarily, and might be refused if the sheriffs and their attendants did not behave to the satisfaction of the payers. The king swore his favourite oath that it should go to the exchequer; the primate swore, with equal vehemence, that not a shilling should be paid for his lands so long as he should be the possessor of them. This opposition defeated the project; and so, says Grim, the king was led, out of ill-will towards the archbishop, to turn his anger against the clergy.

He was not long without a very fair pretext for interfering with them. A number of outrages had lately been perpetrated by persons in holy orders. It was said that within ten years more than a hundred murders had been committed by clerks who were still alive; and without insisting on the exact statistical accuracy of this statement (which Dr. Lingard thinks it worth while to assail), we have abundant evidence that the “disorderly manners of men in orders⁶,”—“homicides, thieves, robbers, assassins, and practisers of other atrocities⁷,”—had become a crying nuisance. The Church tribunals claimed exclusive jurisdiction over clerks in cases of every kind; and thus these “tonsured

⁴ Lest, it was said, the king should unawares communicate with an excommunicated person.

⁵ This seems to be what has been described as “a revival of the odious tax known by the name of *danegelt*.”—(Lingard, ii. 206.) But it does not appear that Henry wished to add to the burdens of the people; he meant only to make the payment compulsory (which it probably was in effect before,) and to alter its destination.

⁶ Grim, in *S. T. C.* i. 34.

⁷ Herbert, in *Quad.* 32—3.

demons, workmen of the devil, clerks in name only, but belonging to Satan's portion⁸," were exempted from the judgment of the secular courts. The exemption extended to the minor orders; and there had grown up a prodigious multitude of "acephalous" clerks, without title, duty, or regular home, who led a roving, disreputable life, and were ready for any violence.

The king wished to put an end to this system, by subjecting clerical offenders to the same jurisdiction with other criminals. He required that clerks accused of any outrage should be tried in his own courts; that on conviction they should be degraded by the Church, and then should be remanded to the secular power, for the execution of the sentence passed on them. The archbishop strenuously opposed these proposals; and on this quarrel turned the whole of the subsequent history.

On the one side, it was argued that the ecclesiastical discipline had been proved altogether inadequate to check the excesses of the clergy; that the punishments of the spiritual court were not fitted to deter persons inclined to offences of the kind in question. "Those," it was said, "would care little for a loss of orders [the heaviest of all the spiritual sentences], whom a regard for their orders could not restrain from the perpetration of such enormities. In proportion to their superior dignity and privileges, their criminality was greater than that of other men, and their punishment ought rather to be more than less. It would be a strange novelty in law, and a truly novel fashion of sanctity, if the privileges of the clergy should thus be made a screen for villanies, by which the peace of kingdoms is disturbed, the justice of kings outraged, and all that is holy profaned⁹."

The arguments on the other side were of various kinds. No one, it was said, ought to be twice punished for the same offence,—as clerks would be, if in addition to degradation they had to undergo the doom of the secular court. Clerks degraded for one offence would afterwards be in the condition of laymen, and liable to the usual punishments of laymen for future misdemeanours [so that they had but one life more than other men]; but degradation was the utmost that could be allowed for one crime.

There were many arguments from Scripture, some of them strangely unfortunate. Those which seem most likely to have told were founded on a restriction to the clergy of what in truth

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Herbert, in S. T. C. vii. 103. 104. 109.—It is remarkable that this most thorough-going supporter of Becket appears to think the opposite side of the argument stronger. He does full justice to Henry's motives. "Nothing can be more certain than that each had a zeal of God, the one for the people, the other for the clergy; but *which* zeal was according to knowledge, it is not for fallible man, but for the God of knowledge, to judge."—109.

would have been equally applicable to all Christians,—as where it was said that it would be shocking to touch the life or limbs of those for whom Christ had died.

The main strength of the cause, however, was probably in the department of ecclesiastical law—a department more beyond the cognizance of ordinary persons than either abstract reason or Scripture. We are told, however, that even in that day the king's side was not without its learned canonists¹; and *we* know, whether the uncritical twelfth century knew it or not, that the authorities on which the Archbishop relied were in reality altogether futile.

“Gratian,” says Fleury, “inserted in his *Decretum* [which was published in the reign of Stephen] novel maxims concerning the immunity of the clergy, as to which he maintains that they may not in any case be judged by laymen. In proof of this he cites several articles of the false decretals, and the pretended law of Theodosius, adopted by Charlemagne, in order to extend excessively the jurisdiction of the bishops. With these he combines a mutilated article from a novel of Justinian, which, as a whole, says the very contrary. This constitution, thus altered, however, was St. Thomas of Canterbury's chief ground for resisting the king of England with the firmness which drew on him persecution and martyrdom².”

Nothing, as appears to us, can be plainer than that the Archbishop's cause was decidedly wrong; and it is not without considerable surprise that we have read some of the late apologies on this subject. As to the question of Scripture and primitive usage, it is manifest that the directions to admonish an offending brother, to “hear the Church,” to settle differences “before the saints, and not before unbelievers,” were intended for all Christians, not for the clergy alone; nor had they any thing to do with questions as to the nature or amount of punishment for such crimes as robbery and murder. It was, therefore, a most strange abuse to found on them a claim of comparative impunity for clerks who should be guilty of such outrages.

The question of ecclesiastical law in general, and that of earlier English law, may be considered as decided against the immunities by the judgment of the best authorities. There is, however, a charter of William the Conqueror, on which Mr. Froude and his copyist rely, by which the jurisdiction over the clergy *was* given to the spiritual courts³. But, as has been remarked by

¹ Herbert, in *S. T. C.* vii. 103.

² *Hist. Eccl.* vol. v. p. 5. Collier discusses the question with his usual honesty, vol. i. p. 372, and concludes against the immunities, from primitive and early English example, as well as on grounds of reason.

³ It was given, according to Thierry, (ii. 273,) not from any wish to increase the power of the clergy, but in order that the Norman prelates might be able to help in

Southey⁴, the mention of this grant is not to the purpose,—since Becket is never found to have appealed to it, and would have scorned such ground as altogether beneath his pretensions. He claimed the immunities as an inherent right of the clergy.

As to what is said of the severity of ecclesiastical punishments—for example, that some clerks were sentenced by the spiritual courts to deprivation of all their dignities, and confinement in a monastery for life under a strict system of penance—it is clear that this is far from meeting the case. The ecclesiastical discipline would seem to have been much neglected, and, at all events, it was found insufficient to restrain from frequent crime. Whatever it may have been, it is certain that it *was* looked on, by both clergy and laity, as less severe than the secular punishments; and it is certain that it was grievously ineffective.

We need hardly advert to the fallacy of Michelet⁵, who tells us that “the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was in those days an anchor of safety;” that “the Church was almost the only way by which the despised races of the vanquished could recover any degree of ascendancy;” that “the liberties of the Church were then those of the world;”—or to that of Dr. Giles, who endeavours to recommend his hero as a kindred spirit to modern philanthropists and mitigators of the criminal code⁶. It was not for the elevation of the oppressed Saxons that Becket laboured. It was not to mitigate the barbarous punishments which were in that age usual, and perhaps necessary. It was to establish a difference between the clergy and all others. Mr. Froude, indeed, is right in denying the truth of the opinion which he ascribes to “Protestant historians”—that “the Archbishop could have been influenced by no motive but a wish to secure impunity to offending clergymen⁷;” but the real charge is different from this—that he set up and obstinately maintained, as a right of the Church, a claim which was without any real foundation, and which in its working had been proved to be most pernicious, not only to the public peace, but to the character of the clergy themselves.

There was no pretence that the secular courts were likely to deal unfairly with clerks who might be accused before them. There was no attempt on their part to meddle with matters which were properly of spiritual cognizance. It was not one of those cases in which it is necessary to distinguish between the worthlessness of a party, and the principle involved in his cause. None but persons duly convicted of crime were in any danger from Henry's intended reforms. The question was simply, whether

the work of depressing the Saxons; and now it came to be used for the annoyance of the race in whose favour it was given.

⁴ *Vindiciæ*, 355.

⁵ *iii.*, 162.

⁶ *i.*, 186-7.

⁷ *P.* 17.

clerks should enjoy a comparative impunity for offences against the public peace; and Becket judged it his duty, as representative of the clergy, to insist that they should. As long as Henry could have any pretence for saying (whether with oath, "*per oculos Dei*," or in more innocent form) that the clergy were especially favoured, so long was there a ground for complaint on the part of the secular power, and of the people.

The king summoned the bishops and abbots to meet him at Westminster in October, 1163, and laid before them his views of necessary reforms. He complained that the immunities hindered the execution of his coronation oath, to do justice and correct offenders⁸, and he desired the concurrence of the assembled dignitaries in the measures which he proposed for the remedy of the prevailing evils. The clergy withdrew in order to consult, and the subject was discussed with arguments such as we have given above. The bishops were at first inclined to yield, but were swayed by Becket's forcibly representing the case as one of duty to the Church and faithfulness to their trust. On returning to the king, the prelates declared that they were not at liberty to give an unequalled assent to his demands. Henry asked whether they would obey the customs of his ancestors. The archbishop replied that they would, "*saving their order*," and the bishops severally made the same declaration, with the single exception of Hilary of Chichester, who thought to get over the difficulty by substituting the words *bonâ fide* for *salvo ordine*. This change, instead of appeasing the king, added to his exasperation. He burst out into violent abuse of Hilary, and abruptly left the council. The unlucky conciliator suffered from both sides; as the bishops were retiring to their lodgings, the primate sharply rebuked him for the concession which he had made without consulting his brethren. Next morning, Henry sent to demand of Becket a surrender of Eye and Berkhamstead, and left London without again seeing the clergy.

The prelates in general were alarmed, and dreaded a breach with the king. Intrigue, too, was busy among them. Arnulph, Bishop of Lisieux, came over from Normandy at this time, and, by way of ingratiating himself with Henry, under whose displeasure he had lately been, he suggested that the king should form a party among the clergy, as the most effectual means of thwarting the primate. Roger of York, Becket's old enemy, Hilary of Chichester, and Foliot, lately translated to London, were easily

⁸ Grim, in S. T. C. i. 35.

⁹ This reservation was made in oaths of fealty. Lingard, ii. 214. But Henry might complain that it was now attempted to interpret it as implying the immunities, which he had not before supposed to be included.

won, and others were by no means disposed to follow the archbishop in all his courses¹. A secret agreement was made, we do not know with how many bishops, by which they gave up the obnoxious reservation. "Thus," says Fitzstephen, "those who had the highest reputation for learning, became most ready to oppress the liberty of the Church;" and Grim imputes to these prelates the blame of the king's proceedings; for how, he asks, should the king suspect himself to be in the wrong, when all but the archbishop were with him²?

The king's influence among the clergy soon manifested itself in various acts of opposition to the primate. The Archbishop of York revived some ancient pretensions of his see as the rival of Canterbury; Clarembald, abbot of St. Augustine's, claimed exemption from the archbishop's jurisdiction, and required that Becket should give him the pastoral benediction in his own monastery, without exacting any profession or promise of obedience³; and Foliot claimed independence of Canterbury, on the ground of the ancient ecclesiastical eminence of London, which John of Salisbury represents him as deducing from the days when it was the seat of a Flamen of Jupiter!

Assiduous attempts were made to win over Becket to compliance with the king's wishes. The danger of the Church—the character of Henry—the archbishop's old friendship with him, and the hope which he might have of recovering all his influence with increase, if these quarrels could be got over—such arguments were continually pressed on him. It was urged, too, that although the king was desirous, for the sake of his own honour, that the bishops should publicly withdraw their reservation, he had no intention to take advantage of this to the prejudice of their obligations and the rights of the Church.

The archbishop remained firm, until he was at last prevailed on by the solicitations of the pope's envoy, who professed to have

¹ M. Thierry says that Henry gained the *Norman* bishops by various arguments, "et peut-être par des insinuations des desseins presumés de l'*Anglais* Becket contre tous les grands d'Angleterre; enfin, par plusieurs raisons que les historiens ne détaillent pas." iii. 110. The omissions of the old historians are extremely convenient for imaginative moderns.

² S. T. C. i. 37.

³ Diceto, ap. X. Scriptores, 534. This matter does not seem to be quite fairly represented by a very highly respected writer, who says that Becket "declined giving his pastoral blessing to a bad man named Clarembald, who had been made abbot of St. Augustine's." *Early Eng. Ch.*, 1st. ed. i. 344. The character of Clarembald (which was undoubtedly bad) did not come into question at all. The pretensions advanced by him—and, we may add, those of Roger and Foliot—were precisely such as Becket would have been likely to raise and to maintain pertinaciously in similar circumstances,—his principle apparently having been to assert whatever could either truly or untruly be represented as a right of his position, whatever that position might be, and with an utter disregard of all other rights.

his master's authority for advising compliance. Grim seems to throw doubt on the truth of the envoy's assertion⁴; the fact probably was, as Lord Lyttelton suggests⁵, that the pope had in general terms directed him to recommend conciliatory measures, but had no intention that *such* concessions should be made. Becket, however, was persuaded, and intimated his submission to the king, who required that, as the refusal had been public, the assent should be equally so.

The council of Clarendon met in consequence in the end of January, 1164. The business lasted three days, but it is impossible, amid contradictory reports, to ascertain in what order it was transacted.

Becket professed that he did not know the particulars of what was required under the title of *ancient customs* or *royal dignities*. A number of regulations were recited, which professed to have been in force until the confusions of Stephen's reign,—in order, as Grim represents the king to have said, that no one in after time might presume to charge him with introducing novelties. Another biographer tells us that Henry himself knew no more of the ancient laws than Becket, and that matter adverse to the Church was inserted by his ill-disposed adherents.

The constitutions of Clarendon bear very hardly on what were supposed to be the rights of the Church. All questions of presentation to benefices were to be decided in the king's courts. Clerks accused of crimes were to be dealt with in the manner already mentioned. No bishop or other clergyman was to leave the kingdom without the king's license. (This was a check on appeals to the pope.) The king's tenants in chief, and the members of his household, were not to be excommunicated without his leave. The king was to have the power of compelling the archbishop to do justice to suitors in his court. The patronage of sees, abbeys, &c., was brought more completely under the king's control than before. The sons of rustics (M. Thierry's *Saxons*) were not to be ordained without the consent of their lord.

On these and the other items the archbishop remarked as they were read one by one. Of that which went to subject the clergy to secular courts, he declared that now Christ was to be judged anew before Pilate. The matter, he found, was worse than he had imagined when he promised to conform; and he resolved to refuse compliance. The bishops stood by him in his refusal, and Henry was enraged beyond measure. As the ecclesiastics were sitting in deliberation, armed knights rushed into

⁴ S. T. C. i. 26-7.

⁵ ii. 353.

their conclave, with drawn swords and furious gestures, threatening death to all who should persist in opposing the king's will. The bishops of Salisbury and Norwich, who were at this time especially obnoxious to Henry, in terror besought Becket to relent. The earls of Cornwall and Leicester joined their entreaties, saying that they apprehended some unheard-of violence. "It is," he answered, "nothing new or unheard of, if it should be our lot to die for the rights of the Church; for this a multitude of saints has taught us, both by word and by example⁶." The Grand Master of the Templars, and another eminent member of the order, fell at his feet, embraced his knees, and promised, on their salvation, that if he would but submit, he should never hear more of the customs. The Archbishop withdrew for a short time, and on returning said to his brethren, "It is God's will that I should perjure myself; for the present I submit and incur perjury, to repent hereafter as I may⁷."

He promised in the hearing of all, to keep the laws "*legitimè et fide bonâ*," and charged the other bishops to do the like. It was then required that he should set his seal to the constitutions; an act by which he would, according to the notions of the time, have bound himself to them more thoroughly than by his verbal promise: he required time for consideration. The parchment on which the constitutions were written was divided into three parts; the king took one, the Archbishop of York another, and Becket took the third. This would naturally have been construed as an act of approval; but some of the biographers tell us that he gave it the character of a protest, declaring that he took the deed as "a voucher for the cause which he maintained," and an information as to the measures against which he was bound to contend⁸.

The admirers of Becket do not pretend to justify his conduct on this occasion. It is compared by the contemporaries to the falls of David and St. Peter, and he himself was ashamed of it, even at the time. "I know," he is reported to have said, "that what we have been doing must be condemned, unless a good intent were an excuse for a blamable act⁹;" and as he went with his train to Winchester after the council, he for a long time kept

⁶ Roger, in *S. T. C.* i. 25.

⁷ Foliot, i. 172. Dr. Lingard attempts to throw suspicion on this statement, on the ground of the source from which it comes—the letter which we have already noticed. But even if that letter were a forgery, the accounts of the biographers bear it out in all essential points as to what took place at Clarendon, except that Foliot names Jocelin of Salisbury as having stood firm with the other bishops.

⁸ Roger, in *S. T. C.* i. 127, Herbert, quoted by Giles, i. 224.

⁹ Grim, in *S. T. C.* i. 31.

a melancholy silence, and at length, on being addressed by Herbert of Bosham, burst out into bitter lamentations, weeping profusely as he traced the calamities which had come on the Church to the promotion of a person so unworthy as himself to the office of its chief pastor ¹.

Those who think unfavourably of Becket, exult over the conduct which his friends do not defend. We cannot but think the reprobation of it in which some writers indulge is somewhat exaggerated. It was marked rather by weakness and vacillation than by deliberate perfidy. He yielded to the urgency of others, against his own judgment, and that for the sake of averting immediate danger from others rather than from himself. Neither can we fully agree in the measure of reprobation which Lord Lyttelton ² bestows on the next acts of the archbishop, when he suspended himself from saying mass until he should receive the pope's pardon for what he had done, and yet joined with other prelates, by the king's desire, in requesting the papal sanction for the constitutions. To this his own approval was, of course, subject, and without it the constitutions were null in the opinion of High Churchmen (so to speak). That Becket should join in the application to the pope, seems, therefore, a necessary consequence of what he had before done; while his private suit for absolution was the result of his feeling that his assent had been wrong or questionable. His position was a most unhappy one, in which it was impossible to do right. We cannot much wonder that he acted as he did; and we shall do well to lay the chief weight of our blame rather on some earlier things, than on what was almost an unavoidable result of them.

The pope returned an indulgent answer to the request of absolution. He desired the archbishop to resume the offices of the altar, and to confess to some skilful spiritual guide whatever might weigh on his conscience. He refused to confirm the constitutions, but by way of softening his refusal he granted Henry's

¹ Mr. Thierry's "fixed idea" comes out amusingly on this occasion. He tells us that, as the archbishop was on his way to Winchester, "a *Saxon*, named Edward Grim, his cross-bearer," spoke loudly against his compliance, and suggests that "in this reproach *national sentiment* had perhaps as great a share as religious conviction." (iii. 119). For this he refers to Fleury, who, we find, does not pretend to name the cross-bearer, and says nothing about his race. The mistake of making Grim cross-bearer to the archbishop did not originate with Mr. Thierry, but it certainly is a mistake. The cross-bearer who spoke on this occasion was not a Saxon, but a Welshman, Alexander Llewellyn. Grim does not seem to have had any acquaintance with Becket until after his last return from France, when he visited him at Canterbury, and so was present at the murder. Llewellyn was sent abroad a day or two before that event, but we shall see that Grim did not even act as deputy-cross-bearer.

² P. 364.

request, that the Archbishop of York should be appointed legate over all England³.

In the meantime, Becket's enemies were not idle. Herbert divides them into three species, which he compares respectively to gnats, bees, and scorpions⁴; and to these he afterwards adds "fat bulls of Basan"—the hostile bishops—and their "calves," or clerks. The gnats and bees buzzed into the king's ears a tale of slighting words, which the primate was said to have spoken in contempt of his youth, unsteadiness, and violent temper; and in consequence of this Henry refused to see him when he presented himself at the doors of Woodstock palace. Becket then resolved to go to the pope, in defiance of the king, and contempt of the constitutions⁵. He twice attempted to cross the sea, but was obliged to put back; on the second occasion he returned to Canterbury by night, just in time to save his effects from seizure by the king's officers.

He now again sought an interview with Henry, and was received with decorum, although with an evident lack of cordiality. Henry relaxed so far as to ask him with a smile whether one kingdom had not room for both, and desired him to govern his province without further thought of going abroad. Becket proceeded to fulfil this injunction, but not, we should suppose, in a manner likely to lessen the king's irritation.

"He aroused himself," says Herbert, "and with a prophet's mattock⁶ plucked up, pulled down, scattered, and rooted out whatsoever he found planted amiss in the garden of the Lord. His hand rested not, his eye spared not; whatsoever was naughty, whatsoever rough, whatsoever wicked, he not only assailed with a prophet's mattock, but with the axe of the gospel he cut it down. Of the royal and ecclesiastical customs, he observed such as were good; but those which had been brought in for the dishonour of the clergy he pruned away as bastard shoots, that they should not strike their roots deep⁷."

In such proceedings the time passed on until the month of October, (1164), when the primate was summoned to answer before a council or parliament at Northampton for his behaviour in the case of John the Marshal, one of the king's retainers.

³ There was some misunderstanding as to this—Becket remonstrated against the grant, as trenching on the privileges of Canterbury. The pope assured him that he had no intention of slighting him; that the legation was granted on conditions, &c. It came to nothing in the end.

⁴ S. T. C. vii. 132.

⁵ If the reader can turn to the "Life" &c. vol. i. p. 230, he may be amused by Dr. Giles's defence of this step.

⁶ *Sarculo*, Isaiah vii. 25. Jerem. i. 10.

⁷ S. T. C. vii. 132

He arrived on Tuesday, the 7th of the month, and lodged in the monastery of St. Andrew. Next morning he had an interview with the king, who redressed the wrong done by some of his people in occupying a house intended for the archbishop's train, but did not offer the usual kiss, although Becket made demonstration of his willingness to receive it.

The case of John the Marshal was then entered on. The king had made a constitution, that if any one having a suit in his lord's court should find, after the first or second day of the trial, that things were going against him, he might, on swearing that injustice was done him, remove the cause into the king's court. By virtue of this, John appealed from the archbishop's court in a suit relating to the manor of Pagaham (probably Peckham, near Tunbridge). On the day appointed for Becket to answer to the charge of injustice, he did not attend in person, but sent four knights, with letters from himself and the sheriff of Kent, in which it was stated that John had failed in his evidence, and that his oath on removing the case had been made, not (as was usual) on reliques of saints or on the gospels, but on a *tropary*⁸ which he produced from under his cloak. The archbishop had not assigned any sufficient reason for his non-appearance, and therefore was now called on to answer for treason. His defence was not admitted, and on the second day of the council it was adjudged that he was "at the king's mercy;" a phrase implying forfeiture of all his effects, unless the king should be pleased (as was usual in such cases) to accept a fine instead. He was fined 500*l*. The prelates and the barons each endeavoured to shift on the other the duty of pronouncing the sentence, until the king in anger charged the Bishop of Winchester to perform the task⁹.

Henry, however, had not yet done with Becket. His own wish would have been to attack him on subjects connected with the ecclesiastical privileges; but he was dissuaded from this, on the ground that the bishops might probably be unwilling to take a part against what was considered to be the cause of the Church. He therefore attempted to crush the archbishop by charges of a personal kind. First, there was a demand of 300*l*. which had been received by him as warden of Eye and Berkhamstead. He replied that he had spent that sum and more in the repairs of

⁸ *Troparium*, so called from containing *tropes*, which were properly certain versicles sung before the introit in the service of the mass (Dufresne). Mr. Turner makes this a "book of songs," and is followed by Mr. Froude. Dr. Giles still further improves it into "*a jest-book*!"

⁹ Becket's biographers delight in tales of judgments on his opponents, much after the same fashion as Mr. Huntington, S. S. in his autobiography. Thus here we are told by Grim that John lost two sons for whom he had intended to provide out of the Church's patrimony, and himself died within the year.—S. T. C. i. 40.

these and other castles, but that money should not be a bar to his agreement with the king, and therefore he would give sureties for the payment. Then came a charge about two sums of 500*l.* each—the one lent by Henry, the other borrowed by the chancellor on the king's security, in the war of Toulouse. Becket affirmed that the first 500*l.* was a gift; but it was decided that as he could not prove this he must refund the money. For this also he gave securities.

These demands were followed by one of more alarming magnitude,—that he should account for the revenues of vacant sees and abbeys, including those of the archbishopric during its vacancy, which had come into his hands during his chancellorship. The amount is variously stated. The "*Quadriologus*" (which is very inaccurately printed) makes Herbert rate it at *two hundred and thirty* thousand marks; in Dr. Giles's edition, his words are "*about thirty* thousand;" while others speak of it as forty-four thousand. The archbishop replied that he had not received notice to answer to any charge except that in the matter of John the Marshal, and requested leave to confer with his brethren.

On the morning of the fourth day (Saturday, October 10), a consultation was held accordingly. The Bishop of Winchester advised that the king's avarice should be gratified, and himself proceeded to the court with an offer of 2000 marks; but this was refused. The bishops resumed their deliberations. Some advised Becket to plead, that at the time of his election an express declaration of his discharge from all secular obligations had been required by the Bishop of Winchester, on the part of the Church, and had been granted, in the king's name, by Prince Henry and the justiciary, De Luci. Others, among whom Foliot and Hilary of Chichester were conspicuous, advised him to place his see in the king's hands, and submit himself to his mercy. At length the Bishops of London and Rochester were sent to the king, with a request that he would allow the archbishop to defer his answer for a day. Foliot is accused of having falsified the message, leading the king to suppose that an answer of submission might be reckoned on.

The archbishop did not quit his monastery on the Sunday. During the following night, anxiety brought on an attack of an illness to which he was subject. The king, suspecting that the illness was feigned, sent to ask whether he would appear and would give bail to stand a trial as to the revenues. He answered that, whether well or sick, he would appear on the following day. In the meantime, he was told that Henry was swearing, with even more than usual vehemence, that some of the courtiers had conspired to kill him, and that the king had declared an intention of

either putting him to death, or depriving him of his eyes and tongue, and committing him to prison for life¹. Most of this appears to have been a mere invention, and the rest greatly exaggerated.

The 13th of October, Tuesday, was the last and most memorable day of the council². By the advice of his confessor, the archbishop in the morning celebrated the mass of St. Stephen, beginning with the introit, *Etenim sederunt principes*, ("Princes sat and spake against me.") This was forthwith reported at court, with the commentary (surely very warrantable, although some writers treat it as the suggestion of bitter malice), that Becket intended a parallel between himself and the protomartyr³. It was his intention to proceed to the castle barefooted, wearing his pontificals, and with his cross in his hand; but at the entreaty of his friends he unwillingly gave up this, and went on horseback, wearing his ordinary dress, with a stole over it⁴. Crowds of people, supposing that he was going to his death, prostrated themselves as he passed, and besought his blessing. On dismounting at the gate, he took his cross from the attendant who had borne it, and entered the hall in which the bishops were assembled. The sight of the cross in his hand alarmed them. They seem to have considered it as a braving of the king, a claiming for himself the character of a champion of Christ against the power and violence of His enemies. The Bishop of Hereford requested leave to carry the cross for him, but the offer was declined. Hugh of Nunant, Archdeacon of Lisieux, who attended in the archbishop's company, remonstrated with Foliot on the impropriety of suffering him to retain it. "My good friend," was the answer, "he was always a fool, and always will be one." Foliot, however, endeavoured to wrest the cross out of the archbishop's hands, and a somewhat unseemly struggle ensued, in which Becket, being the younger and stronger man, had the better. He then sat down, still holding the cross in his hands. Foliot prayed him to lay it aside, representing that the king would regard it as a sword drawn against him. The archbishop replied, that the king's sword was an instrument of war, but that his was a sign of peace, and therefore he would not let it go.

¹ Grim, in S. T. C. i. 42, Roger, ib. 135.

² By Alan and others it is strangely said to have been the hundredth anniversary of the Norman invasion.

³ He never was backward to claim a parallel with a yet more sacred Example; and this is carried out in the most extravagant (and, to modern taste, most offensive) way by the old biographers. Herbert's "*Liber Melorum*" is expressly devoted to it, and the writer usually there and elsewhere speaks of himself, like St. John, as "the disciple who wrote these things."

⁴ So Fitzst. and Roger state. Modern writers for the most part have followed less accurate authorities, which represent him as having retained his pontificals.

Roger of York was the last prelate who entered the hall. His wish was to make it thus appear as if he had not been concerned in advising the king's proceedings. His cross was borne before him—the pope's order that he should not use it beyond his own province, being for the present eluded by an appeal.

The king throughout the day remained in an inner chamber. The bishops were summoned into his presence, and Becket was left in the hall, with his clerks beside him. Herbert took the opportunity of advising that, if any violence were attempted, he should resort to excommunication. Fitzstephen reproved this counsel, and advised him rather to follow the saints and martyrs of old, in patient endurance and forgiveness of enemies. One of the king's officers interrupted Fitzstephen, and told him that he must not speak to the archbishop, whereupon he significantly pointed to the cross,—an action of which Becket long after reminded him.

The bishops told the king that the primate had rebuked them for joining in judgment against him; that he complained of the fine of 500*l.* as unjust, seeing that custom had fixed in every county a commutation for goods and chattels forfeited to the king's mercy, and this in the county of Kent, where the property of the see lay, was only forty shillings; that he had forbidden them to take any further part in the proceedings against him, and had appealed to the pope. Two earls were sent to ask Becket whether it were true that he had acted thus, contrary to his duty as the king's liegeman, and especially to his oath that he would observe the constitutions of Clarendon, one of which was, that bishops should attend the king in all trials, except such as involved life. They also asked him, whether he would give in the accounts of his chancellorship, and abide a judgment. He replied with firmness, that he had been summoned to answer for the affair of John the Marshal alone, and ought not to have been called to defend himself against any other charge; that in secular offices he had served the king faithfully, had spent all the revenues in his service, and had even contracted debts for it; that he had received an acquittance for all such matters at the time of his election; that he had made his appeal against being judged by the bishops, and would keep to it, placing himself and the Church under the protection of the pope. The earls withdrew, and some of those who were near the archbishop began to talk aloud, by way of intimidating him, of oppressions and barbarous acts of violence which had been done by kings and nobles against contumacious ecclesiastics.

The king endeavoured to force the bishops to join in judging the primate. They pleaded the prohibition which had been laid

on them. Roger of York retired, as if to avoid the sight of something shocking which might be expected. Some of the bishops tried to prevail on Becket to relent; but he was inflexible.

At length an expedient was devised. The king ceased to insist that the bishops should join in the judgment, on condition that they should appeal to the pope against the prohibition. They returned to the hall; and Hilary of Chichester, in their name, told the archbishop that as he and they had pledged themselves to the constitutions, and he had now violated his oath, they held him as perjured, renounced their obedience to him, and appealed against him.

There was some curious casuistry in Becket's reply. The first of duties, he said, is that to God. The stipulations made at Clarendon involved a reservation of the Church's rights. Nothing against these can be observed *in fide bonâ* or *legitimè*, nor can an infringement of the Church's privileges be part of the "dignities" of a Christian king. The pope had sent back the constitutions rather with reprobation than approbation⁵. "If," he continued, "we fell at Clarendon, we ought now to rise again. If we there swore wrongly, unlawful oaths are not to be observed."

The bishops then withdrew. The barons came into the hall, and the Earl of Leicester was proceeding to pronounce sentence, when the archbishop interrupted him. He repeated his objections to the proceedings, and declared that, as the soul is more worthy than the body, and as the son must not doom the father, he declined all judgment from a secular tribunal, and referred his cause to the pope, who alone was competent to judge him.

Raising his cross aloft, he proceeded slowly down the hall. A tumult of reproachful voices arose. The archbishop's foot struck by chance against some firewood which lay in his way; and on this the uproar became louder than before. Ranulph de Broc and Earl Hamelin, the king's bastard brother, called him perjured and traitor. He reminded de Broc that one of his near relations had been hanged (the like of which, says a biographer, had never befallen any of the Becket⁶); and to Hamelin he applied the most hateful terms, adding that but, for his orders, he would prove him a liar on his own person.

The gate of the castle was found to be locked. One of the archbishop's attendants hastily took down a bunch of keys which was hanging near; and the first that he tried was found to fit the lock—not without somewhat of a miracle, if we believe the biographers.

⁵ Potius improbatæ quam approbatæ,—Fitzst. in S. T. C. i. 232.

⁶ Quadr. i. 34.

The multitude without the castle received the archbishop with enthusiasm. He rode through the crowded streets, with his cross in his hand, bestowing his benediction as he passed⁷. On reaching St. Andrew's monastery, he prayed, and deposited his cross in the chapel; and then, finding that the usual companions of his table had disappeared through fear, he entertained (of course, with an intended reference to the parables,) as many of the crowd as could find room.

In the book which was read aloud at supper, the text "when they persecute you in one city, flee ye to another," occurred. The eyes of the archbishop met Herbert's, as if the words suggested the same thought to both.

The bishops of London and Chichester soon after appeared, and proposed that the archbishop should make his peace by resigning two manors to the king; he sternly refused to alienate the property of the Church. He then sent two bishops to beg that he might be allowed to go abroad. They found the king in very good humour, but he deferred his answer until next day, and Becket was soon after told by two eminent noblemen that some great mischief was intended against him.

He signified his intention of passing the night in the chapel, and his bed was made behind the high altar. In the meantime, the means of escape were provided; horses were in waiting without the walls; and in the middle of the night the archbishop left Northampton.

In the history of Becket, as in that of Mahomet, the flight (or *hegira*) is a remarkable point. Here, therefore, we shall pause for a time.

⁷ If we understand Fitzstephen rightly, he took up Herbert of Bosham behind him.

- ART. III.—1. *A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church : being a new inquiry into the true dates of the birth and death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, &c.* By the Rev. SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D.D., LL.D. London : Cleaver, 1844. 8vo.
2. *Ordo Sæclorum. A Treatise on the Chronology of the Holy Scriptures, &c.* By the Rev. HENRY BROWNE, M.A., Principal of the Diocesan College, Chichester, &c. London : J. W. Parker. 1844.

THE uncertainty of history, and of that essential part of it, especially, which is called chronology, is a common matter of complaint ; and much of late years has been done to encourage the suspicion, that after all there is no such thing, to any great extent, as authentic history, and that all the researches made by the industry of the present generation, and by the learning of those which are past, tend but to perplex, not to inform. Such, doubtless, must be the opinion of those, who, having studied history either under the bias of some partial theory, or with the same degree of diligence that one reads a romance, have been suddenly arrested by some of those apparent contradictions which a more enlarged view of the subject often presents. They will either question the newly presented facts, or mistrust the imperfect information already obtained : but their minds, untrained to the rigid and diligent pursuit of truth, and enfeebled by theorizing, will in mere indolence conceive those difficulties to be insuperable contradictions, which a more severe and enlarged contemplation of the great objects before them would regard as temporary obscurities, capable of eventual solution.

The fact is, that so far from having reason to complain of uncertainty in the study of the annals of the world, it is a matter of astonishment to find how many sources of definite information actually exist, reaching even to the most dark and distant periods of time. The providence of God, according to His uniform system of operation, has made the curiosity, and even the superstitions of mankind, the instruments for conveying to the latest ages the knowledge of things which happened in the earliest. First, we have the ancient traditions, which for a long time supplied the place of history. These often speak with a wonderful

consistency and confidence, which may not be lightly gainsaid, and, when taken in connexion with materials of a more definite kind, do indeed form a most important element in human knowledge. But there is another element of far more certainty and importance. We mean that stronghold of chronology, the observations of the signs in the heavens, the recurrence of those comets and eclipses, which never failed to make an impression on the awe-struck memories of the ancients, and consequently have become landmarks to the historian. It is thus that the nightly observations of simple shepherds, and the superstitions of priests and augurs, alike tended towards a great design of which they were wholly unconscious. It is thus that, in a far more extended sense than is commonly understood, the heavenly bodies have become to mankind for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years ; the guides to that history of the divine government of the world, that universal system of retribution and reward, that scheme of trial, of redemption, of restoration, which began at the creation, and shall receive its completion only when the earth, the scene of this awful drama, shall cease to be.

In every nation of the world, to whom writing, whether hieroglyphical or alphabetic, has been known, we find a providential provision for recording the lapse of time ; all the several systems being founded upon astronomical observation, more or less accurate. And in all these instances the want of exact correspondence of the solar with the lunar and the diurnal revolution have been felt, and attempts at adjustment made. These approximations to scientific exactness are wonderful, and ought to afford a strong presumption of divine care, in guiding the imperfect knowledge of mankind to some great eventual use, not yet accomplished. To use the words of Dr. Jarvis,—

“ We are apt to undervalue the science of the ancients. We ought rather to look upon them with respect and admiration. It is truly astonishing that, with their imperfect instruments, they arrived at so much accuracy in their astronomical calculations. The very want of instruments led to an intensity of observation much greater than ours. As the savage inhabitant of the forest, without a compass, marks his course through the pathless wilds with an accuracy far beyond that of the civilized man, so, at a very early period of the world’s history, did even barbarous nations learn, by the rising and the setting of the constellations, to regulate the course of the year. However rude, therefore, the Romans under Romulus may have been, it was impossible for them to depart greatly from the tropical year, because they watched the constellations, and connected with their rising and setting the seasons of agriculture, and the times of their religious festivals. Any aberration would be quickly perceived, and the very observances of a religion, the

gods of which presided over their secular employments, served as a balance whereby to regulate the movements of their chronology."—p. 97.

The same remarks are applicable to the chronology of other early nations. Abundant means, however, are supplied for the correction of any one system of chronology. For example: the most important events in the annals of the world do not depend, for their verification, upon one series of annals only. Several independent and synchronous series still exist, which are mutually corroborative or corrective. And, above all, we have the sacred records, to which the ultimate appeal, even in secular chronology, must be made, as the balance wheel, or, more properly, the main spring of the whole. And we may be certain that sacred chronology will prove in the end, after all the resources of profane history and all the appliances of human science have been exhausted, the irrefragable index to accurate chronological truth.

It is obvious, indeed, that many difficulties are still in the way. A large portion of these, however, has proceeded, not from the inadequacy of ancient testimony, if rightly applied, but from its abuse; the falsification by interested persons, in later ages, of the guileless traditions of earlier times; the indulgence in conjectures or fanciful theories, carelessly enunciated, or as carelessly taken for facts, or unfairly insinuated; to which must be added, the defects in ancient science. The latter we may expect to unravel as true knowledge advances towards perfection: theories and conjectures must yield to facts, which time, aided by the true guidance of Scripture and of the faithful monuments of antiquity, will establish. Other difficulties proceed from our still imperfect knowledge of some of the languages and records of antiquity, as in Egypt, and the numerous questions of difficult solution involved in the monuments of that extraordinary people. In short, many phenomena still occur apparently at variance with established facts; but there is every hope that truth and patience will in the end adjust these to their proper places, will separate the specious from the genuine, and will ultimately show that the real facts of history, however contradictory to present appearances, are actually the component parts of one universal system.

If the cause of revelation and the true principles of our Church are to be maintained, these great ends cannot be accomplished, humanly speaking, but by the rigid adherence to truth for its own sake, and to the unbiassed examination of evidence in all matters which demand its application. It is, therefore, that we feel cordial satisfaction in recognizing the spirit which has guided both those learned writers whose chronological works are at the head of our article. They are alike distinguished by the qualifications

of discursive and profound learning, patient research, and scrupulous diligence in the induction and collocation of facts. They are alike earnest supporters of Catholic Christianity, and while repudiating the theoretical licentiousness of modern Germany, and the vagaries of a mythical theology, are reverently impressed with the mysteries of Divine Providence, whose ways it has been their honest endeavour to vindicate. These two volumes are the result of that well-digested erudition which has ever been the handmaid of sound theology.

The dangerous tendencies of the fascinating way of studying, or rather dreaming about history, now so popular, are well exposed by Mr. Browne:—

“That there exists among us at this day a vast amount of scepticism, openly avowed or working in secret, and unconsciously, no one doubts who has attentively watched the procedure of our popular literature. . . . I am not travelling far from those bearings of the question which directly concern ourselves, in selecting two distinct systems of continental scepticism, as the highest exponents of the sort of unbelief which is afloat amongst ourselves. There exist among us the elements, at least, of the ‘historical scepticism,’ which, even when it professes a belief in the divine origin of the Mosaic and Christian systems, regards their historical documents as matters of the same kind with the earlier profane history, out of which the truth of facts is to be reconstructed by the critical processes of the schools of Niebuhr and Müller: it being assumed that both the Old and New Testament contain more of legend and popular traditions than of true pragmatic history. And have we not among us the germs, at least, of the very different ‘mystical systems’ of Schleiermacher and Strauss, in which objective facts are treated as the mere vehicles or disguises of the subjective idea? whether true or false it matters not, since the truth resides, as Schleiermacher teaches, in the religious sentiment which they excite and express, or, as Strauss maintains, in the philosophical doctrines to which they are evidently capable of being attached.”—p. 20.

Dr. Jarvis is equally opposed to such dangerous methods, as will appear from the following extract from his Introduction:—

“In the prosecution of this plan, the rules which the writer lays down for his guidance are the following. 1. To take nothing for granted. Every necessary question, from beginning to end, must be examined on its own merits, and decided by acknowledged authorities from history, verified, when the case allows it, by astronomical observations and arithmetical computation. 2. With regard to all such questions conjecture is never to be allowed. In the adjustment of a series of events, where the truth is to be arrived at by approximation, and in the absence of positive testimony, probabilities are to be weighed. But in all cases they are carefully to be distinguished as probabilities only. . .

3. No theory before examination is to be assumed. Testimony is to be followed whithersoever it may lead. The two great objects to be constantly kept in view must be the investigation of truth for its own sake, and the lucid communication of that truth to others. 4. In the examination of testimony, the original author is, if possible, to be consulted. . . . 5. The testimony of original witnesses is, as far as possible, to be laid before the reader, in the very language of each witness." . . . pp. 4, 5.

Had these writers done no more than enunciate such timely cautions and sound principles as those just cited, they would have rendered an important service; for it is fearfully evident, that the disregard for strict truth is fast gaining ground, and, we fear, becoming a characteristic of the generation. But they have beneficially acted upon their own principles, and that upon a most extensive scale. It is a circumstance of no small value to the cause of truth, that these two works were undertaken altogether independently of one another, by members of different and distant branches of the same communion. Dr. Jarvis comes forward as the accredited official of the Anglo-American Church; having been appointed in 1838, by the general convention of that Church, their historiographer. His volume is recommended by the intrinsic weight of their special approbation. It is intended to be the introduction to a general ecclesiastical history, a want in our theological apparatus which has long been felt, there being none of unexceptionable character, fit for the general student. The simplicity and clearness, dispassionate judgment, and patient learning evinced by Dr. Jarvis argue well for the sequel, and seem fully to justify the choice of the fathers of the American Church. And surely it speaks well for the energetic vitality of that branch of our communion, that, occupied as its clergy universally are in parochial and other active duties, they can afford, not only to republish the voluminous theology of England, but to furnish from their own more limited *horæ subsecivæ* works, for which all the appliances of a learned leisure would apparently be required.

Mr. Browne's "most learned work," as Dr. Jarvis justly styles it, has been, like some of the most important of English theology, a voluntary labour. It is one highly appropriate to his station, as head of one of the newly established ecclesiastical colleges of our country.

The object of Dr. Jarvis's book is limited to two points, both of fundamental importance to ecclesiastical history, namely, the establishing the true date of the Nativity, and that of the Passion of our Lord.

The period embraced by his inquiry, which it was necessary to examine in order to adjust these two cardinal dates, extends from

the year 776 B.C. to A.D. 238 of the commonly [received Christian era. In order to this end, he examines, in the first place, the Grecian system of chronology, (the Olympiads, &c., and that ancient rectification of prior systems, the Metonic Cycle;) then, guided by Varro and Censorinus, the authentic records of Roman chronology, comparing and sifting the testimony of ancient authors, and applying the rules of astronomical calculation for the adjustment of apparent discrepancies in documents of unquestionable authority, such as the Consular, or Capitoline marbles. The results of this most laborious but lucid inquiry are these. First, that our Lord

“Made his solemn entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, the 21st of March, which was the tenth day of the Jewish month Nisan; that he was betrayed by Judas Iscariot on Wednesday evening the 24th of March; that he celebrated the Passover, and instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist on Thursday evening, March 25; that he was crucified on Friday evening, the 26th, and that he rose from the grave on Easter Sunday, March the 28th. This great event took place in the 4741st year of the Julian period, in the ninth month of the fourth year of the 201st Olympiad, in the last month of the 780th year of Rome, the seventy-third year of the Julian Calendar, the twenty-eighth of the modern Christian era: in the nineteenth year of the associate reign of Tiberius, and the fifteenth year of his sole reign, when Lucius Rubellius Geminus and Caius Fufius Geminus were consuls.”—p. 461.

Secondly, that our Lord

“Was born” (six years before the common era), “on the twenty-fifth of December, in the 4707th year of the Julian period, the sixth month of the third year of the 193rd Olympiad, on the fifth day of the ninth month of the 747th year of Rome, the thirty-ninth year of the Julian Calendar, when D. Lælius Balbus and C. Anstilius Vetus were consuls; on the twenty-third day in the fourth month of the twenty-sixth year after the battle of Actium; about the tenth day of the seventh month of the thirty-fifth year of Herod, from the time he was made king by the Roman senate; and exactly, as Orosius states the fact, though he has erred in the date in the very same year in which Augustus shut the temple of Janus, the third time, in token of UNIVERSAL PEACE.”—p. 563.

It plainly appears from the very terms of these two extracts, what a careful examination of various concurrent events, what a thorough investigation of secular and sacred history, *ab initio*, must have been required to arrive at these conclusions. The author has laid before his readers, in the clearest manner, the data upon which he proceeds, and when it is alleged that, both by the synthetic and analytic method, the results are brought into perfect concord, by a writer who had no favourite theory to

establish, the student of sacred history ought to be *à priori* disposed to trust so careful a guide.

There are some circumstances connected with the establishment of the last-mentioned of these two important dates, in which we are glad to have our views confirmed by the sanction of Dr. Jarvis's opinion. The first is, the refutation of Sir Isaac Newton's gratuitous hypothesis, that the date of our Lord's birth, as of that of other Christian holy days, was arbitrarily affixed by Christians in a late age, at certain cardinal points of the year, or on days which had been appropriated, in the Roman calendar, to certain heathen festivals. While doing all justice to the supreme excellence of Newton in his own proper department, and to his high moral and religious qualities, he justly animadverts upon his shallowness in history, in which, like the historians of our day, he was prone to make facts bend to theories. Dr. Hales has, we think, successfully confuted his reasoning with respect to the regal chronology of Rome. As able a confutation of his ecclesiastical chronology, respecting our Lord's birth, will be found in Dr. Jarvis's work: in which the important fact is clearly proved, that the early Christian Church differed from us in their computation of the nativity, not from indifference, (as Newton most strangely surmises,) but from ignorance. And as appears from St. Chrysostom's homily, quoted by Dr. Jarvis at length, (p. 541,) the approved date was actually adopted afterwards by the Greek Church, after reference had been made to the Roman archives. The testimony is abundant, that both from the "Acts of Pilate," and from other documents, the Romans had sufficient records of the precise time of this great event: and our author has done a most important service, indeed, to the Church, by vindicating the accuracy of this testimony; to which the most ancient Christian writers, Justin Martyr being foremost, confidently appealed.

It would be impossible, in the limit of an article like the present, to attempt an analysis of a work, whose very essence consists in minute astronomical calculations and adjustments. We cannot even pretend to give a skeleton of either his or Mr. Browne's work; and must, therefore, be content, after giving a very general idea of the objects of each, to observe upon a few more prominent particulars.

We must, then, observe that Dr. Jarvis has greatly facilitated the labours, not only of tyros, but of advanced students in chronology, by giving at length the various tables of the ancient systems. The Olympiads (p. 22), the calendar of the year of Romulus, according to Censorinus and Macrobius (p. 63), and various other Roman calendars (pp. 77—87); one in particular (p. 122),

in which the whole period of the Olympiads, from the first to the 257th, is given, as well in the Olympic year of Censorinus as in those of the Julian period, in the years from the foundation of Rome, in those of the era of Nabonassar, of Julius Cæsar's and Augustus's reformed calendars, and of the vulgar Christian era. Two consular tables are given ; one from the birth of Augustus to the death of Tiberius, in which the celebrated *Fasti Consulares* are placed in parallel columns with the chronicles of Idatius, Dion Cassius, Cassiodorus, and the *Chronicon Paschale*, and compared with other historical and monumental records. The second table (pp. 272—282) is given in an ascending series, from the year in which the Christian historian Censorinus wrote (A. D. 238), to that of Christ's crucifixion (A. D. 28, vulgar era). In the latter list, where the Capitoline records are wanting, the fourfold authority of Cassiodorus, Victorius, Idatius, and the *Chronicon Paschale*, are compared, and the discrepancies between each are reconciled. In pp. 469—477, are full tables, comprehending every day of the three years of our Lord's ministry ; and at the end is a new harmony of the Gospels, and a synoptical table of the period embraced in the work, in which a condensed view is given of its results.

We can afford but a brief remark or two upon these tables. In his adjustment of the Roman year, Dr. Jarvis shows, that the original year of Romulus consisted, not of ten months, as Varro held ; but, as Plutarch and Licinius Macer, &c., thought, of twelve. No documentary evidence was extant in Varro's day, to prove his opinion, which indeed seems to have been founded on the fact, that December was then the *tenth*, and, as it was therefore falsely concluded, the *last* month in the year. All presumptive evidence is against this opinion. There is no sign of it in the old Greek or Egyptian years, from either of which nations the various Italian tribes derived their chronology, and which consisted of twelve months. And if the year had consisted of but ten months, then in five years they would have travelled backwards through all the seasons, which would have been utterly inconsistent with the ancient Roman festivals, appropriated as these were to the various seasons.

The history of the intercalations, and the various attempts, both secular and ecclesiastical, to regulate the calendar, is a matter of the greatest interest to philosophy and religion. These are explained by Dr. Jarvis with his usual clearness. The Metonic cycle of nineteen years, invented 430 years before Christ, was among the principal of these, and formed the foundation for the subsequent ecclesiastical arrangement of the golden numbers. This cycle, Dr. Hales thinks, was probably derived from the Jews,

according to Anatolius. It seems at least in accordance with the perfection of the Jewish theocracy, that their system of intercalation should have been perfect; and there appears, therefore, strong ground for Dr. Hales's opinion (vol. i. p. 66), that the Passover was calculated from, and consequently the year regulated by, the true conjunction, or new moon, not from the first appearance of the new moon, as the later Rabbins imagined. But this system (which was in all likelihood corrupted in after times) was always of but limited use; and secular chronology would have been thrown into utter confusion, had it not been for the successive rectifications made, first by Julius Cæsar, and afterwards by Augustus. The providential ordering of these chronological arrangements is well observed upon by Dr. Jarvis—

“To the contemplative Christian it is interesting to observe, that among the arrangements of Divine Providence for the entrance of our blessed Lord into the world, that of the correct admeasurement of time seems to have been one. The system which prevailed through the whole Roman empire, on the authority of Augustus Cæsar, was not brought to its greatest accuracy, till the time had arrived, in which the Desire of all nations was to make his appearance among men.”—p. 115.

In the consular chronology he has followed Bianchini, who is opposed to Petavius in some important respects. And in this branch of his subject he avows a difference of opinion both with Mr. Clinton and Mr. Browne (p. x.); whose work, however, had not appeared, till his own was ready for the press. He also differs from the latter in calculating the reign of Tiberius (Luke iii. 1), from the beginning of his associate government with Augustus, not from his sole reign. This view, taken also by Mr. Greswell, Mr. Browne opposes, on the ground that none of the early ecclesiastical writers so understood it; that there is no vestige of the associate reign to be found on any coins, and that St. Luke would not have used language so likely to be misunderstood by the Roman officer to whom he addressed his Gospel. We think, however, that these objections, which have to a certain degree their weight, are overruled, not only by the known fact, that Tiberius was so associated *in the provinces*, but by the perfect harmony which Dr. Jarvis's opinion in this respect establishes with the authentic notes of time and history. “Where facts,” he observes, “are found to arrange themselves so harmoniously, without any effort to support a system, or to weave a theory, they must be truth.” Another difference is to be remarked in his assigning three years, not one, as Mr. Browne does, to our Lord's ministry, and, consequently, reckoning four Passovers, instead of two, during that period. We consider Dr. Jarvis's opinion, that

which is commonly held, the true one. Again, he does not consider authentic the tradition of the times of the successive courses of the Jewish priests in the Temple, upon which Mr. Browne (pp. 33, 34) builds one of his arguments for the adjustment of the time when the angel appeared to Zacharias, and, consequently of our Lord's Nativity. This argument, supported by the Mishna and by Scaliger, takes for granted, first, that the day when the first course commenced can be certainly ascertained; secondly, that the twenty-four courses were preserved in uninterrupted order from the time of David, who regulated them. Dr. Jarvis, in answering Scaliger (p. 558), observes, that we not only are without evidence on the first point, but that the book of Nehemiah (chap. xii.) contradicts the second; since, after the Captivity, there were but twenty-one or twenty-two courses; as Bishop Patrick also remarks. When Josephus says, that David's division of the priestly courses continued even to the destruction of the Temple, his words apply to the general system only. That the details of the Temple-service were in many respects interrupted is plain, from the extinction of some of the Levitical families, as those of the Kohathite and Merarite singers. Bishop Pearson also, in his tract called "Christ's Birth not mis-timed," holds that this continuation of the cycle of David cannot be proved.

There is another important question upon which these two writers are at variance, namely, the celebration of the last pass-over by our Lord before his Passion. It is well known that a difficulty exists upon this point; since St. John (xviii. 28) mentions that, the morning after our Lord had celebrated it, the Jews had not yet eaten it; which must make us adopt one of four alternatives. The first is that of Dr. Hales, namely, that our Lord kept the true time; the Jews, from a mistake in calculation, which he shows not to be in itself improbable, the wrong one. But this solution is open to the very serious objection, that, in order to celebrate the passover, it was necessary to have the victim slain by the priests, which they could not have permitted, except upon the proper day. The second theory is Mr. Browne's, that our Lord advisedly anticipated the regular day (p. 63), which of course is liable to the same objection as the first. Dr. Jarvis's opinion is, that a diversity of practice was allowed. We think, however, that the fourth opinion, that of Lightfoot, is the most probable (though all are beset with difficulties), namely, that "the passover," in the above-mentioned passage of St. John, does not mean the paschal lamb, but what was called the *chagigah*, a supplemental part of the paschal feast, eaten the following or fifteenth day.

All these differences of opinion have been mentioned, in order to show what embarrassments beset the science of chronology, even when investigated by men of the greatest acuteness and candour. The truth, however, of revelation is not in the least affected by these difficulties, which are incidental to all history, and mainly arise from the discordancies in the systems of ancient chronology, which it is a work of the utmost labour to adjust. The actual existence of the facts of the Gospel, however we may be perplexed about their exact time and sequence, are amply proved by the undesigned and even unwilling testimony of heathens, and by such a consent of Christians as is plainly seen to be artless, unsystematic, and utterly wanting in concert or combination. If, however, the science of chronology be pursued still further in the spirit of inquiry manifested by both Dr. Jarvis and Mr. Browne, there is every hope that a clear adjustment will eventually be made of those points on which they differ, and that the integrity and ingenuousness so conspicuous in both will make them desirous of aiming at such an adjustment in a spirit of mutual respect. Meantime we would strongly recommend the study of both volumes, in connexion with those of Hales and Clinton, to all who are desirous of mastering the facts of ecclesiastical history, and of avoiding the enticing bewilderments of speculation.

It is with great regret that we must part with Dr. Jarvis after such an inadequate notice, and must altogether omit any observations upon his "*harmony of the Gospels*," which forms the termination of his work.

We must now pass on to Mr. Browne's book. The object of this is more comprehensive than that of Dr. Jarvis. It takes in the whole extent of the chronology of the Holy Scriptures, as far as this relates to the history of the Church, terminating with the Acts and Epistles. From the consideration of unfulfilled prophecy he altogether abstains, holding the ancient doctrine, that prophecy can never be understood till it is fulfilled. But, in the adjustment of the scriptural history from the flood downwards, he has followed the same principles which guided Dr. Jarvis, namely, the careful consideration of testimony, wherever found, and strict matter-of-fact calculation upon astronomical principles. The remarkable feature of the book, however, which its title designates, and is unfolded in the introduction, is this, that the process of strict investigation suggested to the author's mind a result, which it would be unjust to call a theory; for, if his premises be correct, it is a simple matter of fact, which at once is made clear to the eye of the reader; and we are quite sure that no author was ever less disposed to accommodate facts to theories. This

result we shall endeavour to explain in a few words. It appears, according to Mr. Browne, that a system has been observed in the Divine economy of times and seasons so extremely regular as to leave no doubt of design. Such a phenomenon will be allowed to be *à priori* probable, by all who acknowledge the great analogy between the course of nature and the course of Providence. The facts accordingly are stated to be these:—From the creation to the deluge (according to Mr. Browne's calculation) is a period of 1655 years; from the exode to the conflagration of the second temple (A.D. 70) is a similar date of 1655 years. Again: the Israelites were *forty* years in the wilderness; and then succeeded a period of 450 years of Judges, beginning with Joshua; the whole being a period of *seven times seventy years*. Then there are *forty* years from Samuel, the first of the prophets, till the accession of David, succeeded by 450 years of kings; and then seventy years of captivity, the seventh part of the preceding period. From the flood to the promise to Abraham was a period of 430 years; from the promise to the Exode a similar period. And again (to mention no other instances), between the crucifixion and the destruction of Jerusalem there was an interval of *forty* years, a term which Mr. Browne (p. 372) considers explanatory of the "sign of the Prophet Jonas," who gave warning for *forty days* of the destruction of Nineveh.

Now to the most cursory reader of the Bible it must be obvious, and it has often been a subject of remark, that certain numbers, as *seven* and its multiples, and *forty*, are of such frequent occurrence, as manifestly to indicate design. The number of *forty* days or years generally indicates a state of transition, or an interval between two great and distinct periods of history: as in the times indicated above, in the *forty* days preceding our Lord's ministry, when He fasted in the wilderness, and in the *forty* days which intervened between His resurrection and His ascension. Mr. Browne has made a legitimate use of the indications afforded by Holy Scripture, to marshal and develope these phenomena, and to deduce from them a sublime system indeed, a course of providential ordinance, as regular as that which brings round the seasons, and governs the revolutions of the stars of heaven. It must surely be the natural impulse of devout and generous minds, to wish the author success in the establishing of his proofs, so

"That to the height of this great argument
He may assert Eternal Providence,
And vindicate the ways of God to men."

Mr. Browne treats his subject in an ascending order, beginning

with the adjustment of our Lord's nativity, and terminating with the highest point of mundane chronology, the creation. Each several portion of his work is bounded by events, the dates of which are cardinal to the general scheme; but, while having this great object in view, he at the same time fulfils the further object of determining the historical and literary chronology of the Scriptures in detail, even when these details do not immediately influence the general question.

One of the most difficult points of sacred chronology is the filling up of the chasms which occasionally occur where no record of time is to be found in the sacred text. Our author has shewn a laudable anxiety to clear up the difficulties in these respects, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and by avoiding as far as possible any conjectural supplements of time. Of his skill, and as we think, success in this method of investigation, there is a beautiful instance in the 5th chapter, (pp. 254—259,) where he elucidates, by a close and ingenious argument, St. Paul's statement in Acts xiii. 18—22. The periods of the apostle are, forty years in the wilderness, 450 years of Judges till Samuel, and then a period of forty years to David. Many critics, among them Mr. Clinton, (with whom Mr. Browne generally agrees,) understands St. Paul to speak of periods which are not consecutive, and accordingly Mr. Clinton supplies two conjectural periods, one of twenty-seven years, (*i.e.* from the death of Moses to the first servitude under the Philistines,) and another of twelve years, preceding Saul's election. Mr. Browne avoids both these conjectural chasms, by showing the continuity of St. Paul's chronology; viz., forty years in the wilderness; then sixty years (from the death of Moses); which last, together with 390 years of Judges from their first servitude, collected from the Bible narrative, make up a period of 450 years: the second period of St. Paul. This second period extends to the emancipation of the Israelites, and their solemn humiliation on the day of Mizpeh (1 Sam. viii.), being the emphatic period of Samuel's ministry; while the last period of St. Paul is the forty years extending from that day to the reign of David. By this simple elucidation, this much controverted period is exactly adjusted with the time of David's reign (B.C. 1057 or 6), and that of the Exode, which Mr. Browne has established on grounds altogether independent of this intermediate argument.

It appears to us evident that there exists conclusive grounds for his theory as to the providential periods of 490 years. But the case is different with respect to the parallelism of the longer periods of 1655 years; *i.e.* the interval between the Creation and the Deluge, and that from the Exode to the conflagration of the second temple. The parallelism will be altogether vitiated,

if either Mr. Browne's cardinal date of our Lord's nativity should prove unsound, or if the longer chronology of the Septuagint prove correct, in opposition to the shorter one of the Hebrew. Now between the principal modern theories respecting the Nativity are the following discrepancies. Mr. Browne and Dr. Hales place it five years before the vulgar era; Dr. Jarvis, with Kepler, Cappellus, and Dodwell, six; and Archbishop Usher, four. Still the difference is not so great, when considered in relation to so great a number of years, but that there is, in any view of the case, a very near approximation to the sublime theory supported in this volume.

The question, however, of the antediluvian genealogies does not appear to have received so lucid and careful a solution from Mr. Browne as he assumes in his seventh chapter (pp. 330—358). He has supported his view with his usual ability; but, after all, we must consider him, in this respect, as merely an able advocate of the side of a question still *sub judice*. It is well known that a most remarkable difference exists between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint version, with respect to the lives of the antediluvian and many of the postdiluvian patriarchs; the difference being mainly this, that out of seventeen successive generations, from Adam to Serug inclusive, thirteen are each one hundred years longer in the Septuagint than in the Hebrew: that is, each patriarch is represented as having lived one hundred years longer before the birth of his son; while the sum of each antediluvian life is the same in each; consequently the *residues* (the period, that is, of life, after the birth of the recorded son,) must altogether differ in the Hebrew and the Septuagint. The difference is so systematic and uniform, that the alteration of the original reading made in either the Hebrew or in the Septuagint must have been designed: in other words, the Scriptures must have been deliberately tampered with. It is utterly impossible the difference can have arisen from the mistakes of transcribers, or the omission of numerical characters: the difference in the residues is sufficient to refute such a solution. Now, so difficult has it been to find an adequate cause to urge either Jews or Greeks to so daring a forgery, that some of our profoundest biblical scholars (as Bishop Walton in his *Prolegomena*) have left the question undecided. We cannot, of course, afford to enter into the difficulties of the question that arise from the examination of the text, but must confine ourselves to the external argument.

Mr. Browne argues that the corruption could not have originated with the Jews, because, first, they were so very scrupulous with respect to preserving the integrity of the sacred text; secondly, they wanted an adequate motive. He combats the alleged motive,

namely, their desire to neutralize the prevailing belief, that the Messiah would appear in the sixth millenary of the world, by making it appear that the world had not attained to that age at the time of our Lord's Nativity; an object which would be secured by the curtailment of the patriarchal generations. But he considers it likely that the Alexandrine translators were induced to make the alteration from a fear of incurring the ridicule of the Egyptians, who, priding themselves upon their own remote antiquity, would laugh at such short annals as those of the Jews. Now it appears to us that Mr. Browne, in his observations, has not done justice to the arguments on the contrary side, so ably stated by Dr. Hales in the first volume of his *Chronology* (vol. i. pp. 273—283, second 8vo. edition), who holds to the opinion of the earliest Fathers of the Church, with the exception of the fanciful Origen, and St. Jerome (whose bias in favour of Jewish integrity is well known), and a few others. Dr. Hales shows that the mutilation of the Scriptures by the Jews had been asserted by Justin Martyr and by Ephrem Syrus; and the investigations of later times have proved them to be by no means such careful guardians of the sacred text as they pretend. In this, as in other matters, they have strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel. Their evil motive is asserted both by Ephrem Syrus and Abulfaragi; and of the prevalence of the tradition there are strong indications. There was a comparative facility, too, for corrupting the Hebrew Scriptures, since, during the second century (when he supposes the alteration to have taken place), they were confined to a portion merely of the Jews; the Christians, and a large number of the Jews themselves, using the Septuagint, which was far more generally diffused, and therefore the less liable to designed mutilation. As for the imputation on the Septuagint translators, that is a mere surmise, unsupported by evidence. The alteration made would not have been sufficient to overcome the ridicule of the Egyptians, of whose extravagant computations this extended chronology still must have fallen very short. Besides, it is, we think, evident, on a careful examination of the LXX version, that its compilers were scrupulously accurate in keeping to the text before them, however corrupt it may have sometimes been, so as, in many passages, rather to give an unintelligible translation, than to alter from conjecture a letter of their copy. And it is evident that the Pentateuch is one of the most correctly translated parts of the version. But besides, Philo of Alexandria, in the Apostles' age, asserts the fidelity of the Greek version. Josephus never hints at any discrepancy between the Hebrew and the Greek, even when writing on the subject of chronology. Theophilus of Antioch, in the second century, follows the longer

computation ; and from his omission of the second Cainan, it is evident he did not copy from the Septuagint. The Targum of Jonathan, and some other Rabbinical books, follow the longer computation. So that we have no notice whatever taken by the Jews or early Christians of any such glaring discrepancy, which, standing as it does, in the very front of Holy Scripture, must have been obtrusively palpable. The presumption, therefore, of a mutilation subsequent, at least, to Christ's Advent, appears to us very strong indeed.

Josephus, in his computation, is well known not to have been consistent. In his first computation he mainly agrees with the Septuagint (rejecting, however, the second Cainan), while, in a subsequent part of his work, there are statements in accordance with the shorter Jewish computation. Mr. Browne's argument, that the text of Josephus has been tampered with in his genealogy, is met by a statement of at least equal weight by Dr. Hales, that his latter summary has been altered by Judaizing editors. These arguments may be fairly balanced.

We might add to these arguments the opinion of Dr. Kennicott, who considers the Jews to have been the original corrupters ; and he ably brings forward an argument to be drawn from the Hebrew text against itself. Though the ages of six antediluvians are regularly shorter, yet the remaining three, the sixth, eighth, and ninth, much exceed the ages of the other six. Whereas in the LXX these three ages are regular and consistent with the other six. "The truth seems to be clearly this, that if they dropped the centuries of the ages of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, before they begat children, and added them to the remainder of their lives, they must, by this reckoning, have extended their lives beyond the flood." He quotes the assertions of Eusebius and Jacob Edessenus, that, in the 7th century, Hebrew copies existed with the longer numbers.

We have dwelt the longer upon this point, because it is one upon which a considerable part of Mr. Browne's theory depends ; and we must express a hope that, in his next edition, he will give it at least a more detailed examination. Nothing, we repeat, is further from our minds than a notion that Mr. Browne has had any conscious bias to make facts bend to theories. Still, perhaps, there never was a great theory, like his, started, and successfully established in many of its details, which its constructor, however wise and conscientious, was not insensibly led to push beyond its legitimate bounds. The success of demonstration, or at least of strong presumptive evidence in some details, induces a spirit of theorizing, which at the beginning of the investigation was carefully eschewed. This tendency is inseparable, perhaps,

from human nature ; and we would therefore respectfully entreat Mr. Browne to re-consider this portion of his work, in which he certainly has not strengthened his position with his usual care.

But we cannot leave this part of the subject without a word on the manner in which this learned writer, so ready in general to do justice to the merits of others, has spoken of one to whom our age is so largely indebted as the author referred to above, Dr. Hales. " At the close of the last century," he says, " Dr. Hales followed in the same track (*i. e.* of Vossius and Jackson), *pretending*, however, to re-construct the genuine Alexandrian text from that of Josephus." What force Mr. Browne means to affix to the word *pretending*, we know not. That its most obvious sense, however, is one of an injurious kind, cannot be denied ; and in speaking of a venerable, learned, and most candid critic, more guarded language ought to have been used. Dr. Hales' fair and elaborate argument, and ingenious attempt at the rectification of a very perplexed text (in accordance, we must say, with common sense and sound criticism), little deserves a notice which at least appears somewhat contemptuous. His work on chronology has doubtless its faults ; it is far too verbose and digressive, and might well have been contracted to half its size, nor does his conjectural criticism evince much skill in that particular department of scholarship. But for profound learning, for accurate collation of facts, for fulness of information, and for sincere and guileless piety, Dr. Hales is inferior to no writer of our generation, and second to none in the science of chronology.

It is with regret that we have made these strictures, which are still quite consistent with sincere respect for the learned writer. And (although we must decline entering into the controversy in any degree whatever) it is with no less regret that we must animadvert upon the tone used by Mr. Browne towards one of our profoundest scholars, Mr. Greswell, whose labours, independently of any chronological question, have so signally enriched our theology. Mr. Browne ought by this time to have known too well the great perplexities attending the details of chronology to be so very severe upon any error real or supposed committed by others. We shall merely observe upon the controversy itself, that we do not think Mr. Greswell's general system so much affected by the point in dispute, as Mr. Browne supposes ; while upon some others, as that of the associate reign of Tiberius, we think Mr. Greswell and Dr. Jarvis are right.

The second part of Mr. Browne's work contains first, " Institutes of Chronology," a compendium of the technical apparatus requisite for the study ; secondly, the remarks on Mr. Greswell's scheme

alluded to above ; thirdly, the chronographies of the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Egyptians, compared with the Scriptures ; then, a harmony of part of the gospels ; and lastly, a beautiful and interesting essay on prophecy.

On these parts of his book but a few words can be said. As to the Egyptian chronology, Mr. Browne's remarks, advanced with great modesty and caution, are striking and valuable. He justly suspects the ancient lists of dynasties to have been corrupted by the priests, in order to invalidate the urgent claims of Scripture history. This may be one solution of the discordance observable between the lists given by Manetho, Syncellus, Eratosthenes, and Herodotus ; which are clearly irreconcilable upon any ordinary hypothesis. Mr. Browne, on commencing his inquiry, says,—

“ Of the *monuments* I shall make but sparing use : I am not competent to express a critical judgment respecting their value as documents of chronology ; but I cannot help suspecting that in the present state of hieroglyphical knowledge, their indications must be too precarious to be relied upon for constructive purposes.”—p. 572.

In this misgiving we fully participate. Whatever degree of certainty is to be attributed to hieroglyphical knowledge, the further questions remain, how can we be assured that many of these records are not forgeries by priests of much later times ? and what certain tests have we of the antiquity and genuineness of monuments ? and how can it be proved (indeed, we have yet seen no proof that is demonstrative) that the *phonetic* system of writing was not introduced into Egypt in comparatively recent times ? Indeed, we are strongly of opinion, that no real and consistent light can be thrown upon Egyptian history, till some unquestionable records of the Israelites are discovered among its monuments, a discovery of which we are far from despairing ; and that, till testimony connected with the sacred annals be found, nothing certain will be known of that extraordinary people.

In his views as to the interpretation of prophecy, Mr. Browne agrees mainly with Mr. Maitland, in adhering to the literal system. Without pronouncing upon the merits of a very disputed question, it must be allowed that the masters in this school have, at least, done this great service to the cause of truth, by recalling us to more careful and exact statements and examinations of facts, and by repressing the wild and licentious interpretation of Holy Scripture.

We would beg particularly to refer our readers to the beginning of his fifth section (p. 663), and the essay on the nature, intent, and complex structure of prophecy, in which he shows the whole of Scripture to discharge a prophetic office. It is

one of the many passages in which the author relieves the dryness of chronological inquiries by great beauty of style, justness of thought, and soundness of critical scholarship.

It is much, however, to be regretted, that the arrangement of his work is not more commodious. It is too much broken up with Appendices ; and had it been diffused into two volumes with larger type, it would have been far more convenient for use and reference. But, above all, there is a sad want of a good Index, a want under which Dr. Jarvis's book also labours. A *good* Index is, indeed, at all times rare, but the total want of one in a work of reference like Mr. Browne's is a serious defect. Indeed, we cannot but wish that men of learning would, in pity to their less gifted disciples, condescend to bestow a little time upon an appendage which, doubtless, implies some drudgery on the part of the authors, but would be well repaid by the gratitude of their readers.

ART. IV.—*The Principles of Political Economy; with some Inquiries respecting their application, and a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science.* By J. R. MACCULLOCH, Esq. *A New Edition, enlarged and corrected throughout.* Edinburgh: W. Tait. London: Longman.

WE remember attending, several years ago, a meeting which was held for the discussion of questions of Political Economy, when, among other subjects proposed for consideration, the following was fixed upon for the evening's debate: "*What progress has the Science of Political Economy made since the days of Adam Smith?*"

We recollect being at the time particularly struck by the sentiments which were expressed on the occasion by one of the party present, who took a leading part in the debate. The gentleman to whom we allude was himself an author of some celebrity, who had written on the subject. He was generally looked up to as an authority in such matters; and the opinion which he gave we think worth recording, not only on account of its general bearing on the nature and methods of this science, but because of the light which it throws upon the views of the school to which he evidently belonged, and of which Mr. Macculloch (whose work we are about to consider) is the most famed living disciple and expositor.

This gentleman, then, after having noticed the able and useful works of Messrs. Say, Storch, and Sismondi, in which the subject had been treated more methodically than in the *Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations*, and having adverted to the more important contributions of Mr. Malthus, in his *Essays on Population and Rent*, concluded his survey by declaring his conviction that Mr. Ricardo, in his celebrated treatise, had completed all that, prior to his time, remained to be done, and had thoroughly exhausted the subject. In his (this gentleman's) judgment, we were now in possession of a full, satisfactory, and perfect theory of political economy. Nothing further was left us to inquire into.

It is, perhaps, needless to say that the majority of those who were present on the occasion did not much sympathize with these views. The general current of feeling ran quite the other way. Some considered that there were yet several questions which required further elucidation and development, and nearly all

seemed to agree that it was difficult to prescribe limits to a subject embracing so many topics, and extending over so wide a field of inquiry.

Notwithstanding, however, this general expression of dissent from his opinion, it cannot be supposed that one so conversant with the subject as that gentleman was judged to be had taken it up on light grounds, or that there did not exist some good reasons which might account for his having been led to entertain such views.

These reasons we have used our best endeavours to discover, and the course of our reflections has led us to what we conceive to be the true explanation of them. They appear to us to have their root and origin in the peculiar mode of investigation which has been pursued by this modern school of economists. The subject has been treated by them as one, the knowledge of which is to be acquired by reasoning from premises which are assumed as certain and incontrovertible first principles. This method of inquiry characterizes their writings, is interwoven with their system, and gives a mathematical cast to all their conclusions. The evil of this method is, that it leads to premature generalizations, and to incomplete, and therefore erroneous, views of the truths which it professes to establish.

There is, however, something so captivating in the ease and neatness with which important questions appear to be settled by this method of treating them, that it has been extolled and acted upon by other writers, who differ from this school in many important particulars, but who, in this respect, seem to have been carried away by the influence of their example. "The foundations of political economy (says the author of the article in the *Encyclop. Metropol.*) consist of a few *general propositions* deduced from observations or experience." And again:—"This science depends more on reasoning than on observation. If economists had been aware that its principal difficulty consists, not in the ascertainment of its facts, but on the use of its terms, they would have directed their attention to the selection and consistent use of an accurate nomenclature."

Now, if it be true that the propositions of political economy are few in number, which they must needs be if they are founded on the definitions of half a dozen terms, the conclusions to be wrought out of them cannot be very many; and even if those data were more numerous than they are here represented to be, as soon as the results of them are worked out, there must be an end of the whole subject. There is nothing further to seek for. Such a system carries its own natural termination along with it; and that termination cannot be very remote. So, doubtless,

thought the speaker who delivered the opinion to which we have referred. He could not but perceive that there must be a necessary limit to deductions drawn from such scanty materials. *That* limit he thought we had reached; and we look upon his declaration in no other light than as an avowal, on his part, that the *à priori* method of investigation, adopted by himself and others, had done for the science all that it was capable of doing,—that it could go no further. We had arrived at its ultimate point.

This, too, we are free to confess, is our own conviction. No further progress can, we think, be now made in the science by following up the system of those economists. *Deduction* has achieved for us all that it can; we fear that it has frequently led us astray. If we would acquire a further insight into the subject, we must invert the order of procedure; we must try what *induction* will do. Instead of making axioms and definitions the basis of our reasonings, as has been heretofore done, we must begin by studying the economic form and structure of society, and so build up our system upon the solid foundation of experimental knowledge. It is by this means only that we can hope to arrive at results which will be found to accord with things as they are, and that will enable us to form any anticipations regarding the future which have a chance of being realized¹.

Mr. Macculloch, however, in the statement of his principles, and his ordinary method of reasoning from them, belongs to the *deductive* school of political economy, and there we must follow him. The examination of his book will afford us an opportunity of judging what are the doctrines which are to be obtained by this method, and what reliance is to be placed on them.

This work has passed through three editions. It is written throughout in a clear, popular, and unaffected style. Although mainly founded upon the system of Mr. Ricardo, it nevertheless contains some important variations from the views of that original writer, in which we think Mr. Macculloch has not always been successful. In one or two instances, indeed, he seems to have quite misunderstood the doctrine of his master, and has himself fallen into inconsistencies and even contradictions in his attempt to set up new views of his own. These we shall have occasion to notice as we proceed.

¹ Mr. J. Stuart Mill, in some very able essays recently published, advocates the *à priori* method in Political Economy. He, however, allows that by it we can only arrive at truth in the *abstract*, and must be careful not to ascribe to conclusions which are grounded upon *hypothesis* a different kind of certainty from that which really belongs to them. But this has been lost sight of by modern writers on the science. They have put forth their hypotheses as representations of the actual state of things.

Adopting the language of Mr. Mill², Mr. Macculloch sets out by stating, that *what domestic economy is to a single family, political economy is to the state.*

This may perhaps accord with the original meaning of the expression. It may apply to the view taken of the subject by the French economists, who invented the name, and have written upon wealth, as though their designs were to lay down the rules of an art, rather than explain the principles of a science. Modern writers, however, confine it to this latter sense only. But, however applied, it is at best a very vague and ill-chosen analogy. It points to no immediate or specific subject, nor in any way refers to what it is meant to include or exclude. Hence it is difficult to define its limits, which are in a great measure arbitrary.

According to Mr. Macculloch it is

"The science of the laws which regulate the production, distribution, and consumption of those articles or products which have exchangeable value, and are either necessary, useful, or agreeable to man." (p. 1.)

This definition, however, though true in the main, is not altogether free from objection. First it refers to value, before we are told what value is; and, secondly, it does not confine itself to *material* products, which we conceive to be a very necessary limitation, the want of which is sure to create confusion. In common discourse wealth always refers to what is tangible, and capable of transmission from one owner to another. The rules which apply to such things are, for the most part, inapplicable to those which are immaterial and intangible, however useful or necessary these latter may be. We therefore think that the sort of wealth which forms the subject-matter of political economy is more correctly represented as consisting of *those material objects which are appropriated by man before they are used or consumed*³. This definition excludes what exists in unlimited quantity, and therefore unsusceptible of appropriation, and also what does exist in limited quantity, but is useless, and therefore not worth appropriation.

It is one of Mr. Macculloch's tenets, that labour is the *sole* source of wealth, to the exclusion of land and capital, the co-operation of which appears to be equally essential. In reply to a remark made in the "Quarterly Review," that the earth is a source of wealth, because it furnishes the materials to work upon, which have a value independently of the labour bestowed upon

² Elements of Political Economy. Introductory chapter.

³ We are indebted to Mr. Jones for this definition. See his *Essay on Rents*. It is concise and to the purpose.

them, Mr. Macculloch answers (page 62), that it would be as correct to say that the earth was the source of pictures and statues, because it furnished the materials made use of by painters and statuaries. But as no such arts could possibly exist without the subjects on which they are to be exercised, and that those subjects are appropriated prior to the use that is made of them by the artist, if language have any meaning at all, the earth from which they are derived is unquestionably a source of wealth.

The love of generalization, and the desire to reduce every thing to a single principle, has led Mr. Macculloch into other still more important deviations from the ordinary language of political economy, in the use and application of his terms. It is well known that in the production of wealth natural agents bear an important part. In most instances we are able to avail ourselves of their gratuitous services, in which case, although they increase the quantity or improve the quality of what is produced, they add nothing to its value. In some cases, however, their assistance must be paid for, e. g. when time is required for their operation, and then they must necessarily add to the value as well as to the quantity or quality of the work, or the production would be abandoned as profitless. Mr. Macculloch will not allow that they are in any case sources of wealth or value. He says,

“It may be thought that this principle (viz. labour being the sole source of wealth and value) is at variance with what is observed to take place in the production of certain descriptions of commodities. Thus if a cask of new wine be kept for a definite period, or till it arrives at maturity, it will acquire a higher value. Now as the change produced in the wine is entirely brought about by the operation of natural agents, and as *without the change the wine would have no higher value*, it has been contended that this is a case in which the labour of natural agents is plainly productive of an increased value. But it is easy to see that this is a mistake. The cask of wine is a capital, or is the result of the labours employed in cultivating, gathering, pressing, and otherwise preparing the grapes from which it has been made. But it is necessary, in order to give time for the processes of fermentation, decomposition, &c. to effect the desired changes in the wine, that it should be laid aside until they are completed. The producer of wine would not, however, employ his capital in this way unless it were to yield him the same return that is derived from the capital employed in other businesses. And hence it follows, that though the processes carried on by nature render the wine more desirable, or bestow on it a greater degree of utility, *they add nothing to its value*, the additional value which is acquired being a consequence of the profit accruing on the capital required to enable the processes being carried on.”—p. 355.

In the former part of the above passage it is said that, without the change occasioned by the natural agent, the wine would

have no additional value; but in the latter part it is said, that these natural agents add nothing to the value of the wine. The increase of its value is attributed to the profit upon the capital employed, which Mr. Macculloch considers as synonymous with so much additional labour being bestowed upon it; for in the paragraph immediately following this passage we are told, that capital is *accumulated* labour; and as accumulated labour is the result of *immediate* labour, the additional profit, which adds to the value of the wine, is to be considered as so much additional labour. This, to be sure, is rather a roundabout way of endeavouring to prove that *profits* are *labour*. It may be thought by some to be very ingenious reasoning, but to us it appears to involve as gross an abuse of terms as can well be conceived. That the additional value is a profit to the wine-merchant, proportioned to the time of his keeping the wine, we allow. That this profit is additional labour bestowed on the wine is what we cannot allow. There are two conditions necessary for the wine to acquire the additional value;—1. the improvement of its flavour; 2. the time required for it. If the flavour could be acquired *at once*, or if by keeping it it does not improve (an accident which not unfrequently occurs) it would command no higher price. It is, therefore, correct to say that we pay for natural agents, when they require time for their operations.

Adam Smith, who used the term *wealth* in its popular sense, as denoting *material* commodities, drew an important distinction between the labour which was employed in the production of such things, and that which, however useful or desirable, did not realize itself in those palpable subjects. The former he denominated *productive*, and the latter *unproductive* labour; that is, unproductive of what he considered to constitute wealth. Nothing can well be simpler than this classification, nor clearer than the reason adduced in support of it. Instead, however, of viewing it as the consistent and necessary consequence of confining wealth to *material* objects, and therefore one which he was not bound to adopt (who uses that term without any such limitation), Mr. Macculloch can perceive no distinction between these two sorts of labour; he can discern not the smallest difference between them (p. 536), and utterly denies that any such exists. And yet what intelligible idea is it possible to form of the produce of the labour of the menial servant, of the public functionary, of the physician, of the lawyer? Where are the wages, rent, and profits into which *their* produce is divided? and, if they be nowhere to be found, does not this very fact of itself establish the distinction which he denies?

Again; it is usual to give to that portion of the stock of a country which is employed productively, or with a view to profit,

the name of *capital*, which, for the sake of greater perspicuity, Adam Smith has distinguished into two kinds, *fixed* and *circulating*; meaning by fixed capital such as always continues in possession of the owner, and by circulating capital, such as yields him a profit only when he parts with or sells it. The talent and dexterity acquired by the workman, and used by him productively, is likewise considered by Adam Smith as a capital fixed and realized in his person.

Mr. Macculloch, however, not only makes a cross division on this subject, by representing fixed or circulating capital as determined by different degrees of durability, instead of being determined by its continuance or non-continuance in the hands of those who produce or use it, but he likewise comprises under the head *capital* (page 96) whatever is available for the support of human beings; and further on (pages 116 and 356), strange to say, he includes in it the very human beings themselves,—not simply their talent and ingenuity productively employed, but the very persons of the individuals who possess those qualities.

These innovations on the accustomed meaning of terms which had been already fixed are worse than useless. If persevered in, they lead to confusion, and if abandoned to inconsistency. Mr. Macculloch is sometimes driven to one or the other of these alternatives; for instance, his observations on the uses and advantages of capital are very just and proper, but they apply to it only in its ordinary sense. He remarks:—

1. That it enables work to be executed which could not otherwise be executed.

2. That it enables it to be executed better and more expeditiously.

3. That it saves labour.

All this is perfectly true; but how can it be predicated of *food*, or of man, whose labour it is said to save?

On this same subject, the employment of capital, there occurs the following passage:

“Had it been a law of nature that the *quantity* of produce obtained from industrious undertakings should merely suffice to replace that which had been expended in carrying them on, society would have made no progress, and man would have continued in the state in which he was originally placed. But the established order of things is widely different. It is constituted so that in the vast majority of cases more wealth or produce is obtained, through the agency of a given quantity of labour, than is required to carry on that labour. *This surplus or excess of produce has been denominated profit, and it is from it that capital is wholly derived.*”—p. 103.

It is obvious that no land can be cultivated for the purpose of

procuring food, unless it will return a larger amount of sustenance than is required in order to maintain the cultivators; and the excess produced above their necessary maintenance is the absolute limit to any rent or profit which it is capable of yielding. But in no other department of human industry is this principle at all applicable. There is, in the majority of cases, no more connexion between the *quantity* of the things produced and the *quantity* of the things consumed in the process of production, than there is between yards of cloth and gallons of wine. The only possible means of comparing the one with the other is by their *value*, and not by their *quantity*. We cannot, therefore, agree with Mr. Macculloch in his doctrine, that *profit* is occasioned by an *excess* of the *quantity produced* over and above the *quantity consumed*. It is not always true of the produce of the land; for the varying value of the crop must often make the quantity necessary to put into motion the labour that has produced it, greater or less than the quantity actually consumed in the production. In the one case the profit will be greater than the excess of quantity produced, and in the other case it will fall below it. Thus, if to produce 120 quarters of corn it has cost 100 quarters, the excess will be twenty quarters; but if, owing to a rise of price, when those 120 quarters are brought to market, ninety-five quarters should be sufficient to put into motion the same quantity of labour as that employed in the production of the whole 120 quarters, instead of twenty quarters, the profit will be increased to twenty-five quarters; or if, on the other hand, owing to a fall of price, 105 quarters should be required to command that same quantity of labour, the profit will be reduced to fifteen quarters. In other sorts of industry, the quantities produced and those consumed relate, for the most part, to perfectly different subjects, which are obviously incommensurable by each other; so that profits must depend upon the excess of *value*, and not upon the excess of *quantity* produced.

It seems to be a favourite tenet of Mr. Macculloch, and one which he has taken much pains to inculcate, that the power to accumulate in a country depends altogether upon the rate of profit.

“Seeing, therefore, that capital is produced out of the excess of the produce realized by those who engage in industrious undertakings, over and above the produce necessarily expended in carrying them on, it plainly follows that the means of amassing capital will be greatest where this excess is greatest, or, in other words, that they will be greatest where the rate of profit is greatest.”—p. 105.

If, on the rise or fall of profit, other things remained the same, this doctrine would of course be true; but, in the progress of

society, it is very rarely the case that other things do remain the same. The very circumstances which diminish the rate of profit (unless temporarily) increase rent, stated wages, and derivative incomes, which are all sources of accumulation, and in our own country especially very largely so. It happens, therefore, that *practically* the augmentations that are made to capital are often the greatest where the rate of profit is the lowest.

Even if profits were the sole, or even chief fund out of which a nation could add to its capital, its power of accumulation from this source must depend upon the *mass* of its profits, and not upon their *rate*. If in one country profits are ten per cent., and in another fifteen per cent., yet if the capital in the former be double what it is in the latter, its power of augmenting its capital will, *cæteris paribus*, be as twenty to fifteen.

Mr. Macculloch has a long chapter on the subject of gluts. We are certainly as little apprehensive as himself that a glut is ever likely to be brought about by the substitution of machinery for human labour. It is the fall of commodities *below* their cost of production that is ruinous to the producer, and not their fall in consequence of a diminution of the cost. A fall from the latter cause is an universal benefit, since it puts the article to which it applies within the reach of those who could not before obtain it, and *that* without any abatement of profit to the producer. Such a fall, too, is usually attended by an increase of the quantity demanded and consumed, so that the total value sold is greater than it was *before*. A fall, however, arising from the over-supply of a commodity of which the cost has *not* been reduced, is a totally different thing, and the question is, whether or not such a fall can possibly be general.

In arguing against this possibility, Mr. Macculloch has propounded some things which we could hardly have expected to have proceeded from the pen of a man of sense. He says,—

“In exerting his productive powers, every man intends either to consume the entire produce of his labours himself, or to exchange it, or a portion of it, for such commodities or services as he wishes to obtain from others. Suppose now that he *directly consumes every thing he produces*; it is obvious that in such a case there can be no glut or excess; for to suppose that commodities intended for direct consumption by the producers may be in excess, is equivalent to supposing that production may be carried on without a motive,—that there may be an effect without a cause. When individuals, instead of directly consuming the produce of their industry, offer it in exchange for others, their miscalculations may occasion a glut. Should A for example produce commodities and offer them in exchange to B or C, who is unable to furnish him with those he wished to obtain, he will have miscalculated; and there will be a glut. He should, it is obvious, have offered his com-

modities to others, or have applied himself to the production of those which he wanted. This, however, is an error that will speedily be rectified; for, if he find that he cannot attain his object by prosecuting his present employment, he will forthwith set about changing it, producing in time to come such commodities only as he may find a merchant for, or as he means to consume himself."—p. 192.

Now, in a state of society in which the division of labour is carried to its utmost extent,—where each one confines himself, or pretty nearly so, to a single branch of business, and exchanges the produce of his one species of industry, either for labour or for the various produce of many other kinds of industry,—how is it possible for a man directly to consume himself every thing he produces? and, if he could so consume it, what would become of his capital which is vested in it? Or, again, how is he to follow Mr. Macculloch's recommendation, and apply himself to the production of the other things he may want? Is he to quit a business to which he has been perhaps all his life accustomed, in order to take up others of which he knows little or nothing; or, in other words, to make himself a Jack of all trades; in doing which it is pretty certain that he would become master of none? But supposing these difficulties to be got over, and that he had both the will and capability of undertaking some new employment, from whence is he to derive the means of doing it, seeing that his capital is locked up in an article which is either wholly unsaleable, or which he cannot dispose of but at such a sacrifice as must render his continuance in his own trade by far the least evil of the two? Reasonings like these, on the part of theoretical writers, which bid defiance to common sense and experience, are calculated to bring the science into contempt, and make practical men turn away from it in disgust.

The following passage is less objectionable. We quote it, because it shows more clearly wherein the fallacy upon this question lies:

"It is clear, therefore, that a universally increased facility of production can never be the cause of a permanent overloading of the market. Suppose that the amount of capital and labour engaged in different employments is adjusted according to the effectual demand, and that they are all yielding the same net profit. If the productive powers of labour were universally increased, the commodities produced would all preserve the same relation to each other. Double or treble the quantity of one commodity would be given for double or treble the quantity of every other commodity. There would be a general augmentation of the wealth of the society, but there would be no excess of commodities in the market; the increased equivalents on the one

side being balanced by a corresponding increase on the other."—p. 193.

Mr. Macculloch evidently imagines that, so long as commodities all preserve the same relation to each other, they must all continue to yield the same net profit. He does not perceive that this profit may vary, that it may be increased or decreased on the whole mass of commodities generally, without affecting their relative value. This is precisely the error into which Mr. Mill has fallen on this subject, and which is founded upon a total misconception as to the nature of demand and supply.

"What is it," says Mr. Mill, "that is necessarily meant when we say that the supply and the demand are accommodated to one another? It is this: that goods which have been produced by a certain quantity of labour, exchange for goods which have been produced by an equal quantity of labour. Let this proposition be duly attended to, and all the rest will be clear⁴."

Now as the rise and fall of profit do not (according to Mr. Mill's own doctrine, adopted by him from Mr. Ricardo,) affect the relative value of commodities, so neither (upon the principle set forth in the above extract) can it affect the proportion between the demand and supply in *Mr. Mill's sense* of those terms; and yet, according to their *ordinary* meaning, no rise or fall could possibly take place in profits either generally or in reference to particular commodities only, without some change having taken place in the relation between the demand and the supply to account for it. Upon this mistaken interpretation of those terms, however, it is, that Mr. Mill has founded his denial of the possibility of a general glut. An excessive supply of some commodities implies, in his view, an excessive demand for others. He has failed to perceive that they may all preserve a due proportion to each other, and yet all be in excess. Their *relative* value may be the same, when they are all selling at money prices which are insufficient to defray the cost of their production.

Mr. Mill, and those who have adopted his theory on this subject, have not sufficiently considered that men do not practically barter their goods with each other; but they first exchange them for money, and afterwards exchange that money for other goods. Now it occasionally happens, that owing to a scarcity of money, originating, perhaps, in causes peculiar to the currency, or in over-speculation, or in an union of both causes, a general apprehension exists on the part of dealers of a probable fall of prices. Under this impression all rush to the market together, and are eager to convert their goods into money, but are not equally

⁴ Elem. of Pol. Econ. chap. iv. sec. 3.

anxious to convert their money again into goods. The natural and inevitable consequence is the very fall which they apprehended, attended with an increased difficulty of selling, and terminating in a complete stagnation of business, or what is called a general glut. This, at the time being, is a state of overproduction, that is, of production beyond a remunerative demand, or such a demand as will satisfy the conditions of the cost⁵.

We pass on to the consideration of the question of value.

Mr. Macculloch's doctrine on this subject seems to be a modification of that of Mr. Ricardo, to whose work we must refer, in order thoroughly to understand it.

Mr. Ricardo's opening chapter commences with the following proposition: "The value of commodities, or *the proportion in which they will exchange for each other*, depends upon the relative quantities of labour employed in their production."

Now here the term *value* is used as synonymous with the proportion in which commodities exchange for each other. But a little further on (in the same chapter) we are told that commodities rise in value with every increase of labour required to produce them, and fall with every diminution of such labour.

"If," says Mr. Ricardo, "the quantity of labour realized in commodities regulate their exchangeable value, every increase of the quantity of labour must augment the value of that commodity on which it is exercised, as every diminution must lower it."

In conformity with this statement, if all commodities could be produced with one-half the labour that is now bestowed on them, they would fall in value one-half (a doctrine which Mr. Ricardo has still more clearly stated in other parts of his work, as for instance in his remarks on Mons. Say); but, as this circumstance would not alter the proportion in which they would exchange with each other, it is clear that Mr. Ricardo has here used the term *value* in a sense different from that in which he explained it at the outset of his work. In the latter instance he considers it with reference to cost, and the moment we refer value to cost there is an end of saying that it is a *mere* relation of one commodity to another. In chap. xx., edit. 3, his remarks on Mons. Say are as follows:

"According to Mons. Say, if the difficulty of producing cloth

⁵ See this subject very ably explained in some Essays on Polit. Econ. by Mr. John Stuart Mill, recently published (p. 69.) On one point we venture to differ from the view taken by this very talented writer. He thinks that when a fall takes place, if the prices remained *permanently* low, no producer would be the worse for it, as all would be put on the same footing in respect to their sales and purchases; but it seems to have escaped him, that many rates and taxes and the price of labour do not fall, or at any rate not in proportion, so that a reaction of the prices, or a rise, is always felt by them to be a relief.

were to double, it would be doubled in value, to which I give my fullest assent; but if there were any peculiar facility in producing other commodities, and no increased difficulty in producing cloth, and cloth should exchange for double the quantity of commodities, Mons. Say would still say that cloth had doubled in value, whereas, according to my view of the subject, he should say, that cloth retained its former value, and these particular commodities had fallen to half their former value."

Now if value were merely a relation of one thing to another—of the cloth to those other things, Mons. Say would have been justified in his conclusion. The change of relation between them, simply as such, is as correctly expressed by saying that cloth had risen, as by saying that the other things had fallen. Mr. Ricardo's criticism upon this passage is therefore well founded *only* on the supposition that the additional labour required to produce the cloth had occasioned a rise, not only of its *relative*, but likewise of its *positive* or *absolute* value.

We so far agree, therefore, with Mr. Ricardo, that we hold *value* to be expressive of *cost*, and not simply to mean a *relation* between different commodities.

But here we come to an important point, on which a great deal hinges. Mr. Ricardo has satisfactorily shown, after Adam Smith, that equal quantities of the same kind of labour can alone constitute or represent equal degrees or amounts of sacrifice, and that, consequently, labour is the sole measure of cost; but value, it is to be observed, in its popular sense (which we hold to be the true sense, and that in which it is generally used by Adam Smith) is the sacrifice which the *purchaser* of a commodity is able and willing to make in order to acquire it, or more simply, it is the *cost to the purchaser* and not the *cost to the producer*; and hence the value of every commodity must be measured by the quantity of labour or of labour's worth which the purchaser gives or puts forth in order to acquire it, and not by that which the producer has already put forth or bestowed upon its production⁶.

If Mr. Ricardo had reasoned thus (which would have been perfectly consistent with his own statement regarding the measure of cost) his doctrine would have exactly accorded with that of Adam Smith; since the quantity of labour which the purchaser gives for a commodity is identical with that which it will command⁷.

⁶ Mr. Senior has noticed this fundamental error of Mr. Ricardo in confounding *cost* with *value*.

⁷ The following we take to be the reasons why Adam Smith's doctrine in this matter has never obtained universal assent. 1st. In stating the quantity of

Instead, however, of viewing the subject in this, which seems to us to be its true light, he has used the term *value* sometimes as denoting the original cost of a commodity, and at other times as expressing its relation to others. It is this which has thrown so much obscurity into his writings, and puzzled his readers.

In endeavouring to avoid some of these inconsistencies, Mr. Macculloch has, we think, fallen into others.

He distinguishes value into two kinds, *exchangeable or marketable value*, which he measures by the quantity of labour or of any thing else for which a commodity will exchange, and *cost or real value*, which he estimates by the positive quantity of labour that is required to produce the commodity and bring it to market.

"We must carefully distinguish between the *exchangeable value* of an article, or the quantity of produce or labour for which it will exchange and its *cost*, or as it is sometimes termed, its *real value*; meaning by cost or real value, the *quantity of labour originally required to produce or acquire an article*."—p. 297.

The difference between these two quantities of labour he states to consist of profits.

"It is material to observe that, speaking generally, commodities uniformly exchange for or buy *more labour, or the produce of more labour, than was required for their production*. Unless such were the case, a capitalist would have no motive to lay out stock on the employment of labour, for *his profit depends on his getting back the produce of a greater quantity of labour than he advances*."—p. 303.

A little further on, however, he says,—

"The cost or real value of commodities—denominated by Smith and Garnier *natural or necessary price*, is, as already seen, identical with the *quantity of labour required to produce them, and bring them to market*."—p. 312.

Now, as Smith and Garnier's *natural or necessary price* most certainly includes *profits* (as upon Mr. Macculloch's own prin-

labour which a commodity would command as the measure of its value, he did not clearly explain the reason of it, viz., its identity with the quantity which the purchaser must sacrifice in order to obtain that commodity. 2ndly. He had previously spoken of value, as consisting in the power of purchasing, from which some have inferred (Mr. Buchanan, for instance, in his edition of the "Wealth of Nations") that, in proposing labour as its measure, he was alluding to a measure of exchangeability, and not a measure of cost. Most of the exceptions made to Adam Smith's standard have been grounded on this misapprehension; Mr. Buchanan's, for instance, in his edition of the "Wealth of Nations." 3rdly. In his digression on the value of silver he has taken corn instead of labour as his measure, which, in all probability, must have arisen from his inability to obtain accurate prices of labour at the times at which he wished to institute the comparison.

ciple, stated at p. 303 above quoted, it ought to do), the cost or real value, here referred to by him as identical with it, must *include* them also. But in his original definition of those terms he had expressly *excluded* them.

Again; it is said (p. 303 above quoted) that the capitalist's profit depends on his getting back *the produce* of a greater quantity of labour than he advances. But how does this consist with the doctrine elsewhere taught throughout the work, viz. that commodities which are the produce of *equal* quantities of labour are equal in value, and will exchange with each other? Mr. Macculloch has here unavoidably confounded a greater quantity of labour with *the produce* of that greater quantity. If profits were twenty per cent, the produce of *ten* hours' labour ought to exchange in the market for twelve hours' labour, but certainly not for *the produce* of twelve hours' labour; for such produce, at the same rate of profit, ought to be worth fourteen hours' labour. This confusion of the two meanings not only applies to the particular paragraph from which the above passage is taken, but pervades Mr. Macculloch's reasoning generally throughout his work; and it is further kept up and fostered by the use of an expression ambiguous in itself—the word *cost* being usually understood to mean the *producing* cost, and the word *value* the *purchasing* cost.

It seems almost unaccountable how Mr. Macculloch could have fallen into this mistake, seeing that he had cautioned his readers against it (p. 297), and had further charged it upon Adam Smith.

“The statement made above shows the error of the opinion held by Dr. Smith, that the quantity of labour required to produce any article ought to be taken as the measure of the quantity for which it would exchange.”—p. 304.

Mr. Macculloch has not furnished us with any extract from the “Wealth of Nations” in support of this charge, and we are not acquainted with any statement of Adam Smith which justifies it. In the sixth chapter of his first book, *on the component parts of the price of commodities*, these two quantities of labour are said to be identical *only* when labour is the *sole* agent in the production, and where, consequently, the whole produce resolves itself into wages. When a commodity sells for precisely what it has cost in labour (or in money representing that labour), it is self-evident that the producing and the purchasing labour must be equal quantities. In all other cases, where there exist profit or rent, or either of them, Adam Smith distinctly states that the latter must exceed the former.

But to return to Mr. Macculloch.—If his phrase, *cost or real value*, be meant to *include* profits, it cannot be measured, as (p. 297) he states it to be, by the quantity of labour originally employed in the production, which (p. 203) is said to *exclude* them. If, on the other hand, the phrase is meant to exclude profits, he has confounded the *real value* of a commodity with its *cost*, and made it to be less than its exchangeable value, which does include profits. Interpret it which way we will, there is confusion and inconsistency⁸.

The difficulties with which the subject of value has been encumbered, and which have led to so many conclusions at variance with each other, have their origin in these different significations which have been attached to this most important word. It is simple enough, if we confine it to mean “The estimation in which commodities are held as determined by the sacrifice that must be made by the purchaser in order to acquire them,” this being in reality what men in their ordinary transactions of bargain and sale understand by it, and what Adam Smith, notwithstanding the occasional vagueness of his language, evidently had in view when he proposed labour as its measure.

This word value is so important in this its ordinary sense, that

⁸ In the first edition this doctrine is somewhat differently stated, though in substance the same. It is there said (p. 215), that when the demand and supply of commodities is equal, then *exchangeable* value is identical with *real* value: but a little further on it is stated (p. 221) that the former usually exceeds the latter, the difference between them consisting of profits: and (p. 223) there occurs the following passage:—

“Dr. Smith seems to have thought that it might be said either that the real value of A is to the real value of B as the quantity of labour required to produce A is to that required to produce B; or that the real value of A is to the real value of B as the quantity of labour for which A will exchange is to the quantity for which B will exchange. But the difference between these two propositions is, in most cases, nothing less than the difference between what is true and what is false; and it is to Mr. Ricardo's sagacity, in distinguishing between them, and in showing that while the first is undeniably correct, the second, instead of being an equivalent proposition, is frequently opposed to the first, and, consequently, quite inaccurate, that the science is indebted for one of its greatest improvements.”

According to this doctrine of Mr. Macculloch's, things are not proportioned to others to which they are manifestly equal. Thus if *a* and *b* represent the quantity of labour which A and B have respectively cost, and *a'* and *b'* the quantity for which they will respectively exchange, it would, Mr. Macculloch thinks, be true to say that $A : B :: a : b$, but it would not be true to say that $A : B :: a' : b'$.

Now whether *a'* and *b'* represent labour, or corn, or cloth, or gold, or silver, or any thing else, so long as $A = a$, and $B = a$, it must necessarily be true that $A : B :: a' : b'$. Mr. Macculloch has quite misunderstood Mr. Ricardo's doctrine. Mr. Ricardo did indeed assert the former of the above propositions, but he never denied the latter. What he did deny was, that the labour for which a commodity would exchange was a *better* measure of its *absolute* value than any thing else for which it would exchange: a just remark, if by *value* is meant mere *exchangeability*, but not so if it is used to express sacrifice, as Adam Smith used it.

if there existed no such word, or it were otherwise applied, we should be under the necessity of inventing one to supply the want of it. Suppose, for instance, that all commodities exchanged with each other, in proportion to the quantity of labour bestowed on their production, according to Mr. Ricardo's theory,—that there were absolutely no exception whatever to this rule, and that the term value were confined to express that relation (as indeed some authors have wished so to confine it), it would not be the less necessary for us to inquire into the sacrifice which the purchaser must make in order to acquire them, and to ascertain what is the measure of that sacrifice. Without this previous knowledge, it is very certain that we could not arrive at correct views as to the circumstances which determine the division of the produce into its component parts. We hold that it is a fundamental error in Mr. Ricardo's system that he did not so consider it. He commences his celebrated work with this statement:—"The inquiry to which I wish to draw the reader's attention relates to the effect of the variations in the *relative* value of commodities, and not in their absolute value⁹." And yet he could not write half a dozen pages without referring to the latter, as we have already seen. This reference of value to cost was no doubt a step in the right direction, but by applying the term to the sacrifice made by the *producer*, instead of to that which is made by the *purchaser*, Mr. Ricardo has been led out of the right track, after having been in it, and has ended by giving a twofold meaning to the word, neither of which agrees with its ordinary signification.

Mr. Macculloch has a chapter on the effect of fluctuations in wages and profits, on the relative value of commodities; the object of which is to show that countries possessing great facilities of production, by their use of machinery, are enabled successfully to compete with other countries in which the price of labour is cheaper: in other words, that a high rate of money wages is no disadvantage to a country which has those facilities. His statements on this subject (which are taken from Mr. Ricardo, who first noticed the circumstance,) are ingenious, though rather more mystified than the occasion required; for the simple truth, however disguised by the mode of putting it, is this,—that when machinery is substituted for human labour, the value of the commodity must resolve itself *more* into profits and *less* into wages; and if, under these circumstances, profits fall and wages rise, as the former constitute the larger portion of the two, the fall of the

⁹ Chap. i. sec. 2, 3rd edit.

former will overbalance the rise of the latter, and the commodity will fall in price, notwithstanding the rise of wages.

That such is the case it is easy to show; but some preliminary observations must first be made.

1. It is necessary to remark, that abstraction being made of taxes, rates, tithes, or rent (where any such are due), the joint produce of labour and capital is divided into two parts; one of which goes to repay the advance of the labourer's wages, and the other constitutes the profits of his employer's capital. It is obvious, therefore, that (the quantity of the produce remaining the same) the share of wages cannot be augmented but by a diminution of profits, and *vice versâ*; and hence Mr. Ricardo's celebrated proposition, that high wages occasion low profits, and low wages high profits; in which the terms *high* and *low* are used, not in their ordinary sense, as expressing a large or small *amount*, but as implying greater or less *proportions*.

2. The principle that commodities exchange with each other, in proportion to the quantity of labour employed to produce them (which is another of Mr. Ricardo's chief propositions), can be true only on the supposition that equal proportions of fixed capital are employed on all of them, subject to the same wear and tear, and expense of maintenance, and of the same degree of durability; and, further, that they are brought to market in the same space of time. The slightest variation in any one of these conditions must occasion an exception to the rule, as Mr. Ricardo himself fully allowed; and the cases being extremely rare where all these circumstances agree, the rule, however true in theory, is quite inapplicable in practice; the more common case being that commodities, produced by very different proportions of labour¹ and fixed capital, are equal to each other in their exchangeable value. These things being premised, the point to be now considered is, what effect has the rise or fall of wages, or profit, on the relative value of commodities, which are compounded of those different proportions of labour and capital, or on their respective exchangeabilities.

¹ Mr. Ricardo's very original and highly talented treatise is, in fact, founded on the above-stated principle. It is an inquiry as to the proportions into which the produce would be divided between rent, wages, and profits, *provided* all commodities were produced with the same combinations of labour and of fixed capital, of the same degree of durability, and were brought to market within the same time, and were not affected by any temporary variations arising out of the state of the demand and the supply.

As the real state of things is very different from the one here supposed, if all the conclusions of his book were true, they could not be expected to agree with experience.

It is evident that a change of the *proportion*, in which the same amount of produce is divided between wages and profits, may be occasioned by a fall or rise in the price of the produce, while money wages remain the same, or by a rise or fall of money wages, while the price of the produce remains the same. In other words, it may be the effect of a change in the value of the produce, or of a change in the value of money, estimating them both in labour.

We shall begin with the former supposition, and assume the case of three commodities, viz.—A, produced without any fixed capital, and B and C, both compounded of labour and fixed capital, in such proportions that they are divided between wages and profits as follows, viz. :—

	Wages in Produce or Money.	Profits in Produce or Money.	Total of Produce in Money.
A	90	10	100
B	50	50	100
C	10	90	100

They are now equal to each other in exchangeable value, but they will cease to be so on a change taking place in the rate of profit. Suppose profits to fall fifty per cent. below what they are above stated to be ; the division will then be as follows :—

	Wages.		Profits.		Total.	
	In Produce.	In Money.	In Produce.	In Money.	Of Produce.	In Money.
A	94.7	£90	5.3	£5	100	£95
B	66.6	£50	33.4	£25	100	£75
C	18.2	£10	81.8	£45	100	£55

So that a fall of profits to one half of what they were, which would reduce the price of A five per cent., would reduce that of B twenty-five per cent., and that of C forty-five per cent.

If we take the other supposition (which is Mr. Ricardo's adopted by Mr. Macculloch) of a rise of money-wages, which

for the sake of illustration we shall assume to be five per cent., the *first* result will be as follows :—

	Wages in Produce or Money.	Profits in Produce or Money.	Total of Produce in Money.
A	94.5	5.5	100
B	52.5	47.5	100
C	10.5	89.5	100

But as the rate of profit would then be lower on A than on B, and still lower on C, this state of things could not last. Either the price of A must rise (which it certainly would if the profits on it were below their ordinary rate) or in order to equalize them the price of B must fall, and that of C fall still more.

If the price of A remained the same, the new division and prices in order to put profits on an equality would be as follows :—

	Wages.		Profits.		Totals.	
	In Produce.	In Money.	In Produce.	In Money.	Of Produce.	In Money.
A	94.5	94.5	5.5	5.5	100	100
B	65.5	52.5	34.5	27.5	100	80
C	17.5	10.5	82.5	49.5	100	60

In this case the rise of wages of five per cent. which did not affect A, would cause B to fall twenty per cent. and C forty per cent.

This second form of statement, founded on the rise of wages instead of the fall of prices, is less in accordance with what commonly occurs, and is therefore more paradoxical than the first. They are, however, essentially the same in their effect, as may be seen by comparing them together, and had corresponding ratios been taken, both might have been made to coincide *exactly* as to divisions of the produce, only they would have been expressed in *different values of money*.

As the rise of five per cent. in wages in the case of A is equivalent to a fall of between forty and fifty per cent. on profits,

and as profits could not bear this reduction, supposing them to have been previously no higher than their ordinary rate, it would happen in point of fact that the price of A would rise. This is what is found practically to take place. When wages rise, commodities in which the proportion of labour is great and that of fixed capital small, rise in price. Those in which the proportion of labour is small and that of fixed capital great, fall in price, and those between the two remain stationary.

Changes in the distribution of the produce are, as we have already said, much more commonly occasioned by the rise or fall of prices than by the rise or fall of wages. The rise of money-wages is in fact a fall in the value of money, and a fall of wages a rise in its value². Such changes in the value of money rarely take place without a previous change having taken place in the value of commodities, labour being much more steady in its price than the mass of commodities, and being usually the last to rise when the quantity of money is increased, and the last to fall when it is diminished. It must indeed be obvious that no one would employ labour at a higher money rate, unless he could at the same time obtain the ordinary profit, as determined by the causes which govern profits, and which we shall by-and-by advert to.

It is further important to observe, that wages considered in the above light, that is, as a proportion of the produce, though they have a necessary connexion with profits, have very little to do with the real condition of the labourers, as we shall proceed to show. We have just seen that in the division of the same quantity or value of the produce, the labourer's share is always augmented by the fall or diminished by the rise of profits: but when the produce itself or its value is increased or diminished, wages may remain the same in amount while their proportion is altered, or they may increase in amount while their proportion remains the same. Thus, if out of 1000 quarters of corn, 800 were to go to wages and 200 to profits; and that the produce should be increased to 1500 quarters, of which 800 went to wages and 700 to profits; the *amount* of wages would be the same, but their *proportion* would be different in the two cases: if, on the other hand, 1200 should go to wages and 300 to profits, wages would be increased in their *amount*, but would be the same as to

² Mr. Senior very properly measures the value of money in different countries by the quantity of labour in each country which must be given to purchase the precious metals. They are of low value in England, for a large quantity of them can be purchased by English labour, owing to the great demand in other countries for British manufactures. See his *Three Lectures on the cost of obtaining money*. J. Murray, 1830.

their *proportion*. The result would obviously be the same if the above figures represented money prices or values instead of quantities of produce.

But the sum total of the labourer's earnings, on which his real condition depends, cannot be ascertained either by the *proportion* of his *share*, or by its *amount*; for the increase or diminution of both may be, and, indeed, frequently is overbalanced by the diminution or increase of employment, so that an augmentation of the labourer's total earnings is often found to co-exist with a reduction of his proportionate wages, and *vice versa*. The reason of this, though not immediately apparent, is not difficult to discover. The rise of prices and profits, which is the common effect of a brisk demand for commodities, although it necessarily diminishes proportional wages, gives fuller employment to the labouring classes, which more than compensates for the reduction of their share; while a slack demand, which depresses prices and profits, is attended with precisely the opposite effect. If, for instance, when the proportion of wages is reduced *one-third*, the quantity of employment is *doubled*,—that the workman is occupied six hours in the day or six days in the week, instead of three hours or three days, his total earnings must be greater and his condition improved.

This is a point of the utmost importance in regard to wages. It has been noticed by Sir Edward West³, by Mr. Malthus⁴, by Mr. Senior⁵, but has been quite overlooked by Mr. Ricardo, and Mr. Macculloch seems to have been so little aware of any such circumstances affecting wages, that on his evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee on *Artizans and Machinery* in 1824, he unhesitatingly expressed his conviction that the working classes were always the worse off when their employers earned the *highest* profits, their wages being in that case invariably the *lowest*⁶, and appears to have imbued the committee with the same belief, as may be seen by reference to their report. However contrary to the fact this opinion may be, it is notwithstanding a perfectly legitimate deduction from the doctrine of *proportional* wages, as propounded by Mr. Ricardo, who participated in the like error, to which he was in all probability led by his unfortunate adoption of the terms *high* and *low* to express proportions⁷.

³ On the Price of Corn. Sir E. West, p. 39.

⁴ Princip. of Pol. Econ. 2nd edit. chap. iv. sec. 3.

⁵ Art. Polit. Econ. Encyclopedia Metropol., pp. 188—190.

⁶ Mons. Say expresses his surprise at this evidence of Mr. Macculloch, and observes, that so far from being true, the contrary is the case, "that wages are never so low as when the employers of labour are earning nothing." Econ. Polit. 5th edit. vol. i. p. 35.

⁷ See on this subject Encyclop. Metropol. Art. Pol. Econ. p. 190.

This opinion of Mr. Macculloch, it is true, is not repeated in the volume before us; but, on the other hand, no allusion whatever is made to the greater or less plenty of employment as influencing the *amount* of the labourer's actual wages apart from *their rate*, and which has so powerful an effect in meliorating or deteriorating his real condition.

In regard to their rate, besides the proportional division we have been considering, there is yet farther to inquire into the circumstances which determine the *natural* or necessary rate and the *market* rate of wages.

The natural or necessary rate is defined by Mr. Macculloch after Mr. Ricardo (p. 385) to be the lowest limit required for the support of the labourer and his family,—the *sine quâ non* of their existence as expressed in money, it must be just so much as will enable them to purchase that *minimum* quantity of subsistence. By Mr. Malthus and some other writers it is alleged that this is a most *unnatural* rate, because it can never occur in a natural state of things. The natural or necessary rate has been considered by that writer to be the rate necessary to supply the market with the required quantity of labour, according to the ordinary or average demand for it⁸.

It is not of importance to determine which of these two definitions is the more correct. On both sides it is agreed that this necessary rate of wages must depend upon the cost of producing those articles of the labourer's subsistence which are indispensable according to the one or the other of those standards; and which standards are not only themselves different in different countries, but likewise different in the same country at different times; seeing that what is not indispensable at one era of civilization, or in one country or climate, may become indispensable at another era of civilization, or in another country or climate.

The actual or market rate of wages is represented by Mr. Macculloch (p. 379) as being determined by the proportion which capital bears to population; but taking capital in his own wide (and, as we think, improper) sense, it does not form the sole fund that is applicable to the maintenance of labour. This fund consists of a variety of revenues, collected together from various sources, of which capital is, no doubt, a most important, but not the only one. In our own country, the whole class of labourers, termed by Adam Smith *unproductive*, are maintained by what he considers to be revenue and not capital; and in other countries, where the use of capital is scarcely known, even productive labourers are maintained by revenues of their own crea-

⁸ Princip. of Pol. Econ. chap. iv. sec. 2.

tion: so that the market rate of wages, instead of being determined by the ratio between capital and population, is determined by the proportion which the aggregate fund for the maintenance of labour bears to the whole number of those amongst whom it has to be divided.

Whatever augments the value of that fund, i. e. its labour's worth, or power of commanding labour, must augment the demand for labour, and *vice versâ*. No increased demand for labour can arise merely from adding to the quantity of articles composing that fund, unless at the same time its value be increased also. Such increase of quantity alone would augment the share of each labourer for the time being, but it would not *put into motion* a larger quantity of labour.

On the subject of rent Mr. Macculloch adopts the theory of Mr. Ricardo, and ascribes it exclusively to the necessity of having recourse, in the progress of society, to lands of a continually decreasing fertility. The earth is supposed in its natural state to consist of different gradations of soil, represented by Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. varying from the most fertile, or that which yields a large surplus, to the least fertile, or that which yields barely enough to remunerate the labour bestowed upon it. The best description of soil, or No. 1, is supposed to be the first occupied. When it is fully cultivated, and that recourse must be had to No. 2, rent commences on No. 1, and when recourse is had to No. 3, rent commences on No. 2, and rises on No. 1, and so on, every descent to a worse soil causing a rise of rent upon all the other soils above it, and by a necessary consequence, a fall of agricultural profit.

“On the first settling of any country *abounding in large tracts of unappropriated land*, no rent is paid; and for this obvious reason, that no person will pay rent for what may be procured in unlimited quantities for nothing. Thus in Australia, where there is an ample supply of unappropriated land, rent, in the proper and scientific sense of the word, will not be heard of until the best lands have become private property and been occupied. Suppose, however, this comes to be the case, and that the population has increased, so that the demand for raw produce can no longer be supplied *by the culture of the best lands*; under these circumstances it is plain that population will become stationary, unless the price of corn and other raw produce rises so as to enable inferior lands to be cultivated.

“Suppose now that the price rises so as to pay the expense of raising corn on soils which in return for the same expenditure that would yield 100 quarters on lands of the *first quality*, will only yield 90 quarters; it is plain it will then be indifferent to a farmer whether he pay a rent of ten quarters for the first quality of land, or farm the

second quality, which is unappropriated and open, without paying any rent. If the population went on increasing, lands which would yield only 80, 70, 60, 50, 40 quarters in return for the same expenditure that had raised 100 quarters on the best lands, *might be* successively brought under cultivation. And when recourse has been had to these inferior lands, the corn rent of those that are superior will plainly be equal to the difference between the quantity of produce obtained from them and the quantity obtained from the worst quality under tillage. Suppose, for example, that the worst quality cultivated yields 60 quarters, then the rent of the *first* quality will be 40 quarters, or $100 - 60$: the rent of the *second* quality will, in like manner, be equal to the difference between 90 and 60, or 30 quarters ; the rent of the *third* quality will be equal to $80 - 60$, or 20 quarters, and so on ; the produce raised on the last land cultivated, or by means of the capital last applied to the soil, being all the while sold at its necessary price, or at that price which is merely sufficient to cover the cost of production, including therein the ordinary rate of profit on the capital of the cultivator.”—p. 440.

“Rent, therefore, in so far as it is a return for the use of the soil, and not for the capital laid out in improvements, results entirely from the necessity of resorting, as population increases, to soils of a decreasing fertility, or of applying capital to the old land with a less return. It varies inversely as the produce obtained by means of the capital and labour employed in cultivation, increasing when the profits of agriculture diminish, and diminishing when they increase.”—p. 443.

This view of the origin of rent is certainly ingenious and plausible ; but it is founded upon a pure fiction. It assumes two things ; 1st, that land is usually unappropriated before it is taken into cultivation ; and 2ndly, that the most fertile soils are the first cultivated, and afterwards the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, &c. qualities in *regular* succession.

Now, it is a matter of historical fact, that (except in the rare case of new and uninhabited colonies) the land has been from time immemorial appropriated, and that the owners have invariably exacted a rent for permission to cultivate it. This has been fully established by Mr. Jones, in his valuable *Essay on Rents* ; a work with which we presume Mr. Macculloch to be unacquainted, as he makes no mention of it⁹.

Then, as to the different gradations of soil ; there are, no doubt, lands of almost every degree of fertility, and the more fertile will always yield the larger rent ; but which *are* the most

⁹ This essay is, by the way, the only English modern work on Political Economy, with which we are acquainted, in which the inductive method of inquiry has been strictly and professedly followed. We have often inquired of our booksellers when the other expected volumes on wages and profits are to make their appearance, but have never been able to learn.

fertile, it must frequently be difficult to determine prior to their being taken into cultivation.

Sometimes lands not naturally fertile, become so by culture and good management. The Mauritius, when in possession of the French, was but a barren rock. It produced nothing. Port Louis was a large emporium of merchandize, dependent for its subsistence wholly on foreign supplies, which it obtained almost exclusively from the Isle of Bourbon. The cession of this latter colony to France, compelled the inhabitants of the former one (which remained in the possession of England) to seek elsewhere for the means of their maintenance. They at first began scratching the surface of their hard ground as a hopeless experiment; but by dint of labour and perseverance, they have succeeded in producing a sugar which vies with that of the West Indies, and, for some purposes, is preferred to it. The county of Norfolk was formerly among the least fertile of English provinces. The introduction of the turnip husbandry has raised it above the level of many others to which it was before considered to be inferior. Instances might be multiplied, all tending to show that different degrees of fertility manifest themselves only in the progress of cultivation, and cannot frequently be ascertained prior to it.

There appears, therefore, to be no good ground for asserting that the best sorts are always the first cultivated, and then the next best, and so on in regular succession. Even in new colonies, such as Australia, to which Mr. Macculloch refers, as a type of the rest of the world, the lands the most contiguous to the original settlements would in all probability be the first cultivated, without reference to the degree of their fertility.

But the different gradations of fertility, on which Mr. Macculloch lays so much stress as the sole cause of rent, are, in fact, not essential to its existence. If the whole surface of the soil were of equal fertility (provided it yielded any surplus), a rent would, notwithstanding, be exacted and paid for its use. The land is an instrument, more or less productive, of which the owner, in right of his ownership, takes advantage as far as he can. It, therefore, partakes of the nature of a monopoly, though it differs from an ordinary monopoly, in that it arises from *natural* instead of *artificial* means. An article, which is selling at a monopoly price, falls when the monopoly is given up; but if the landlord gave up his rent, the price of the produce would not fall, for that price is determined by causes which are not affected by the payment or non-payment of rent.

When it is stated by Mr. Ricardo and Mr. Macculloch that rent arises solely from the necessity of resorting to inferior soils,

in order to procure the requisite supply, the question naturally arises, What is the requisite supply? Does it not altogether depend upon the demand?—that is, upon the sacrifice the community are disposed to make, or, in other words, the price they are willing to pay in order to obtain food. The land being limited in its extent, the pressure of population against subsistence, and the increasing demand for it, tends to raise its price in the progress of society, and to maintain it above what is sufficient to pay the ordinary profit. The extra profit is rent. If lands are cultivated which do not yield this extra profit, they can, of course, pay no rent. But it is not the cost of production upon such soils which governs the price of raw produce; it is, on the contrary, the price which determines what soils can and what cannot be profitably cultivated. This appears to be partly admitted by Mr. Macculloch in the foregoing extract; but he seems to have frequently lost sight of it, and to have reasoned as though he considered cultivation of the worse lands to be the *cause*, instead, as it really is, the consequence of the greater demand or higher price.

The amount of rent, then, which different descriptions of land will yield to the owner, is just so much as will leave farming profits in all of them upon an equality; and, consequently, the payment of rent does not affect the quantity or value of what remains to be divided between wages and profits. On this point there appears to be no difference of opinion.

In treating of profits, Mr. Macculloch states (p. 492) that they are affected by the three following causes:—1. The rise or fall of (proportional) wages. 2. The increase or diminution of taxes affecting capital. 3. The greater or less productiveness of industry. Now, the greater productiveness of industry upon the land, although it may add to the farmer's profits during the currency of his lease, at the expiration of it usually goes to the landlord, in the shape of an addition to his rent; and the greater productiveness in manufacturing industry (except in the case of a patent or a monopoly) lowers the price, in proportion to the reduced cost, but does not add to profits. If hats can be produced at half their former cost, and fall at the same time to one-half their former price, the hat-maker gets no higher rate of profit than he did before. The division between wages and profits, on which their rate depends, is not altered. The producer benefits by the diminution of cost, in common with every other consumer, but in no other way.

It was the opinion of Adam Smith, that the accumulation of capital was the immediate cause of the fall of profits. "When (he says) the stocks of many rich merchants are turned into

the same trade, their mutual competition tends to lower its profit; and when there is the like increase of stock in all the different trades carried on in the same society, the same competition must produce the same effect in all."

Mr. Macculloch denies this doctrine, and contends that accumulation creates its own demand, provided all commodities go on increasing *pari passu*. He allows, indeed, that the increase of capital in any one branch of industry, would have the effect of lowering profits in that particular branch, but he considers that the augmentation of capital in all, instead of lowering the rate of profit in them, would raise it in the one that was depressed.

His reasoning on this subject (p. 492) is founded upon the same error as that which we before noticed in his treating of gluts. Mr. Macculloch fancies that the fall of profit on any one commodity is occasioned by its not exchanging with the same quantity of others as it did before, and that when by *their* increase this proportion is restored, profits in all will be as before. But here he has forgotten that profits do not depend upon the proportion in which commodities exchange with each other, but upon the proportion in which they are divided between wages and profits, or (given the produce) upon the proportion which goes to the labourer, or is required to replace the cost. This latter proportion may be altered, while the former proportion, or the respective exchangeabilities of commodities may not be affected at all, excepting in so far as they are produced by different combinations of labour and fixed capital, as previously shown.

As, however, the rate of profits does not unquestionably fall in the progress of society, the great question on this part of the subject is, to what cause is their gradual decline to be attributed?

Mr. Macculloch considers it to be occasioned chiefly by the necessity of having recourse to soils of less fertility; to the same cause, in short, as that to which he attributes the gradual rise and increase of rent.

"It is the taxation, and the necessity under which a growing society is placed of resorting to soils of less fertility to obtain supplies of food, that are the principal causes of that reduction in the rates of profit which usually take places in advanced periods."

Rent, in his view, was originally profit. It is, therefore, taken out of profit, and all additions to it are abstractions from this same fund.

To us the doctrine taught on this subject by Adam Smith appears to be the true one. There is in every society a certain state of the demand which determines the price of every thing. This demand consists of the offer of labour's worth on the part

of those who have the means of commanding labour (*i. e.*, who possess money, or what is easily convertible into it), in exchange for its produce. If this offer be not sufficient to cover the cost of production, and give some excess above it, as profit on the capital employed, the production itself will cease. But between this lowest degree and the highest, which the fertility of the soil will admit of, there may be every variety in the rate of profit; nor does there seem any principle which can determine where the resting point shall be, except the state of the supply as compared with the demand. The supply at any particular time is a given quantity, but the demand depends upon a great variety of circumstances, and mainly upon the proportion existing between the productive and unproductive consumers, or between those who make or buy in order to sell again, and those who buy solely for the purposes of use and consumption, a proportion which is very different in different countries and in different states of society. The diminution in the cost of production, increased facilities of communication, the lowering of import duties, and the repeal of prohibitions, have the effect of increasing the general demand, for they open new markets; while whatever impedes intercourse, and throws difficulties in the way of interchange, must have the effect of diminishing the demand. Mr. Macculloch lays great stress on the decreasing productiveness of the soil, as accounting for the fall of profits in the progress of society. But why should any lands be cultivated at a less profit than previously, unless the state of the demand had already lowered the rate of profit, so as to render the cultivation of those lands as good a return to capital as any other mode of employing it would be at the time. If any more profitable mode of investing such capital existed, we may be sure that the lands which yield that less return, would not be cultivated. We are therefore driven to inquire why those higher rates of profit no longer exist, or why the owners of capital are obliged to content themselves with a lower rate; and to this we can find no other answer than that the increasing abundance of products compared with the demand for them, establishes on the whole mass a lower average rate of profit, and by consequence an increase of proportional wages, or of that share of the produce which goes to cover the original cost of the production; so that, in fact, the rate both of profits and of proportional wages, is governed by the demand for this produce.

Our views, therefore, respecting the natural course of wages, rents, and profits in the progress of society, differ very materially from those which are set forth in the work before us. To ascertain the laws which determine this distribution of the produce into those three primary groups is, as has been justly stated by

Mr. Ricardo, the principal problem in political economy. It is the consummation of the science. By the mode of inquiry which Mr. Macculloch has adopted, by his having drawn conclusions from terms to which he has ascribed a meaning of his own, and taken views of value which are inconsistent with each other, he has, as it appears to us, precluded himself from the possibility of correctly solving this problem.

Respecting this distribution, Mr. Macculloch has, in his edition of the "*Wealth of Nations*," added the following note to the 6th chap. of the first book :—

"The doctrine laid down in this chapter, that the value of commodities in the advanced stages of society varies according to the variations of rent, profit, and wages, is fundamentally erroneous. The variations alluded to merely affect the *distribution of commodities*, or the proportions in which they are divided among the three great classes, of landlords, capitalists, and labourers, *and have nothing to do with their value, or their power to exchange for, or buy each other, or labour.*"

Here we are formally told by Mr. Macculloch that the distribution of the produce has nothing to do with its value, yet he has written a long chapter in order to explain the effect which alterations in the rates of wages and profits have upon the relative exchangeabilities of commodities (i. e. upon their value in his own sense of that term), and it is impossible that any such alterations can take place, the quantity of produce remaining the same, without at the same time increasing or diminishing the quantity of labour for which that produce will exchange (Adam Smith's standard of value); so that in whatever light we view value, the above passage contains statements equally at variance with the fact. After this it is needless to add a word more in proof of our assertion, that Mr. Macculloch has on this subject fallen into the grossest inconsistency and contradiction.

We have devoted so large a portion of our space to the consideration of the above important questions, that we have no room left to enter into a detailed examination of the other matters treated in this volume. It would, however, be unfair towards Mr. Macculloch to dwell solely upon what appears to be objectionable in his work, and to leave wholly unnoticed the many valuable and useful parts of it, which are written in the true spirit of the science, and are calculated to advance the knowledge of it.

We are glad to find any thing to commend in Mr. Macculloch's book. His introductory sketch of the rise and progress of the science is of itself a very interesting little tract. We have already

spoken favourably of the style in which his work is written, and we have now to add that, in this later edition, he has introduced several new chapters upon collateral topics, more or less connected with the main subject, and containing much historical and other useful information, interspersed with many excellent and judicious observations.

We are too little acquainted with the working of the New Poor Law, to say whether his extreme hostility to the present system is founded upon just grounds or not. At any rate his remarks upon it seem to be dictated by a feeling of sympathy in behalf of those who are obliged to resort to this last resource of misery and destitution, and on that account are deserving of every attention and respect.

Generally speaking, Mr. Macculloch has, on these collateral and incidental subjects, written well, because he has grounded his views regarding them on facts and experience, which have led him to just conclusions; while on those questions which relate to the fundamental and essential principles of the science he has written ill, because he has founded his reasonings on hypothetical and inconsistent data, which have led him into the adoption of a false system of doctrines.

The promulgation, however, of these doctrines being the chief aim and object of the work, we may venture to predict that when the subject comes to be more generally studied and understood, this book, in spite of the valuable and useful information it contains, will cease to be considered as a safe guide to be put into the hands of those who are desirous of making themselves acquainted with the true principles of political economy.

Other treatises will, no doubt, by-and-by arise, founded upon broader views and a more comprehensive basis of facts, in which the true theory of distribution (the germ of which is to be found in Adam Smith's great work) will be more fully developed and firmly established; and the doctrines of Mr. Macculloch, which will not stand the test of an appeal to facts, will share the common fate of all other ingenious but unsound theories, and be gradually neglected and forgotten.

ART. V.—*On the means of rendering more efficient the Education of the People: a Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's, by WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., Vicar of Leeds. Eighth Edition.* London: Murray, 1846, pp. 71.

THE subject on which Dr. Hook treats in the present publication is one of vast importance. The author's character, his experience, his learning, his ability, and, above all, his position in the Church, give him a special right to speak upon it, and add great weight to what he says; and it is clear that he has spoken to a very attentive audience, from the EIGHT EDITIONS which have been called for of his pamphlet, within the brief space of three months.

The country is much indebted to him for the abundant and incontrovertible evidence which he has adduced, to show that it is "impossible for voluntary association to meet the wants of the nation by a sufficient supply of school-rooms and competent masters" (p. 21), and that without the aid of the STATE, "we cannot succeed in the great object which every patriot, as well as every Christian, has at heart" (p. 32), and no one, we think, can have perused his pages, without feeling satisfied that if England desires to enjoy the blessings of public peace and prosperity, she must maintain and increase her efforts for the moral and religious training of the young of the lower orders of the community.

There are many, perhaps, who did not stand in need of the statistical details with which Dr. Hook has presented us, to convince us of this proposition; and for ourselves, we confess that we are, and always have been, of that class of persons who regard it as the paramount duty of a Christian State to provide for the education of its poor; and knowing how extensively poverty, ignorance, and crime prevail among us, especially in our large towns, we have long been persuaded that it is the imperative duty of the Legislature of England to make every exertion in its power to promote the cause of National Education.

This being the case, we were fully prepared for the declaration of the noble individual who now holds the chief place in Her Majesty's Government. In his letter to the electors of the city of London, and in his address to them on his re-election, Lord John Russell states, that the question of national education

urgently demands the attention of Parliament; and on the 17th of July last, in his place in the House of Commons, he said, that "after all the voluntary efforts that had been made by individuals, yet the amount of ignorance in this country, the want of education, the degree to which the Gospel is entirely a sealed book, is a most lamentable fact; but the disgrace is light in comparison with the evil itself which we have to deplore." And he concluded his speech with the following remarkable words:—"Sir, I have already said I do not wish to enter much into this subject now, but I can assure the House that it is a subject to which I shall pay the most constant attention; and I do trust that when it comes before the House again, I may have some statement to make that will show that the pains I have taken have not been in vain."

We cannot forbear recording the important and gratifying fact, that on the same day on which this declaration was made, and probably in consequence of it, the sum of 100,000*l.* was voted for public education,—a larger amount, we believe, than has ever been given on any previous occasion for the same purpose¹.

On the whole, then, considering the exigencies of the country, considering also the declarations of the present first minister of the crown, and the dispositions and acts of the legislature, we find ourselves arrived at Dr. Hook's conclusion—a conclusion, by the way, propounded to the world by the National Society in its first circular in 1811, that we "live in an age when the question is, not *whether*, but *how*, the poor are to be educated." —(p. 5).

To this enquiry, as most of our readers are aware, it has been Dr. Hook's endeavour to furnish a reply in the pamphlet now under review.

Before we proceed to examine the plan which he offers for the consideration of the public, we would first request leave to make a remark on the *title* of his work. It is described as a Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's, "*On the means of rendering more efficient the Education of the People.*" This, we would respectfully submit, is a *misnomer*. His pamphlet does not treat on the education of the *people*, but of the *poor*. The poor, as well as the nobility and gentry, are a *part*, a *most important part*, of the people, but they are not *the people*; and it appears to

¹ The Parliamentary grants from 1833 to 1839 were 20,000*l.* a year; from 1839 to 1842 inclusive they were 30,000*l.*; in 1843 and 1844 they were 40,000*l.*; and in 1845 they were 75,000*l.*; or from 1833 to 1846 the whole amount of money granted by the Government in aid of the building of schools was 395,000*l.*—See *Dr. Hook*, p. 8.

us a serious error to *call* them so: and in our opinion it is specially incumbent on the clergy to abstain from all expressions which may give the poor a false notion of their position, and render them discontented with it. To flatter the *poor* that they are the *people*, seems to be the characteristic of a demagogue; and, of all demagogues, religious ones are the worst.

The National Society calls itself a Society incorporated “for the Education of the *Poor* ;” and we honour it for its frankness in this respect; Dr. Hook, on the other hand, reminds us too much of the man, “*qui credidit ingens Pauperiem vitium* ;” he appears to wish to disguise their poverty from the class for whom he calls on the State to provide, although their *poverty* is the very thing which constitutes their *claim* to such provision. We shall see, before we close these remarks, that it is indispensable that in treating this subject we should have a clear view of the *particular class* concerning which we are writing; but even though no *special* reason existed for such *distinctness* in the *present* case, yet our readers will agree with us that it is as necessary for the politician as it is for the historian² to call things by their right names—

τὰ σῦκα σῦκα, τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγειν.

We proceed now to describe Dr. Hook’s plan for the education of the poor of England and Wales.

I. First, he wisely lays it down as an unquestionable axiom, that there can be no education, worthy of the name, without a *religious basis* (pp. 5, 6).

II. He maintains with equal justice, that this basis must be a *doctrinal* one; that is, it must be built not on *moral generalities*, but on the *special dogmas* of Christianity. He affirms that when persons “talk of an education based on a system of morals divested of all doctrine,” and call this a religious education, “they seek to deceive themselves as well as us, and utter a falsehood.” (p. 35).

On this subject his observations appear to us to be excellent; and we beg to transcribe them for the gratification of our readers.

“All really Christian persons must stand opposed to any system of education which being professedly based upon this *general* religion, which is *no religion*, will in fact unchristianize the country. To separate the morality of the Gospel from the doctrines of the Gospel, every one who knows what the Gospel is *knows to be impossible*. The doctrines of grace and of good works are so interwoven that they must

² Lucian. de conscribenda Historia, §. 41.

stand or fall together. Faith and works, doctrine and morality, are like body and soul; the pretended mother may be willing to divide them, they who know what the Gospel is, like the true mother before the throne of Solomon, will suffer any affliction before they will consent to it. Satan could devise no scheme for the extirpation of Christianity more crafty or more sure than this, which would substitute a system of morals for religion. The generality of mankind content themselves always with the lowest degree of religion, which will silence their conscience and aid their self-deception: they desire to believe as little as they may without peril to their souls, and to do only what the majority of their neighbours say they must. On this *general* religion, which is *no religion*,—on this semblance of religion, this shadow put for the substance,—the majority of the people of England will, under such a system of education, be taught to rest as sufficient. Instructed that this will suffice, they will proceed no further. They will be brought up to suppose that Christian doctrine is a thing indifferent, an exercise for the ingenuity of theologians, but of no practical importance. *They will thus be educated in a state of indifference to the Christian religion; indifference will lead to contempt; contempt to hostility.*”—pp. 35, 36.

III. He affirms that the *State* of England *cannot* and *ought not* to give a *religious* education, and that “all parties will combine to resist any *State* education, which is professedly *religious*.”—p. 36. This he maintains on the following grounds, which we trust our readers will carefully consider:—

1. *De jure*. If the State attempts to inculcate religion, it must teach, or cause to be taught, a *particular form* of it. But this, he argues, it has no *right* to do; for, says he (p. 38), “The *taxes* are collected from persons of *all* religions, and cannot be fairly expended for the exclusive maintenance of *one*. To call upon Parliament to vote any money for the exclusive support of the Church of England, is to call upon Parliament to do what is *unjust*. The *Church* has no more claim for exclusive pecuniary aid from the State, or for any *pecuniary aid* at all, than is possessed by any other of those many corporations with which our country abounds.” “It is, therefore (he says), abundantly clear that the State cannot give a *religious* education, as the word religion is understood by unsophisticated minds.”—p. 33.

2. *De facto*. This question of the inability of the State to give a religious education (he affirms) is *already decided*. There cannot (he asserts, p. 37) “be any objection on the part of the Church to admit Dissenters to an equality in this respect; because, so far as education is concerned, this question is already settled: the State *does* assist both the Church and Dissent at the present time.”

On this important subject he adds, and we request special attention to his words,—

“The notion is now exploded which once prevailed, that the Church of England has an exclusive claim to pecuniary support, on the ground of its being the *Establishment*. Those who, *like myself*, are called *High Churchmen*, have *little or no sympathy with mere Establish-mentarians*. In what way the Church of England is established, even in this portion of the British empire, it is *very difficult to say*. Our ancestors endowed the Church, not by legislative enactment, but by the piety of individuals; even royal benefactors acted in their individual, not their corporate, capacity, and their grants have been protected, like property devised to other corporations, by the legislature. At the *Conquest* the *bishops* were, on account of the lands they held, made *barons*, and invested with the rights, as well as the responsibilities, of feudal lords. It is *as barons*, not *as bishops*, that seats in the House of Lords are held by some of our prelates; not by all, for a portion of our hierarchy, eminently distinguished for learning, zeal, and piety, the *colonial bishops*, are excluded. The Church thus endowed and protected, was once the Church of the whole nation: it was corrupted in the middle ages: it was *reformed*; and, as the old Catholic Church reformed, it remains among us to this day, one of the great corporations of the land.”—p. 37.

Let us now observe the *results* deduced by Dr. Hook from these principles as affirmed by himself. He proposes—

I. That the Lord President of the Privy Council should license Normal schools, whether of the Church or Dissent, for training masters.—p. 65.

That the government should appoint a board of examiners, who should give diplomas (p. 67); and that no master should be allowed to teach in a State school, without previous training in one of the Normal schools above specified.—p. 67.

II. That *literary or secular* Primary schools—16,625 in number—for the education of the poor, should be established by the State throughout England and Wales.—p. 26, 67.

That in these schools “*literary and scientific instruction only*” should be given by the masters appointed by the government.”—p. 40.

But that it should be “required of every child to bring, on the *Monday of every week*, a *certificate* of his having attended the Sunday school of his parish church, or some place of worship legally licensed, and also of his having attended for similar religious instruction at some period set apart during the week” (p. 40); and that thus “religious instruction should be secured to the

children in *accordance with those traditions*, whether of Church or of Dissent, which they have received from their *parents*.”—p. 41.

That, “to effect this object, there should be attached to every school thus established by the State a *class-room*, in which the *clergyman of the parish*, or his deputies, might give religious instruction to his people, on the afternoons of *every Wednesday and Friday*; another class-room being provided for a similar purpose for *dissenting ministers*.”—p. 41.

That “the supervision of these State secular schools should rest with the county *magistrates* and lay-inspectors appointed by the Committee of Privy Council.”

That these schools should be supported from “a local fund raised by a county rate, and from parliamentary grants.”—p. 67.

That “the books to be used should be selected or prepared under the direction of the Committee of Privy Council.”—p. 68.

That the annual outlay to be thus levied would be as follows, p. 26:—

16,625	Schools with salaries of 100 <i>l.</i> to principal teachers	£1,662,500
16,625	Schools, for general annual expenses, 30 <i>l.</i> each	498,750
8,312	Schools with two apprentices, at 15 <i>l.</i> each, or 30 <i>l.</i>	249,360
8,312	Schools with three apprentices, at 15 <i>l.</i> each or 45 <i>l.</i>	374,040

Total general outlay on elementary schools . £2,784,650

“The expenses of Normal schools would average 50*l.* annually for each student, or for two thousand candidate masters, 100,000*l.*, and for one thousand mistresses, in training, 50,000*l.*”—p. 27.

Then, “that if twenty Normal schools (the number required) were established for masters, and ten for mistresses, 450,000*l.* would be required for the *fabric and furniture of Normal schools* alone. Then, again, 16,625 elementary *school buildings* for 160 scholars, with a master’s dwelling, would each cost 500*l.* (or 8,312,500*l.*), or upwards of eight millions.”

On the whole, then, Dr. Hook would demand, for the accomplishment of his plan, a grant of *eight millions* in the first instance; and nearly *three millions annually* to be raised by a county rate, or voted by Parliament.

On the other hand, supposing his schools to be well attended, and to be aided by voluntary subscriptions, he anticipates an annual revenue from those two sources of 1,862,000*l.*—p. 27.

Such, then, are the details of the system now proposed by Dr. Hook, for “rendering more efficient the means for the education of the” poor.

We observe upon it, in the first place, that this is *no new* plan of education, even in our own country.

In the year 1835, or thereabouts, a Presbyterian gentleman, an advocate of the Scotch bar, came from Edinburgh to London with a vehement desire to educate the people of England. He brought with him recommendations from Professor Pillans, and Messrs. Chambers, and Messrs. Combe, and other distinguished educationists. He was a friend of Mr. Maclaren, editor of the *Scotsman* newspaper³. Having alighted in London, he hastened to the House of Commons, where he found a select committee for education in *Ireland* sitting; and, strange to say, this *Scotch* gentleman was pressed by this *Irish* committee to give evidence on *English* education. He informed the committee (we quote his words) that⁴ “France was getting forward in education, and would perhaps get ahead of us;” that educational matters were in a very prosperous state in⁵ Prussia; and, *proh pudor!* “that *no* class of people in *England* is well educated at present.” He was full of indignation against what he was pleased to call the “*monastic system*”⁶ of Eton, Winchester, and all our great schools; he abhorred “flogging”⁷; he would extirpate “fagging;” he hated “taking places;” and writing Greek and Latin verses was what he specially eschewed. He wished “that⁸ the *dead* languages” were *buried*. He would purify Oxford and Cambridge by a special commission; and though he had never been in Ireland, he lauded the Belfast⁹ Academical Institution to the skies. He would have every one compelled¹ to go to school; and no persons should be taught any religion that they did not approve. He would have Mr. Buckingham’s “baths and airing-grounds” established by Act of Parliament. He would set up parochial libraries and stock them with² Messrs. Chambers’ publications: and he would build parochial laboratories and furnish them with Dr. Reid’s “pneumatic trough” and³ Mr. Chambers’ “cheap air-pump.” He explained to the committee the meaning of “perceptive Christianity”⁴, and drew a clear distinction between an educator and educationist⁵: he was of the latter class. In short, since the days of Hippias the Eleian,—saving, perhaps, the Abbé Sièyes of Paris,—no one seems yet to have appeared equally qualified with him to reform education and to regenerate the world.

The House of Commons appears to have been duly sensible of

³ Appendix to Report from Select Committee on Education, 1835, p. 169.

⁴ P. 126.

⁵ P. 126.

⁶ P. 189.

⁷ P. 179.

⁸ P. 195.

⁹ P. 199.

¹ P. 145.

² P. 161.

³ P. 162.

⁴ P. 184.

⁵ P. 150.

the honour conferred on it by the presence of this distinguished educationist, and ordered his evidence to be printed in an Appendix to the Report of the Committee on Irish Education for 1835,—where it occupies no less than EIGHTY-FIVE FOLIO PAGES.

Having recently perused this Scotch evidence before this Irish committee on English education, we were much surprised to find that the learned witness whom we have just introduced to our readers has *anticipated* nearly all of Dr. Hook's suggestions for improving national instruction. If Mr. Joseph Lancaster could have made any thing like so strong a case for claiming priority of invention of the monitorial system against Dr. Bell,—about which system, by the way, the world seems now quite as much disposed to quarrel who shall be the first to *destroy* it, as forty years ago they were to contend to whom should be assigned the honour of having *originated* it,—as Mr. James Simpson can establish for precedence of Dr. Hook in the discovery of the sacred-and-secular-severance system of instruction, what an *Io Pœan* would have been sounded by all the Lancasterians of the land! The plan propounded by the Vicar of Leeds must, on the common principle of *sum cuique*, be called the SIMPSONIAN SYSTEM of education. Let us proceed to show this.

First, Mr. Simpson says (p. 149): “I would wish to see, 1st, a *Minister of Instruction*; 2nd, a *Board of Commissioners* with the power of establishing schools, and sole power of appointing teachers. When I say schools, I mean not only *Elementary schools*, but also *Normal schools* for training masters; and there should be *Examinators* of the teachers from these Normal schools, on their *trials* for *licences*. To the Board of Commissioners I would leave the appointment of *Inspectors of schools*. We should thus have a Minister of Instruction, the National Board of Education, the Board of Examinators, and the Inspectors.”

Here we have pretty much Dr. Hook's educational organization. His diplomas are also forestalled (p. 154): “All teachers,” says Mr. Simpson, “should attend the national Normal schools, and receive what the French call the *brevet de capacité*.”

Now for the *assessment* for the foundation and maintenance of schools: “I would not give the parish any discretion whether or not a school shall be established; and the expenses of the schools should be provided for by the parishes, or the localities in general where they are situated” (pp. 164, 165).

And next for the main feature of Dr. Hook's scheme, viz. his device, *secernere sacra profanis*, one would say that Dr. Hook has almost transcribed Mr. Simpson's words. Mr. Simpson says

(p. 156, 157), "The teachers of the Elementary schools, it is proposed, shall be *secular* teachers, and *no more*; they should not be *required* to teach revealed religion; but, more, they should not be *permitted* to do so. There shall be other and much better provision for it: it shall be imparted to the young, not by the elementary teacher, but by the *proper religious teachers, the clergy of the different persuasions.*"

And again (p. 185): "I would, as I have said, *secularize secular* education wholly, but at the same time make a *most perfect provision* for education in *revealed religion*, by allotting to every elementary school both secular and religious instruction, but *under different teachers and at separate hours.*"

Again (p. 187): "The pupil shall have a teacher of *secular knowledge*, and he shall have a teacher of *revealed religion*, at a *separate hour*, and the teacher of religion shall be the *minister of his persuasion*; so that the ministers of religion shall be bound to take upon them the religious training of the young."

So remarkable is the coincidence between the evidence of Mr. Simpson before the Irish committee and the letter of Dr. Hook to the Bishop of St. David's, that we are almost inclined to doubt whether the Presbyterian advocate may not bring an action for literary plagiarism against the Anglican divine.

But to proceed. Happily for England, the Simpsonian system, now republished by Dr. Hook, need not be encountered by *abstract* reasoning. It has already been *tried* in other countries, particularly in France. That country seems to be like a political laboratory, in which experiments are made in educational and ecclesiastical chemistry for the benefit of England, if she will be wise enough to profit by them. Let us then examine the results which this system has produced on the other side of the Channel.

It is well known to many of our readers that the Emperor Napoleon founded the French University in 1806, and that this university consists of twenty-seven *académies*, formed of a large number of colleges or schools planted throughout the whole of France. If we may use the comparison, France is the university garden, these academies are its parterres, and the schools are intended to be its flowers. These schools are conducted by masters *breveted* by the government Board of Examiners, and appointed by the Minister of Instruction. They are to *secondary* instruction what Dr. Hook's teachers would be to *primary*. Indeed, as we shall see, France must be Dr. Hook's educational Utopia. He would be much happier at Lyons than at Leeds. In France the State does not pretend to give *religious* instruction

in its great schools: it appoints teachers who have *no religion*⁶; and it appears to think that they do not require any, for they have *only secular* instruction to give. Let the schoolmaster say nothing about religion, and let the clergy of the different creeds attend to *that*,—this is the *theory* of Dr. Hook, and this is the *practice* of France. Hence the race of *aumôniers* (or chaplains) attached to the French schools. The bell rings on a Wednesday afternoon in the *Collège Royal*; enter the Romanist *aumônier* to hear confessions; enter the Lutheran *aumônier* to give a lecture on the Augsburg Confession; enter the Calvinist *aumônier* to read a homily on Calvin's Institutes or the Catechism of Geneva;—and the boys whose parents are of no particular religion are let loose to go and climb poles in the callisthenic gymnasium, or to take a dip in the *Ecole de Natation*.

But this is too serious a matter to be treated lightly. It is as clear to almost all the world in France, as the midday sun in its bright sky, that this Simpsonian system of education has produced there a race of youthful infidels. The celebrated Abbé de la Mennais said in his famous letter⁷ to the Minister of Instruction in 1823, “Une race *impie, dépravée, révolutionnaire* se forme sous l'influence de l'université;” and he did not scruple to speak of the State schools as “les *séminaires de l'athéisme et le vestibule de l'enfer*.”

So lately as last year, M. le Vicomte de Cormenin (no fanatic, but a shrewd man of the world,) thus wrote⁸: “Do our schools give any *moral* education to their pupils?”—“No.”—“Why not?”—“*That is the business of the parents*.”—“Any *religious* education?”—“No.”—“Why not?”—“*That is the business of the clergy*,—but we have chaplains in our schools.”—“You may have what you like, but you have no religion there: your schools are not made for it, and they have *none*.” Let Dr. Hook's admirers observe this.

In corroboration of this assertion it is scarcely necessary to refer to the testimony of the French⁹ Episcopate, who have been unanimous in condemning this State system of education, since we may presume that their judgment is familiar to most of our readers, especially now that the question of national education has been agitated so warmly at the recent elections in France,

⁶ If any one wishes for authentic evidence of this fact, let him consult the extracts from the works of the university teachers collected in *Catéchisme de l'Université*. Paris, 1845.

⁷ This letter will be found in M. de Riancey's *Histoire de l'Instruction Publique*, vol. ii. p. 316.

⁸ “*Feu ! Feu !*” *Seventeenth Edition*. Paris, 1845, p. 19.

⁹ See *Recueil des Actes Episcopaux*. Paris, Mar. 1845.

and has been the *pierre de touche* of so many candidates for the Chamber just assembled.

But we should not be doing justice to those energetic persons who are labouring day and night in *France* to *abrogate* a law which Dr. Hook would *enact* in England, if we did not advert to the testimony of those very parties (Dr. Hook's religious teachers of various persuasions) who represent and conduct the spiritual instruction of these schools. The Chaplains of the State schools of France thus expressed themselves in an official report in 1830 concerning the result of their labours; and every succeeding year has only added fresh evidence to show the justice of their complaints.

"The Chaplains (say they concerning themselves) are in a state of despondency which no language can express, on account of the utter futility of their labours, although they have spared no pains to render them effectual.

"When the scholastic career of the pupils is finished, of those who quit a school of about *four hundred* students, there is only about *one* pupil a-year who believes the doctrines, and discharges the duties, of religion¹."

ONE in FOUR HUNDRED! Such is the *result* of the spiritual and secular separation system in the schools of France!

Let Dr. Hook add *this* fact to his statistical tables, in which he calls on us to vote EIGHT MILLIONS sterling, and THREE MILLIONS per annum for the establishment of similar schools in this country,—to produce *one* Christian in four hundred!

But this is not all. Dr. Hook's plan of national education has been tried in France, not only in *secondary* instruction, but in *primary* also, that is, precisely in *that* kind of instruction which is now under consideration; and in which he would establish it in England and Wales, at the outlay we have just mentioned, and to the subversion of what is already established in that department of education.

In the summer of 1831, M. Victor Cousin, the celebrated professor and publicist, visited Berlin, where he had two interviews with Baron von Altenstein, the Prussian Minister of Instruction. He had also frequent conversations with M. Schulze, one of the minister's confidential counsellors. The result of M. Cousin's conferences and inquiries was a Report on National Education, addressed by him to M. le Comte de Montalivet, the then Minister of Instruction in France². In it M. Cousin in-

¹ The French original of this Report will be found inserted at full length in M. de Riancey's *Histoire*, vol. ii. pp. 378—381.

² The greater part of this Report has been translated and published by Mrs. Sarah Austin. London, 1834. The reader may compare with it the evidence of Dr. Julius

forms the Minister that every parent in Prussia is *compelled* to send his children to school; that each *gemeinde*, *commune*, or parish, is obliged to maintain a *primary school*: that the masters of these schools are trained in Normal Schools—of which there is one in every department—supported partly by local and partly by State funds: that after they have been trained for a competent time in these Normal Schools, the would-be masters are examined by a government board, and, if approved by it, receive a *brevet* or *diploma* from the Minister of Instruction.

Now for the main point. How is *religious* instruction provided for in the Prussian schools? As a State, Prussia *does endeavour* to give some religious instruction, and where it can, *dogmatic* instruction: therefore it does not *desire* to unite children of different religious persuasions; but in many cases it maintains separate schools of different communions in the same parish; but where this does not appear to be feasible it imparts only *general* religious instruction, and leaves *special doctrinal* instruction to be inculcated by the pastors of the various creeds, or by the parents of the children.

In national education, therefore, Prussia has no *national religion*; but from its mode of acting it appears that it would have one, *if it could*.

It is a fact well worthy of notice, as showing how complete the *mechanical* organization of instruction is in that country, that in 1831 the number of children between the ages of 7 and 14, the approved *schoolable* period, was 2,043,030, and that the number actually *schooled* in the *State* schools was no less than 2,021,421, so that there were only 21,609 children *unschooled*; and this number at least (it may be reasonably supposed) was provided for in *private* schools³: so that it would appear that every child who *could* be educated *was educated*. In fact, the whole kingdom was one great school—one vast *mind-manufactory*. Beside this, lists⁴, we hear, are kept with such scrupulous accuracy, that His Prussian Majesty can know, at a moment's notice, which of his juvenile subjects has been guilty of missing school on any given day in any year in any of the most obscure villages of his dominions. Playing truant is a high state misdemeanour; an *affaire de lèse-majesté*. These lists, we are assured, are often appealed to in courts of justice; not to prove or disprove *alibis*, but as evidence of character.

Yet, alas! after all these painful and fatiguing processes of intellectual cotton-spinning, we find, to our inexpressible grief

on Prussian Education, § 1774—1798, in the Parliamentary Report on Education. London, 1835.

³ See Report, pp. 314. 324.

⁴ P. 312. 30.

and dismay, that superstition and infidelity are widely prevalent in Prussia. No less than a million and a half of human beings—nearly as many as the school-going population—went last year on a pilgrimage to the Holy Coat at Trèves; and how many more Prussian subjects are now joining with MM. Ronge and Czerski⁵, and the Friends of Light, as they are called, in their ungodly crusade against revealed religion, and in their fanatical rhapsodies against public peace and order, we are not able to tell. The recent Address (Oct. 2, 1845) of the municipality⁶ of Berlin to the sovereign seated on his throne, an address which can only be characterized as a manifesto of Deism, and this from the municipal body of the capital of that great kingdom, “where every child is *obliged to go to school*,” speaks volumes for the state of the public mind in that country after all the educational drilling it has received, and fills us with an involuntary shudder at the very names of Primary schools, Normal schools, Model schools, School-inspectors, and Ministers of Public Instruction.

We are led from these observations on Prussian schools to recross the Rhine, and to recur to our former topic,—*primary education in France*.

The year after the appearance of M. Cousin’s Report, M. Guizot became Minister of Instruction in that country, and in June, 1833, was passed the law by which primary instruction in France is now regulated.

This legislative act embodied most of the recommendations of M. Cousin’s Report.

By it⁷ :—

1. Every *commune* or parish is compelled to maintain (either by itself alone or jointly with other communes) a *primary school*.

2. The *chef-lieu* of every department (in the same manner) must maintain a *Normal* or *Training school*.

3. Every parochial school is under a local school-committee composed of the *Maire*, the *Procureur du Roi*, the *Ministers* of the *various religions* (licensed by the State), and one or more notables of the parish.

4. It is also subject to a *county committee* (*comité d’arrondissement*), consisting of the *Maire* of the *chef-lieu* or county town, one of the justices of the peace, one of the ministers of the different religions, a professor or schoolmaster, a parochial schoolmaster, and three notables of the *arrondissement*, all under the presidency of the *sub-prefect* of the department.

⁵ Our readers will find a circumstantial account of their proceedings, with documents, in our third volume, p. 495, sqq.

⁶ See Note at p. 170.

⁷ We cite from the official “*Guide des Ecoles Primaires*,” published by authority, Paris, 1842.

5. The masters of the Primary schools are appointed by this committee, at the nomination of the municipal council of the *commune* in which the school is. Previously to his appointment the master must have obtained a *certificat de moralité* from the *mayor* and three town councillors of the parish where he has resided for three years: he must have also been examined by a board of seven examiners nominated by the Minister of Instruction, and have received a *brevet de capacité* from them; and, lastly, having been appointed as above specified, and having taken an oath of fidelity to the king, the charter, and the laws, he receives an *arrêté d'institution* from the Minister of Instruction, and is installed by the rector of the *académie* in which the school is.

6. The *comité d'arrondissement* inspects all the schools in its district, and forwards an annual report of their condition to the *prefect* of the *département* and to the Minister of Public Instruction; it has also the power of reprimanding incompetent or negligent masters, and suspending them from their functions.

In addition to this, there is a government inspector in each *département*, and a sub-inspector in every *arrondissement*; all of them nominated by the Minister of Instruction, and bound to make an annual report concerning the state of the schools to the rector of the *académie*, and to the prefect of the *département* in which the school is; and this report is forwarded to the Council of Education in Paris, and there read.

So much for the material and personal organization of the Primary schools of France; let us now examine their method of *religious instruction*.

"The wishes of the parents (says the law of June 1833) shall be consulted and followed in all that concerns the participation of their children in the religious instruction of the school."

"Parents shall be invited (says the ministerial circular of Nov. 1835) to give religious instruction themselves, or by means of the ministers of their religion (that religion being—in the words of the *Conseil Royal* of June 1837—Romanist, Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Jewish; these, and no other, being licensed by the state); and for this purpose the *children shall be conducted on certain days and at fixed hours* to the respective places of worship in which such instruction is given."

In *practice* the religious instruction given by the state school-master is of so little account, that "in each parochial school (says the Abbé Dieulin^s) the religious exercises of the pupils are under the control of the clergy, and as soon as that ceases or flags, the teaching of the primary schools *becomes wholly secular*" (*devient*

^s In his *Guide des Curés*, 3rd edition, 1844, vol. i. pp. 569. 578. 548. 553.

tout-à-fait séculier). Such, then, is the condition of the parochial schools in France with respect to religious education.

Let us now pause for a few moments, and review the leading characteristics of this system as now detailed.

1. In almost every one of the 37,000 *communes* or parishes of France there exists a Primary school, governed by an instructor trained in a State Normal school, licensed and appointed by the secular power, and responsible to it.

2. The parochial school is supported by a parochial tax and by a small payment from the children; it is under secular inspection, and the books used in it are authorized by a secular board of education.

3. The master is entirely independent of the pastor of the parish and of the bishop of the diocese; and the school has no connexion with any religious body, except so far as that the ministers of the various creeds have access to the school to give religious instruction, and that the pupils are enjoined to resort to them for it, and that the ministers are members of the school committee.

Let us now consider the *results*. It might, we think, be anticipated, that the parochial schoolmaster, having no connexion with the parochial pastor, and having a commission to teach from the crown, and the subjects of his teaching being of a more utilitarian, marketable, and ostentatious character than those of the clergyman, he would, even, perhaps, in spite of himself, become a rival of the pastor of the parish, and that thus the Church and State would be exhibited in every parish of France in an attitude, not of friendly alliance with each other, but of jealous antagonism.

Suppose also the case of a young master fresh from his Normal school, proud of belonging to the *corps enseignant* of the nation, armed with his *certificat de moralité* from *M. le Maire* in one hand, and with his *brevet de capacité* and his *arrêté d'institution* from *M. le Ministre* in the other, brimful of big notions of the vast importance of his *calcul* and *dessin linéaire*, and not less persuaded, we fear, of the comparative unimportance of the doctrines and practice of Christianity, because he is not required to teach the one or to exercise the other⁹. Suppose him also making himself of great importance and renown to the villagers¹ by his skill in surveying, and map-making, and gauging, and well-sinking, and billiard-playing, and speechifying at clubs,—suppose him a daily

⁹ “Il pourrait malheureusement dans l'état présent de législation se dispenser des pratiques du culte sans donner lieu à aucune poursuite,” says the Abbé Dieulin, p. 583.

¹ The instituteurs (says the same writer, p. 587) have now become “assez généralement les *factotums* de nos communes.”

frequenters of the *café* and *cabaret*, a reader of the *Constitutionnel*, and an admirer of M. Michelet,—what chance, we should like Dr. Hook to tell us, would the poor village *Curé*, with his *Catéchisme*, his *Petit-Paroissien*, and his *Journée du Chrétien*,—be he as pious as Vincent de Paul and as learned as Thomas Aquinas,—have against *M. l'Instituteur de l'Ecole Primaire*?

Suppose, again, the said *instituteur* to be a person of sceptical opinions and licentious habits,—and it is in vain for Dr. Hook to flatter himself that he would be *removed*,—*who*, we ask, would remove him? The bishop *could* not, the *curé* *could* not, and the secular authorities, we have too much reason to believe, *would* not; for, we ask, has M. Quinet been removed? has M. Mickiewicz been removed, although they have uttered blasphemous rhapsodies against Christianity, not in an obscure village, but in their public lecture-rooms in the *Collège de France*, in the very capital of the Empire²? No. A *secular* educating body would take no cognizance of the religious opinions of the parish schoolmaster; and he would be a thorn in the side of the parish priest, and would do infinitely more mischief among the parishioners in a week than the pastor could repair in a year.

In our humble opinion, M. Guizot, by his education bill of 1833 (founded, as we have said, on M. Cousin's *rapport*), has taken incalculable pains to represent on a large scale, *mutatis mutandis*, the celebrated dialogue in the “Clouds” of Aristophanes, where the³ two game-cocks (emblems of the *Gallic* race) are brought on the stage as the representatives and champions of the new and old systems of education⁴, to peck and spur at one another for the diversion of the public. On the French educational stage there stands on one side the juvenile *secular* Gallus,—

* * * * * segue
Sustulit in digitos, primoresque erigit ungues⁵,—

on the other side, *impar congressus*, is the veteran ecclesiastical bird, having moulted his feathers and looking dark and dusty. The result, we fear, is generally the same in France as it was at Athens in the play. And now Dr. Hook would establish a similar cockpit in every village in England.

² These antichristian extravagancies were brought before the notice of the Minister of Public Instruction, by M. de l'Espinasse in the Chamber of Deputies, in July, 1844; but in vain. See *Les Nouveaux Montanistes du Collège de France*, Paris, 1844, p. 160. 168.

³ See Mitchell's *Aristophanes*, Preface, p. lxxxix., and vol. ii. p. 100.

⁴ Nubes, 947.

δείξω τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχαίαν Παιδείαν ὡς δέκετο,
ὅτ' ἐγὼ τὰ δίκαια λέγων ἦνθουν καὶ σωφροσύνη 'νενόμιστο.

⁵ Lucilius ap. Non. v. 24.

Perhaps, however, it may be said that we are drawing an imaginary picture. To our minds, considering the materials Dr. Hook puts together, the *result* is as clearly evident as if we saw it now visibly realized before our bodily eyes; for as South⁶ said,—and he was a keen observer of things,—“It is a pestilential design to attempt to disjoin the civil and ecclesiastical interest, which are of that nature, that it is to be feared that they cannot be *divided* but they will prove *opposite*, and, not resting on a bare *diversity*, will quickly rise into a *contrariety* ;” and so we say now; Dr. Hook’s *severance* of secular and sacred would soon become *hostility* of one to the other.

But we must not speculate on probabilities. “M. Guerry (says the “Edinburgh Review”) some time ago scandalized the friends of education (in France) by asserting that the number of persons annually charged with offences against the laws in France varied in the several departments with the number of persons who had received the *elements of instruction*. It is undoubtedly true that the amount of legal *crime* does appear to keep pace with the *amount of primary instruction*.” M. Guerry’s moral map, in which the districts where schools and crimes are most numerous are coloured with a dark tint, has, we fear, not changed its hue for the better since the bill of 1833 has been in full operation. In the last *Compte rendu de la justice criminelle* in France we are informed, that since 1826 to 1843 the population⁸ of France has increased *seven per cent.*, and that crime has augmented in the same period at least EIGHTEEN PER CENT⁹ !

⁶ In his Sermon on 1 Kings xiii. 33.

⁷ No. cxxxix. p. 56. We are indebted to Archdeacon Wilberforce for this reference. See his Letters to Lord Lansdowne on the Establishment of a Board of National Education, p. 46.

⁸ A French Journal says : “Un mot encore pour résumer cet article ; le chiffre de l’augmentation de la population est, depuis 1826, de 7 p. 100 ; l’accroissement des crimes est de DIX-HUIT OU DIX-NEUF POUR CENT.”

⁹ The following are the remarks of the *Univers* (10 Aug. 1845) in introducing these statistics to its readers :—

“Nous allons mettre sous leurs yeux les chiffres ; ils verront comment cette société, fille de la philosophie du dix-huitième siècle, répond à ces *enseignements* dont on vante tant l’efficacité et surtout la moralité. Nous savons bien qu’on nous accusera de calomnier la civilisation : que nous importe ! Nous répondrons à nos adversaires qu’il y a à nos yeux une civilisation salutaire, utile à tous, et à la grandeur des peuples et au bien-être des individus, civilisation qui met à côté du droit le devoir, à côté du bonheur le courage, la résignation, l’honnêteté ; qui ne prêche pas seulement à l’homme le culte de ses appétits, mais qui lui enseigne toutes les vertus et tous les devoirs ; cette civilisation est mère de tous les progrès : elle maintient l’ordre, raffermi l’homme contre l’adversité, concilie l’existence des gouvernements avec les droits des peuples : en un mot, elle guérit et soulage, non pas avec des géôles et des carcans, mais avec des paroles bienfaisantes, avec la morale de l’Evangile.—Cette civilisation repose sur la religion et sur le respect dû à ses enseignements.

“Nous la désirons, et nous poursuivons de tous nos efforts son avènement ; mais

But to come nearer to the point, namely, the character of the primary schoolmaster, and his relation to the pastor of the parish.

In a recent publication of Monseigneur Parisis¹, the eloquent Bishop of Langres, we find a melancholy description of the condition of French parishes, in consequence of the bad conduct and pernicious influence of the State schoolmaster. After entering into some lamentable details on this subject, he says², "I have not inspected *all* the Primary schools in France, but, to judge from what I *know*, there are certainly more than TEN THOUSAND Catholic villages more or less in the state of suffering which I have described ;" that is, nearly a *third* of the whole !

It is a well-known fact that, in consequence of this condition of things, many of the parochial clergy of France have kept aloof from the State schools, or abandoned them in despair, and the schools have become completely *secular*, that is to say, *in the end*, *hostile* to Religion and the Church, and nurseries of impiety and anarchy.

We would therefore beg leave to submit to Dr. Hook this question, "Suppose him to have expended his eight millions, and to have obtained his grant of three millions a year, for his State schools, is he certain that he can ensure the attendance of the parochial³ clergy upon any of them?"

Such then has been the *practical working* in France of the system of primary education, which Dr. Hook proposes to "render universal" in England and Wales. Dr. Hook expresses an earnest *desire*⁴ to place the education of the people in the same

à côté de cette civilisation il y en a une autre qui, prêchant à l'homme ses droits, ne lui parle de ses devoirs que pour le pousser à l'esprit d'insubordination et de révolte ; qui le prend au berceau, pour le battre par tous les vents du scepticisme et de l'égoïsme ; qui, s'adressant à son esprit, néglige sa conscience, sa raison, son cœur. Cette civilisation n'est point notre fait. Nous ne cesserons de la combattre, soit qu'elle atteigne les classes aisées de la société, soit qu'elle s'infiltré dans les classes inférieures, car ses fruits seront amers partout.

"Que de choses nous pourrions dire pour rendre d'une manière plus saillante notre pensée et pour faire sentir dès à présent toutes les conséquences du mal. Nous préférons arriver *aux faits*, sauf à en tirer plus tard les inductions qui nous sembleront justes. Et d'abord, mettons sous les yeux de nos lecteurs un tableau qui leur fera voir dans quelle proportion ont augmenté les crimes de 1826 à 1843,—c'est à dire dans une période de 17 à 18 ans."

¹ Examen de la Question de la Liberté d'Enseignement, Paris, 1843.

² P. 46.

³ Would he even gain that of the sincerely religious *dissenting* teachers? "They (whatever their *political* brethren may do)—they, too, (says Mr. Mathison, *How can the Church educate the People?* p. 96,) have recorded their *protest* against the state schoolmaster, *against the severance of religious from secular tuition ;*" i. e. against Dr. Hook's plan.

⁴ P. 32.

advantageous position as education in other countries; and among them he specifies *France*!

We think that, after the details now presented to our readers, we may confidently affirm that (thanks be to Divine Providence and to the bishops and parochial clergy of England, and to those excellent individuals who instituted and have maintained the National Society) England, with all her deficiencies,—and we do not pretend to disguise them, indeed we confess that they are great and manifold,—is in an infinitely more healthy and prosperous state in all that concerns National Education than France; and we cannot find words to express our astonishment that Dr. Hook should speak “of placing us in the same *advantageous* position with it.” The same *advantageous* position with France! Divided parishes, disaffected people, insubordinate children, sceptical schoolmasters, and despairing pastors; education unsanctified and unchristianized, and religion despised;—these are the egregious advantages which he would bestow upon us at the cost of three millions a year: and all this under the name of “rendering more efficient the *education* of the people!”

We have already expressed our regret that Dr. Hook should have employed the term *people* in his title-page for the *poor*; and we have now to complain that he mystifies himself and us by the use he makes of the word *education*.

The *advantages* of which he speaks, whatever they may be in the matter of *instruction*, (and we doubt very much whether the French system possesses any even in *this respect*,) are *no* advantages at all, but very much the reverse in the way of *education*. A child *may* be *instructed* by that system, but cannot be *educated* by it. Where the secular is separated from the sacred—where it is independent of it, and indifferent or opposed to it, there *may* be *instruction*, but there *cannot* be EDUCATION. In education the secular must be subordinate to the sacred, must be dependent on it, must be subsidiary to it, must be tributary to it; must be informed, animated, enlightened, guided, governed, inspired, elevated, consecrated by it. And therefore, for our own part, when we turn our eyes *from France*, and fix them on our *own country*; when instead of an *école primaire*, with its State schoolmaster and communal committee—standing like a neighbourless hut on a wild and barren moor, in a wilderness of moral and religious isolation—we look at one of our own parish schools shaded by the trees of the village churchyard, and the object of solemn care and religious interest to its master and to the parish priest, both working together with one heart; when we see it visited by him, its children catechized by him, loved by him, blessed by him, and not only cared for by *him*, but also by the

members of his family, his wife, his daughters, instructed by them in simple psalmody, and taught to praise God joyfully in His house; when we see them assembled together in cheerful holyday groups on a summer's day upon the lawn of the parsonage on their annual festivity, and enjoying the pleasures derived from love tempered by respect; we know not how to describe our joy and gratitude, that England has as yet been preserved from the miserable *advantages* which Dr. Hook would give us; and we do not hesitate to say, that *one single English* school, such as we have now described, is a greater national blessing, and more likely to draw down God's mercies upon a country, than all the *thirty thousand écoles primaires* of *France*, with the Minister of Public Instruction at their head. For our part, we had rather *go back* to the days of Shenstone's School-mistress, with her horn-book, and Sternhold and Hopkins, her elbow chair, and her birchen-tree, than *forward* to the Simpsonian era, so earnestly yearned for by Dr. Hook.

At the *grand concours* in the French capital of the great schools of Paris and Versailles on August 12 of the present year, M. Guizot, at his entrance into the *grande salle du concours*, at the Sorbonne, was greeted by the students with the revolutionary airs of the *Marseillaise* and *Parisienne*; a pretty strong practical proof of the moral and political working of the French system of education; and he was also saluted with the following verse from the opera of Charles V. :—

“Jamais en France l'Anglais ne règnera,”

to which, in spite of Dr. Hook's arguments, we would beg leave to re-echo,

“Jamais en Angleterre la France n'enseignera.”

But we must not stop here. Dr. Hook's system is not only quite as bad as the French one, but it is *much worse*. First, in its *destructiveness*. In 1833, M. Guizot had almost a clear field to deal with in the matter of primary education. France was almost a *tabula rasa*, and he might put what schools he liked, wherever he liked, without disturbing any body. But in England, in 1846, the case is widely different. It was very properly objected, in 1808, to Mr. Whitbread's Bill for the Education of the Lower Orders, that he did not seem to be aware “that there were any schools existing in England.” Dr. Hook does something rather more unjustifiable than this. He ignores the being of many that *do exist*⁵, and treats the rest as *if they*

⁵ See a sensible article in No. viii. of the “Ecclesiastic” for proof of this, with respect to diocesan training schools, p. 78—81.

existed to very little or no purpose. At this time there are about TEN THOUSAND Church schools existing in England, with nearly a MILLION scholars⁶; and now here comes Dr. Hook, and, like another Julian, would secularize or annihilate these institutions; we say, *annihilate*, for he would destroy them in their character as *Church* schools. He would build 16,625 State schools, to be maintained at a cost of about three millions inclusive of voluntary contributions, which he anticipates will be *transferred* from existing Church schools to future State schools. Thus he would sap the foundations of the Church schools; which, in order to exist at all, will, he supposes, become *State* schools. This, we venture to say, neither M. Guizot, nor any statesman in the world, would ever have dreamt of doing, whatever his opinion might be of what is *abstractedly* best for education. He would have been too well satisfied with what already exists, and too apprehensive of the results of so sweeping a change, which is no less than an attempt to revolutionize the whole scholastic constitution of the country.

Next, Dr. Hook's plan is worse than the French system in respect to instruction.

In France, a primary schoolmaster, as master, is not *necessarily* irreligious. He is required to teach the catechism of the diocese, *bien entendu* to those who are willing to learn it. This is something, though not much; and in practice, as we have seen, it amounts to very little. But Dr. Hook's masters, *as masters*, are compelled to know nothing of religion. They are all to be at liberty to live, as it were, at any time *before* the Christian era; but they must never cross the threshold of Anno Domini *One*. Now what we would here say to Dr. Hook is this: It is absurd to think that you can tell your master, "You must not teach religion," and to think that you can *stop* there. No. By *not* teaching *religion*, he *must* teach *irreligion*. There is atheism in his silence.

How, we would ask, for instance, can he teach geography, or astronomy, or husbandry, without speaking of God? No *heathen* ever did, and no true Christian ever will. How can he teach history, especially English history, without dwelling on the doctrines of Christianity? By the mere *secular* mode of teaching these subjects, he must make his pupils deists, and himself too, if he is not one already; and when you have created some 16,000 deistical teachers, will you then think that you can "educate the people?"

But it may be said, Dr. Hook provides a *remedy* against all this. And what is it? Why, on the Wednesday and Friday afternoons, the teachers of various persuasions are to present

⁶ See Mr. Burgess's Letter to Dr. Hook, p. 6.

themselves at the school door, and to show the children twice a-week how much religious strife there is in the parish, and what a variety of opinions in the world on the subject of Christianity, and teach them thereby to debate and quarrel about it, instead of believing and practising it. These teachers are to *sort* the scholars into sects, and to carry off each his own dozen or half-dozen of juvenile followers into the *Babel-room* to be attached to the school, and there give them for an hour or more a most lively practical picture of the confusion of tongues. “*No religion taught here on a Monday,—and a hundred on a Wednesday!*” Such is to be the inscription over the door of Dr. Hook’s State schools. Pantheons on a Friday, and something for which England has not got a word on a Thursday and Saturday. Whether the religion of the Wednesdays and Fridays, or the irreligion of the rest of the week, would be most effective in producing a race of freethinkers, is, in our opinion, a problem very difficult to solve; taken *both* together, they would be irresistible.

Let us refresh ourselves for a minute from the sadness and weariness of spirit which such a prospect produces, by considering the *advantages* of our *present* system, as contrasted with that which is proposed. Lord Bacon says well, that religion is *aroma scientiarum*, and every one who has had any experience in teaching must confess, that it is only by being enabled to mingle a holy fragrance with secular instruction that he can render it sweet to his scholars or himself. Without it, it becomes an odour of death unto death. We would put it, therefore, to Dr. Hook, whether he would condemn the poor children of England to be deprived of all the fresh and palatable *mental* food which they enjoy, and to be fed only on secular husks from the hand of their schoolmasters; and whether the nauseous fare said to be administered to their *bodies* in some of our union workhouses, is not the only fit type of such instruction as this⁷.

⁷ What our great poet of the present day has said concerning the study of Roman Antiquities, may be applied to all “literary and secular instruction:”—

“How profitless the relics that we cull,
 Troubling the last holds of ambitious Rome,
 Unless they chasten fancies that presume
 Too high, or idle agitations lull!
 Of the world’s flatteries if the brain be full,
 To have no seat for thought were better doom,
 Like this old helmet, or the eyeless skull
 Of him who gloried in its nodding plume.
Heaven out of view, our wishes, what are they?
 Our fond regrets, insatiate in their grasp?
 The sage’s theory? the poet’s lay?—
 Mere fibulæ without a robe to clasp;
 Obsolete lamps, whose light no time recalls;
 Urns without ashes, tearless lacrymals!”

Would he, we ask, also deprive them of the *spiritual benefit* they derive from *religious* instruction conveyed by means of *secular* subjects of teaching? No one, we think, can doubt that religion is often much more successfully inculcated by a teacher when treating on a *secular* subject than on a *religious* one. A master, with a Homer before him, can often instil Christianity, softly and gently, into the mind of a pupil, who is almost insensible to *direct* appeals from the Catechism, or even from the Bible. Many a teacher can bear witness to the wisdom of St. Paul in taking his text from the Altar to the Unknown God. And yet Dr. Hook would rob the poor of this *religious* advantage derived from *secular* instruction, and he would shut out religion from one of its main avenues into their heart! And this is "education for the people!"

Besides, when he separates secular from religious instruction, Dr. Hook appears to forget the very important truth, that religious *education*,—what Solomon calls the *training up* a child "in the way he should go,"—is a *practical* thing^s; and that, though it *requires* religious *instruction* in the fundamental principles of Christianity, it does not *consist* in it. It consists in the *constant application* of these principles to the management of the *temper*, and to the government of the behaviour. Religious education consists in bringing religion to bear on the *daily life* of the child. But, if the schoolmaster is *never* allowed to appeal to religion, he cannot apply religious motives and precepts to the formation of his pupil's *habits*; he can only offer him *worldly* maxims and objects; and he must therefore lead him to form the *irreligious habit* of regulating his actions by the opinions of men, and not by the law of God. This is *unchristian education*: and its bad effects cannot be counteracted by an hour or two of *religious instruction* two days in the week.

But now we have another question to put to Dr. Hook, Whence will you get your schoolmasters? What man, with a soul fitting him to be a master, would ever consent to teach in any one of these 16,000 schools, where he is never to open his lips about religion? Would not any one with the spirit of a Christian or of a man infinitely prefer breaking stones on the high-road, to such heartless, joyless, godless drudgery as this?

"Great God! I'd rather be

A pagan, suckled in a creed out-worn,"

than one of your state schoolmasters, with an atheistical muzzle on my mouth. You have therefore deprived yourself of the

^s On this point see Bp. Butler's Sermon for the Charity Schools, 1745.

only class of persons fit to teach schools, by this your act of severing secular from sacred instruction. You have *proscribed* all the Christian young men of England from ever becoming schoolmasters. The Church may shut up her training schools, Stanley Grove may disband its pupils, Battersea may close its doors, Westminster may deserve your sarcasms, and become useless; for you will have deprived them of their occupation by *secularizing* the profession of a teacher. And now *what* class of persons have you *left* yourself for your State schools? Just those who are unfit to teach in any school at all; and who ought to be *deprived* of the office of schoolmaster, if they should have ever been permitted to intrude into it; those who either think their Christianity to be like their coat and waistcoat, an article which may be put off whenever they please, or who have no Christianity at all. With 16,000 such masters as these planted throughout the country, we should soon have a race of juvenile Chartists in every parish of England. And these are the masters for whom you would uproot our present teachers, to set them in their room!

But this is not all. Dr. Hook is a Churchman; he styles himself⁹ "*a high Churchman*," (why should any one call himself names?) but, whether high or low, as a Churchman he must be desirous of unity: he must wish that schismatics should be emancipated from their schism, and heretics from their heresy; and yet he proposes a measure which would stereotype heresy and schism for ever! Instead of saying with St. Paul, "Be ye all of one mind," "Let there be no divisions among you;" he says, "Be ye all of different minds," and "Let the divisions which now exist among you be perpetuated for ever!" And, not content with speaking thus in his own person, he calls on the Legislature to enforce his principle by Act of Parliament.

If he says that he has taken things as they are, that he does not *make* divisions, but *finds* them, we would humbly submit to him that it would be better to endeavour to *make things better* than they are, and to *heal* divisions rather than to *render* them *incurable*. We respectfully suggest to him that he has no *right* to say to the dissenters, "Be dissenters, you and your children, until doomsday;" and that he is guilty of an act of grievous *cruelty* to them and their posterity in blocking up the road for their return to the unity of the Church. How different was the language and conduct of St. Augustine! When the dissenters of his day asked him, why he was so eager for their restoration to the bosom of the Church, when they said, "Quid nos vultis?"

⁹ P. 4, "I am a Churchman, and a high Churchman, addressing your Lordship——."

quid nos quæritis?" he replied, "Quasi non ipsa *causa* sit quare eos velimus et quare quæramus, quia *errant et pereunt*. Quia in errore es, *revocare* volo."—"Sic volo errare, (said the dissenter,) sic volo perire."—"Sic vis errare! (was the reply,) sic vis perire! Quanto melius, Ego *NOLO*¹!" And again, in another place, "Quærimus vos, quia peristis, ut de inventis gaudeamus de quibus perditis dolebamus²." This was language worthy of a Christian bishop. What would St. Augustine have said to Dr. Hook's plan for "*securing*³ religious instruction to the children of dissenters in accordance with the *traditions of their parents*?" If this could ever be called Anglican churchmanship,—let alone high churchmanship,—it would, in our opinion, be the severest calamity that ever befell the Church of England.

Does Dr. Hook believe in the pastoral commission⁴ of the Church? Does he believe that Christ said to her, "Go teach all nations?" Does he believe that the same divine voice which said, "Feed My *sheep*," said also, "Feed My *lambs*?" and that, if the former command is addressed to her, so is the latter? that, in a word, the *Christian School* is by *divine institution* connected with, dependent on, and subsidiary to, the *Christian Church*, and that, what God has united, it is not for man to put asunder? How then, we would earnestly inquire, how can he reconcile it to himself to advise the Church to be false to her pastoral commission, and to give up her *lambs*,—not the less the object of her regards and her anxiety because they have *strayed*,—to the jaws of the wolf and to the carelessness of the hireling? Is this her fidelity to Christ? this her imitation of the good Shepherd? How can any one recommend the spouse of Christ to resemble the false mother and to be willing to *divide* the child, and thus convict herself of falsehood? Again, we ask, is this churchmanship?

But further. How, we would also ask, can Dr. Hook call on his brethren, the priests and deacons of the Church, to co-operate in a system founded on falsehood; that is, instituted on the assumption that every self-consecrated teacher has an *equal* right to feed Christ's flock with the divinely appointed pastors thereof? He speaks of this compromise being a sacrifice⁵, not of *principle*, but of *prejudice*. Has it then come to this, that it is a *prejudice* to "magnify the office" which Christ has instituted for the salvation of souls? is not, rather, an officer of Christ guilty of great

¹ Sermon xlvii. on Ezekiel xxxiv. 1—16. We would earnestly recommend that all Churchmen who feel any doubt of what their own conduct ought to be toward Dissenters should read this admirable sermon.

² Epist. xciii. 46.

³ P. 41.

⁴ See Dr. Moberly's Discourses, 2nd ed. pp. 143—147.

⁵ P. 57. 71.

presumption when he betrays that which Christ commits to his trust and charges him diligently to keep? Is it, after all, a *prejudice* to obey Scripture, and to “mark those who cause divisions among us, and to avoid them?”—“to withdraw from those who walk disorderly and not after apostolic tradition?”—“to note them?”—“to have no company with them?”—“to turn away from them?” Dr. Hook knows, from Polycarp⁶, that St. John would not go into the same public *bathing-house* with Cerinthus, and dissuaded others from doing so; and does he think that he would have gone twice a-week to teach with modern Cerinthians in the same *school*? Let us be charitable to schismatics, by all means; but is it any work of *charity* to unite with them in the work of *education*? We trow not. It is an act of *injustice* towards them. It is flattering them to their destruction, and “spreading a net for their feet.”

Let us now consider Dr. Hook’s plan in its relation to statesmen and the State.

Dr. Hook comes forward and assures the State, that “it cannot⁷ give a religious education,” that it is in vain for it to try; that “all parties⁸ will combine to resist any State education which is professedly religious;” that the State cannot ascertain what religious truth is; that it *has no* national religion, and that it *ought not* to have any, for “the *taxes*⁹ are collected from persons of all religious persuasions, and cannot be fairly expended on the exclusive maintenance of one;” and that therefore the State, if it wishes religious instruction to be given in the schools for the lower orders, must call in the aid, not of any *one* class of religious teachers, but of *all*.

To these unwarrantable assertions we reply, in the words of St. Augustine¹, “Non te timeo; non enim potes evertere tribunal *Christi*, et *tuum* constituere.” You cannot overthrow Christ’s judgment-seat, and plant your own in its place. Christ has commanded “all kings to bow down before Him,” and “all nations to do Him service;” and all who do not so will be placed as His enemies under His feet at the great day of doom: “All nations that will not serve Him shall perish.” He has ordered that kings and queens should be the “nursing fathers and nursing mothers” of His Church, and it is their duty to be so, whatever you may think or say. Will then Dr. Hook affirm that it is *impossible* for *England* to do what Christ enjoins *all* nations to perform?

⁶ Euseb. H. E. iii. 28. ἐκ παραδόσεως Πολυκάρπου Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπόστολον εἰσελθεῖν ποτε ἐν βαλανίῳ, ὥστε λούσασθαι, γνόντα δὲ ἔνδον ὄντα Κήριθον, ἀποπηδῆσαι τε τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἐκφυγεῖν θύραζε, μὴδ’ ὑπομείναντα τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ ὑποδύναι στέγην, ταῦτό τε τοῦτο παραινέσαι τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ.

⁷ P. 33.

⁸ P. 37.

⁹ P. 38.

¹ Serm. xlii.

Will he dictate to England another law contrary to that of Christ? Will he, a minister of Christ, bound to "charge others to teach no other doctrine" but His, advise his country not to be a Solomon, not to pray to God for wisdom to judge aright, not to transcribe His Holy Word, not to act according to its dictates, not to exercise its reason and to examine the evidence of the case, and to *discern* the *true mother*², and to give her *the whole child*,—no, to do none of these things,—but to divide it into a hundred atoms;—yes, even to be a Herod, and murder Christ's Innocents?

Let him consider, we entreat him, what a miserable, what an ignominious confession he calls upon England to make,—that she cannot discern the truth, and must not even be as good as Pilate and inquire, "What is truth?" that, so far from "*buying* the truth and *selling* it not," she must barter away the truth she already possesses, she must destroy her Church-schools, to found sceptical seminaries in their place; and that, instead of holding in her own hands, in the sight of all men, the symbols of the true faith, she must become a toll-collector of tickets³ every Monday morning in her schools, to ascertain that her children have been at all possible varieties of conventicular meetings on the previous Sunday! Heaven forbid that she should ever lend an ear to such counsel as this! We would address ourselves to Dr. Hook, and say—"Let us examine the *reasons* on which you ground it. You assert that England *has no religious establishment*. Let us waive, *for the present*, the *question de facto*, and consider that *de jure*. If it is true, then, that she has not a religious establishment,—we reply,—she ought not to allow herself to rest for a moment *before* she has one, for she cannot hope to prosper *without* one. "Our great metaphysician and divine," as you justly call him⁴, Bishop Butler, affirms⁵ that "a constitution of a civil government *without*

² 1 Kings iii. 27.

³ P. 41.

⁴ P. 16.

⁵ Sermon on the King's Accession. We would beg to commend the following words of this great man, concerning the Established Church of England, to the special attention of our readers:—"Now a reasonable establishment provides instruction for the ignorant; withdraws them, not in the way of force, but of guidance, from running after those kinds of conceits. It doubtless has a tendency likewise to keep up a sense of real religion and real Christianity in a nation; and is, moreover, necessary for the encouragement of learning, some parts of which the Scripture revelation absolutely requires should be cultivated.

"It is to be remarked further, that the value of any particular religious establishment is not to be estimated merely by what it is in itself, but also by what it is in comparison with those of other nations; a comparison which will sufficiently teach us not to expect perfection in human things. And, what is still more material, the value of *our own* ought to be very much heightened in our esteem by considering what it is a security from; I mean that great corruption of Christianity—Popery, which is ever hard at work to bring us again under its yoke." Bishop Butler, *Sermon on the King's Accession*.

a religious establishment is a chimerical project, of which there is no example, and which, leaving the generality without guide and instruction, must leave religion to be sunk and forgotten among them, and, at the same time, give full scope to superstition and the gloom of enthusiasm.”—“An established religion is the universal voice of nature,” says Bishop Warburton⁶. “The consecration of the State by a State Religion is *necessary*”, we do not consider it as *convenient*, but as *essential*, to a State,” says Mr. Burke. You may, perhaps, say, in answer to all this, that “those who like yourself are called High Churchmen, have little or no sympathy with mere⁸ Establishmentarians.” Of “mere Establishmentarians,” as you style them, we know nothing; we do not believe in their existence; we suppose that all who affirm, or ever have affirmed, the necessity of a religious establishment to a State, have done so on account of its *religious* uses, both public and private; and because it is the *Divine will* that States should be consecrated by religion, and because they cannot hope for God’s blessing without it. So that, when you say you have no sympathy with *mere* Establishmentarians, you say you have no sympathy with men in the moon. But if you mean that you have no sympathy with Establishmentarians (as indeed seems to be the case), then we leave it to you to consider whether it is not a greater misfortune to you to have little or no sympathy with Bishop Butler, Bishop Warburton, and Mr. Burke, than it is to them to “have little or no sympathy” with Dr. Hook.

But to examine further your *reasons*¹ for this want of sympathy with them. You said “that the *taxes* are collected from persons of *all religions*, and cannot be fairly expended for the exclusive maintenance of *one*.” And you lay it down very confidently, that “to call upon Parliament to vote any money for the exclusive support of the Church of England, is to call upon Parliament to do what is *unjust*.”

We lately met with this argument in a book, also on the “Education of the People,” written by an excellent lady², who has

⁶ Alliance, p. 103.

⁷ Works, p. 174.

⁸ P. 37.

¹ P. 38.

² Mrs. Tuckfield, p. 40. “As Dissenters pay *taxes*, I think they may reasonably expect that government should assist them in forming separate schools.” Mrs. Tuckfield has in a very sensible manner protested, by anticipation, against Dr. Hook’s plan (*ibid.* p. 38), as follows: “I have never been able to make up my mind to like the plan of receiving children of all different persuasions in the same schools, on the principle of professing to avoid doctrinal instruction, except that *given by the ministers of each different sect on particular days, or particular hours*. I feel persuaded such a plan, *if it were really practicable*, would in this country, under existing circumstances, have very *injurious results*; such a school would become a *hot-bed for little juvenile controversialists*, who would very soon compare notes, with respect to their religious teachers, and neither learn nor believe any thing distinctly. I do not see how we can conscientiously order any schoolmaster to refrain from

done much for the cause of instruction, and we confess that we were greatly surprised to see so shallow a sophism in so respectable a work. But to meet with it in the pages of an experienced writer like Dr. Hook is what indeed has exhausted all our faculties of amazement.

Let us first observe that this proposition is a *general* one, and does not affect England more than any other nation, or England more *now* than at any *other time*: but it is predicated concerning *all nations at all times*. Since, also, in any nation that ever existed, the *citizens* have never been all of *one* and *the same* mind concerning religion; since there ever have been and ever will be *dissenters* in every public community; therefore *no State* has ever been justified, or ever will be justified, in voting a single shilling for religion! All governments which have done so have been guilty of iniquity. Thus, for instance, the Parliament of England, when it voted the erection of fifty new churches, which it described³ “as a work so much for the honour of God, the spiritual welfare of her Majesty’s subjects, the interest of the Established Church, and the glory of her Majesty’s reign,” did not what was pious and noble, but what was *unjust*! What a strange proposition is this!

If Dr. Hook had given this important subject any adequate consideration, he would have perceived that there is *not the slightest* ground for maintaining that the payment of *taxes* on the part of *subjects* creates any obligation on the part of *rulers* to endow the opinions of those who pay. We pay taxes to the governing power, in token of our subjection to it, and in order that it may have the means of protecting our property and persons, and of upholding the dignity of the State, and providing for its welfare, and as a remuneration for its service in so doing. In consequence of this payment we are entitled to liberty and protection, in mind, body, and estate; but the State is not under any obligation, *on the ground* of our paying *taxes*, to go further than *protection*, and to proceed to *encourage* and *endow* our opinions: and whatever opinions it *may* encourage, it *does* so not because they are *ours*, but because they are in accordance with the *Divine will*, and conducive to the *general good*. All this is clearly laid down by all respectable writers who have treated upon taxes; from Puffendorf⁴, Grotius, and Gerhard, down to our own Blackstone.

touching on any *doctrinal point*, or *how*, conscientiously, he can obey such orders, unless he denies the practical efficacy on the heart of some of those cardinal doctrines which appear to me the corner-stone of Christianity.”

³ 10 Anne, c. ii.

⁴ PUFFENDORF de Officio Civis, ii. xv. Alterum jus imperantis in hoc consistit, ut possit particulam aliquam de subditorum bonis tributi aut vectigalis nomine decerpere. Cum enim civium *vita* et *fortuna* sint defendendæ, oportet ut hi conferant

It is also most distinctly taught in Scripture. Christ commands the Jews to pay tribute to Cæsar. Why? *Because* they were Cæsar's *subjects*; not because he encouraged their opinions, or in order that he might do so. Again: St. Paul commands Christians to pay tribute⁵ to Nero. Nero *burnt* Christians, but we never hear that he expended a single denarius of the taxes collected from them in maintaining their religion. But St. Paul did not think that they were therefore *exempt* from paying taxes to Nero, the heathen, the persecutor. No. And *why* were they ordered by the apostle to pay them! *Because*, as he tells them, the higher Powers "are God's⁶ ministers, attending continually on this very thing," that is, on the execution of justice and on the maintenance of peace; that those subject to their sway may be enabled to "lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty⁷."

We would proceed further, and say, that since the civil power is bound to take care "*ne quid detrimenti Respublica capiat*," and since nothing so disturbs the peace and impairs the stability of a State as *divisions* and *factions* in religion, and nothing so much strengthens it as religious *unity*, therefore the legislators of a country, to whom *salus populi* is *suprema lex*, would be neglecting their first duty to those who pay taxes, they would not be guarding them with that defence and protection which they owe them, if they were to endow *different* religions, instead of maintaining *one*.

Perhaps Dr. Hook will allow us to submit to him the following authorities on this subject. If he has "little or no sympathy" with the authors above cited, perhaps he may look with more indulgence on these.

Lord Bolingbroke says⁸, that "to make government effectual, there *must* be *religion*; this *religion* must be *national*; and the national religion must be *maintained* in reputation, in reverence." And in the *Edinburgh Review*⁹ we read as follows:—"We grant

unde sumptus ad eum finem necessarij tolerentur. GROTIUS de Jure Belli et Pacis, i. 11. § vii. 12. Tributa ut solvamus honestum est, atque etiam præceptum conscientiam obligans, ut Paulus Apostolus explicat; tributorum autem *finis* est ut potestates publicæ habeant unde sumptum faciant ad bonos tuendos et coercendos malos. Rom. xiii. 3, 4, 6. TACITUS (Hist. iv. 74) appositè ad hanc rem: Neque *quies* gentium sine *armis*, neque arma sine *stipendiis*, neque stipendia sine *tributis* haberi queunt. Cui dicto simile est Augustini illud, (c. Faust. xxii. c. 74.) *Ad hoc tributa* præstamus ut propter necessaria militi stipendium præbeatur. GERHARD de Magistratu Polit. § 477. BLACKSTONE i. 8. Subjects are "bound to contribute a portion of their private gains in order to support government, which presides over public affairs, and enables private persons to attend to their private concerns; and in order to reward that magistracy which protects them in the enjoyment of their respective property."

⁵ Rom. xiii. 6.

⁸ Works, iii. 330.

⁶ Rom. xiii. 1—6.

⁹ No. i. p. 64.

⁷ 1 Tim. ii. 2.

that it is proper for the legislature, in its paternal care for the people, to provide for them the benefits of religious instruction and public worship, by the *establishment* of a *national Church*; and an ample provision ought to be made for the clergy who devote themselves to this important service. But if any persons, *after having* contributed the share which the law requires from them for the support of the established clergy, *choose to provide* other ministers *for themselves*, Government has no interest to prevent or molest them." And again¹, "To a well-supported national establishment, effectually discharging its duties, we are very sincere friends. If any man, *after* he has paid his contribution to *this great security for the existence of religion in any shape*, chooses to adopt a religion of his own, that man should be permitted to do so without let or molestation. We apologize to men of sense for sentiments so trite."

Lord Bolingbroke and the Edinburgh reviewers little dreamt of the time when they should be accused of *injustice* by an Anglican Churchman for maintaining the cause of an established Church!

But, further, Dr. Hook objects to the application of taxes to the exclusive maintenance of *one* religion. And what does he himself all the while propose to do? He will not give a shilling of the public money to *religion*, and will vote eight millions at once, and three millions annually, to promote *irreligion*! Let him not reply, that it is to promote what *we call* irreligion, but what *is* education. This answer, even if it were true, will serve him nothing: for by his theory of taxation "it is *unjust*" that we should be taxed to maintain what we disapprove. If then it is a persecution of *Dissenters* to apply taxes partly collected from them to promote Church education, how much more outrageous an act of persecution is it of *Churchmen*, ay, and of *Dissenters* too, to make them contribute, we know not how many millions, not for the establishment of any thing, but for the *dis-establishment* of all things!

We now return to the question *de facto*. Have we an Established Church, or have we not?

Dr. Hook says that it is idle to argue the question *de jure*, for that we do not possess a religious establishment. "It is a pure fiction," he says (p. 38), "to assert that the State by any Act of Parliament has established the Church of England, or any other form of Christianity to which it is exclusively bound to render pecuniary support, or to afford any other support, than such as every class of Her Majesty's subjects have a *right* to demand.

¹ Vol. xvii. p. 402.

This is *proved* by the impossibility of producing any Act of Parliament by which this establishment was ordained."

And again, p. 37: "Nor, again, can there be any objection on the part of the State to admit Dissenters to an equality in respect to State support; because, so far as education is concerned, the question is already settled. The State *does* assist both the Church and Dissent" "(i.e. through the British and Foreign School Society) *at the present time.*"

In reply to these allegations, we repeat, in the first place, that if England is *without* a religious establishment, she ought to lose no time in establishing religion,—yes, in establishing *the* religion which is *true*: and we are disposed to think that Dr. Hook would be better employed in assisting her to do so, than in attempting to persuade her that she cannot perform the duty which is laid upon her by God.

But *is* it true that she has no established religion? It seems to us very strange, that our greatest statesmen and divines should have supposed that she had a national Church, and should have regarded it as one of our greatest national blessings, and that it should have been reserved to Dr. Hook to discover that they had been lauding Divine Providence for a phantom which has no existence but in their dreams. It is also wonderful that we should have had to sustain so many attacks from our dissenting brethren², Romanist and Protestant³, on the ground of ours being a mere *parliamentary* religion, and that none of the advocates of the Church of England should have ever had the wit to discover that we have no State establishment at all. And what is strangest of all is, that *Dr. Hook* himself, who *at present* "has no sympathy with mere Establishmentarians," and questions the existence of an Establishment, should a few years ago⁴ have told us, that "to *dissolve* the religious *establishment* of this country would be, as it were, to tear the sun from the centre of our social system."

But where is the Act of Parliament, now asks Dr. Hook⁵, "which has *established* the Church?" Where, we ask in reply, is the Act of Parliament which has established the monarchy, or the peerage, or the commons of the realm? Where is the Act of Parliament

² See Bishop Sanderson, *Judicium Acad. Oxon. de Solenni Ligâ. Sect. iii. Solenne Papistas objectare nobis, esse religionem nostram religionem Parliamentariam.*

³ Towgood's Dissent, p. 16. "The Church of England is a *political structure*, built on the foundation of the Lords and Commons, the King as supreme head being the chief corner stone."

⁴ In his Sermon "On the Church and the Establishment," p. 63.

⁵ Dr. Hook's arguments on Church Establishments seem to us to be derived from one of the most hasty and ill-considered productions of the late Dr. Burton's pen, his *Thoughts on Separation of Church and State*, 1834.

which has established the sun or the sea? The clergy of the Church (as Henry Wharton says⁶) "was anciently accounted, and really was, not the *third*, but the *first* estate of the realm," and was *anterior* to *Acts of Parliament*, and aided in framing them, just as the Christian episcopate is prior to Church synods and canons, and forms the one and frames the other. And Dr. Hook might as well ask us for a Church Decretal establishing episcopacy, as for a State Act of Parliament establishing the Church. But if he asks for Acts of Parliament *recognizing* and *maintaining* the Church, we can supply him with some hundreds. For example, let him refer to the Statute of Provisors in 1350, which declares that "the Holy Church of England was founded in the Estate of Prelacy, and the Kings of England were wont to have the greatest part of their Council of Bishops and Clerks⁷;" let him look at the Act of Uniformity of 1662,—of Union between England and Scotland in 1706,—of Union between England and Ireland in 1800,—and even at the Roman Catholic Relief Bill in 1829,—in all which the Church of England is *declared* to be inviolably settled and established. Let him examine the Sovereign's *Coronation*⁸ *Oath*, by which the kings and queens of England bind themselves to maintain "the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion as *is established by law*, and to preserve unto the bishops and clergy of the Church all such rights and privileges as appertain to them." Let him, we say, consult these documents, and not ask for an Act of Parliament establishing that which has aided in *making* Acts of Parliament in England ever since there were Parliaments.

"It is as *barons*," says Dr. Hook, "not as *bishops*⁹, that seats in the House of Lords are held by our English prelates. At the *Conquest* the bishops, on account of the *lands* they held, were made barons," and thus he accounts for their legislative position in the Imperial Parliament. He founds it on their *lands*, and dates it from the *Conquest*. If this be true, we are greatly puzzled

⁶ Notes on Burnet, p. 73. Ed. 1693. See also Hooker, vii. xv. 8. "By the ancient laws the clergy were held for the chiefest of those three estates, which make up the entire body of the Commonwealth, under one supreme Head and Governor."

⁷ 25 Ed. III. St. 6.

⁸ Bishop Marsh in his celebrated discourse, entitled "The *National Religion* the foundation of *National Education*," preached at St. Paul's in 1811, says, page 28, "We are now concerned with the *facts*; that there *is* a religion by law established in this country, that the State has allied itself with the Church of England, that for the security of this Church provision has been made, not only by *repeated acts of parliament*, but by his Majesty's *coronation oath*."

⁹ P. 37.

to discover how the bishops of the new creation—Oxford, Peterborough, Gloucester, some five hundred years after the *Conquest*—found their way into the House of Lords. Lord Hale¹ would have told Dr. Hook that the English bishops sit by *immemorial* usage in the House of Lords by virtue of their episcopal dignity; and Archbishop Laud, with whom we hope Dr. Hook has some sympathy,—strenuous Establishmentarian as the archbishop was²,—affirms, in his answer to Lord Say and Sele³, that “bishops have had their votes in parliaments and in making laws ever since there were parliaments, or any thing that resembled them, in this kingdom,”—and this was some centuries before the Conquest.

We need not follow Dr. Hook in his argument, that if the Church of England “claims a right to the exclusive education of the people, the bishops are bound to go down to the House of Lords and seek powers to sell their estates and provide funds for national education;” for that “it would be better to have a *pauperized hierarchy* than an *uneducated people*” (p. 39); and “never could the hierarchy be more respectable than when pauperized in such a cause.”

Many a man, we perceive, in these days sets himself up to be an *episcopus episcoporum* besides the Pope of Rome. We regret that Dr. Hook should have taken this office on himself. The bishops will doubtless do what is best for the Church and the people without his admonitions. In the meantime, for our own parts, looking at the manner in which episcopal revenues are, for the most part, expended by their possessors, namely, in promoting the erection of churches, and schools, and training-colleges,—to say

¹ Burn's *Eccles. Law.* (Ed. Lond. 1842. vol. i. p. 217).—Unto all which may be added what *Lord Hale* delivers, in a manuscript treatise touching the right of the crown, as set forth by the very learned Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, in his “*Alliance between Church and State*,” p. 131, as follows :—“The bishops sit in the House of Peers *by usage and custom*; which I therefore call usage, because they had it not by express charter, for then we should find some. Neither had they it by tenure; for regularly their tenure was in free alms, and not *per baroniam*; and therefore it is clear they were not barons in respect of their possessions, but their possessions were called baronies, because they were the possessions of customary barons. Besides, it is evident that the writ of summons usually went *electo et confirmato*, before any restitution of the temporalities; so that their possessions were not the cause of their summons. Neither are they barons by prescription; for it is evident that as well the lately erected bishops, as Gloucester, Oxon, &c., had voice in parliament, and yet erected within time of memory and without any special words in the creation thereof to entitle them to it. So that it is a privilege *by usage annexed to the episcopal dignity* within the realm; not to their order, which they acquire by consecration; nor to their persons, for in respect of their persons they are not barons, nor to be tried as barons; but to their *incorporation and dignity episcopal*.”

² See his Sermon on Psalm cxxii. 6.

³ P. 33, A.D. 1641.

nothing of contributions for missions abroad,—looking also at the effect produced by these contributions in eliciting others from lay and other quarters, and considering the great probability, yes, the certainty, that if *bishops did not give largely, nothing, or next to nothing, would be given by any one to pious uses*, we feel persuaded that a “*pauperized hierarchy*” would be one of the most sure recipes for “*an uneducated people.*”

In a selfish age they who contend for the honourable maintenance of bishops and clergy are imagined, by worldly-minded people, to contend for wealth *for its own sake*. Wherefore we will express what we think on this subject in the words of one who was as far removed from ambition and covetousness as he was eminent for charity, simplicity, and wisdom⁴: “In a Bishop great liberality, great hospitality, actions in every kind great, are looked for; and for actions which must be great mean instruments will not serve. Men are but men, what room soever amongst men they hold. If, therefore, the measure of their worldly abilities be beneath that proportion which their calling does make to be looked for at their hands, a stronger inducement it is than, perhaps, men are aware of unto evil and corrupt dealing for supply of that defect. For which cause we must needs think it a thing *necessary* unto the common good of the Church, that great jurisdiction being granted unto bishops over others, a *state of wealth proportionable* should likewise be provided for them. Where wealth is had in so great admiration, as generally in this golden age it is, that without it angelical perfections are not able to deliver from extreme contempt, surely to *make bishops poorer than they are* were to make them of less account and estimation than they should be. Wherefore if detriment and dishonour do grow to religion, to God, to His Church, when the public account which is made of the chief of the clergy decays, how should it be but in this respect, for the good of religion, of God, of his Church, that the *wealth of bishops be carefully preserved from further diminution?*”

We regret to find that Dr. Hook lends his sanction to the low, common-place *cant* (we can call it by no better name), which makes an invidious and un-catholic distinction between the bishops and parochial priesthood, by calling the *latter* “the *working* clergy,” (p. 16, 50,) as if the *head* and the *heart* do no work, because they do not the *same* work as the *hands* and the *feet*; and as if *all* the clergy are not *working* clergy, each in his *own* order.

For our own parts we greatly lament that our reverend prelates

⁴ Hooker, vii. xxiv.

are compelled to be *working clergy* to a degree, and in a manner, not the most suitable to their position in the Church. We deeply deplore that the tendency of events in our own country, in late years, has been to deprive the highest order of clergy of those opportunities of *reading, meditation, conference, and prayer*, which are most deserving of the name of *work* in themselves, and which serve to render *all other work* most profitable to the Church and most conducive to God's glory. We regret that the bishops of England are compelled to be *working clergy* in the mere *material* sense of the term; and we are persuaded that more work could be done by the Church, and done in a better manner and spirit, if they had less manual and mechanical drudgery to do. For this reason we are very desirous to see a great increase in the numbers of our Episcopate.

But to return to the question, Have we a religious establishment in England? Dr. Hook says, "The State *does* assist both Church and Dissent at the present time"⁵ with parliamentary grants for education, and, therefore, the principle of *No-established religion* has, he argues, "been *already conceded*; the question, as far as education is concerned, is," he says, "*already settled*." Conceded, we ask, by whom? Settled by whom?

Not by the Legislature, not by the Church. We are fully aware that grants have been made by Parliament for education, and that part of these grants has been dispensed through the British and Foreign School Society, and that it is a rule of this Society, that "No *creed* shall be taught in its schools;" and still more, that this Society has pledged itself to exert itself to the utmost "to exclude from all schools aided by Parliament the formularies of any particular church"⁶. In a word, that Society's creed is,—to have no creed, and to suffer no one else to have any. This being the case, we do not hesitate to say, that when Parliament votes money for education to be dispensed by *this* Society, it *does* violate the principle of an Establishment; and they who *approve* that grant, and yet contend for an establishment, seem to us to be guilty of a manifest absurdity. We are altogether of Dr. Paley's mind in this point, that "The notion of a *religious establishment* comprehends *three* things:—A *clergy*, or an order of men secluded

⁵ P. 37.

⁶ See p. 21 of an important pamphlet, not published, but circulated anonymously, entitled "National Education, the present State of the Question Elucidated." 1839. "Here (says the author, p. 20,) we have the principle distinctly stated by the British and Foreign School Society, that public money *ought* to be given to schools in which the British and Foreign System is adopted, and *no other*; therefore *no* aid ought to be given to National Schools. This is what we are to *look forward to*."

from other professions to attend upon the offices of religion; a *legal provision* for the maintenance of the clergy; and the *confining* of that *provision* to the *teachers* of a *particular sect* of Christianity. If any one of these three things be wanting; if there be no clergy, as amongst the Quakers; or if the clergy have no other provision than what they derive from the voluntary contribution of their hearers; or if the provision which the laws assign to the support of religion *be extended* to *various sects and denominations* of Christians; there exists no national religion or established church, according to the sense which these terms are usually made to convey⁷.

Let us suppose, for argument's sake, that the principle of *No-establishment* has been conceded by the Legislature, by its grants to the British and Foreign School Society. We then say that the question is, *not* whether it has been *conceded*, but whether it is *right*. According to Dr. Hook's mode of arguing, States can have no *repentance*. Reformation is impossible. How would he, with his principle, that any act of the Legislature, however bad, is to be like the laws of the Medes and Persians which alter not—how, we ask, with this principle, would he now have in England what he rightly calls the “old Catholic Church *reformed* from middle age corruptions?” “The principle” of Popery had been *conceded*. “The question had been settled,” and we must have been all Papists to doomsday, and Dr. Hook would have been now saying mass at Leeds, instead of vindicating “the old Catholic Church *reformed*.” If, then, the principle of No-establishment has been conceded by the grant to the British and Foreign Society, and if this principle is a false and pernicious one, then by all means let it be *reformed*; and let Dr. Hook employ himself in *correcting* the evil, instead of calling upon us to *propagate* and *perpetuate* it.

But has this principle been conceded by the State? He says, “Yes; it is conceded by this grant.” We affirm, on the other hand, that the *contrary principle*, that of an Established Church, is directly *asserted* by the Legislature in numberless statutes, some of which we have already cited, and by the nation in the coronation oath, so that we have affirmations against concessions, rules against exceptions; and what after all is conceded by the State is, that it “*halts* between *two* opinions;” and if Dr. Hook has the spirit of an Elijah, he will ask it, “*Why* it does so?” Besides, whatever the *State* has done, the *Church* can never concede that

⁷ Dr. Paley's Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, chap. x. p. 430. London, 1821.

a commonwealth can prosper without a *national religion*. She may be compelled to *suffer* evil, but she can never be forced to *do* it. The State may be untrue to her, and she may be compelled to *tolerate* ills at its hands; but she may not, therefore, be false to the State, and flatter it that it can endow various creeds and be guiltless. If the Church were to concede this, she would be a false witness and prophesy lies; she would be faithless to her Divine Head. Whatever, therefore, any of her lay members, or even her clergy, may do, *she* can never *approve* the grant of public money to the British and Foreign School Society, or recognize any *national* teacher of religion but herself. And if *she* ever should make such a *concession* (as Dr. Hook says has been made for her), then every true son of the Church would rise up and remind her that she was giving away what she had no *right to give away*; for the commission to teach is hers to *execute*, but it is CHRIST's alone to *give*.

We will now bring these remarks to a close: but before doing so we would request leave to address ourselves, in respectful terms, first to the State, and next to the Church; or rather, in more correct language, to the people of England, first in their civil, and next in their religious capacity.

We take for granted that *unity* in true religion is the strongest preservative of public peace. In England we are too apt to speak of Churchmen and Dissenters as if they had *no bonds* of unity between them, but were like two distinct and antagonist races of human beings, whereas they are joined by the ties, not only of humanity and citizenship, but also of certain articles of the true faith, which they hold in common.

This being so, there appear to be *foundations* for a fabric of amity and union, if both parties will "labour for peace," and not for division; and will *endeavour* to be of one mind, and to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

For this purpose we would provide an adequate supply of places of worship, of learned and pious clergy, and of Church schools and Church schoolmasters; and we cherish a confident hope that by these means our unhappy divisions would, in a great measure, be healed, and we should become an united people.

We do not doubt that every enlightened and sober-minded man among our dissenting brethren would approve, yes, and would promote, this design: we are sure that as *citizens* they must desire unity, and as *Christians* they must pray for it, as Christ did; and though the individual Dissenter may prefer his own form of doctrine or worship to that of the Church, yet since he differs as much, or more, from *other* Dissenters of other denominations

as he does from the Church, and since there is no one form of Christianity in this country which can compete even in the *numerical*⁹ strength of its adherents with the Church, the truly liberal and conscientious Dissenter will, for the sake of UNITY, desire its prosperity, and promote its advancement. He may, indeed, wish that those points in which *he differs* from the Church *were* the doctrines of the Church, but he *cannot* desire that those articles of faith in which he *agrees* with the Church, and by virtue of which he is himself, in a certain sense, a member of the Church, *were not taught* by the Church, or that DIVISION were endowed by the State instead of UNITY.

Let us now address ourselves, with all due respect and submission, to our civil rulers.

It is usual to speak of the education question in this country as one of *difficulty*. For our own part we cannot in any way participate in this language. The question now before us is, to our minds, an exceedingly simple one, if we do not approach it with a determination beforehand to *make it difficult*. Dr. Hook, as we said at the beginning of this article, has somewhat perplexed it by *calling* it the question of the *education* of the *people*, whereas it is the question of the education of the *poor*. This simplifies the matter exceedingly. Among the *middle* classes dissent has made considerable inroads, but there are few nominal Dissenters, and fewer real ones, among the *poor*; the *poor* belong either to *the Church*, or to *no Church*. "The great mass of the parents of the destitute children," (says Mr. Cotton in his evidence before the Committee on Education¹;) "who are *commonly called Dissenters*, have very little feeling on doctrinal points at all; and care very little on the subject, provided their children have the benefit of instruction." Mr. Dorsey was asked by the same committee² whether there were many Unitarians in the working classes, to which he replied, "Extremely few: I have had, I suppose, since I commenced teaching, 1000 children, and I have only had six Unitarians." On the whole, it is too true, (as Mr. Bowles³ said in one of his excellent pamphlets on education,) especially in large towns, "that the persons who stand most in need of education, are in general too indifferent on the

⁹ The Church population of England and Wales, says Mr. Mathison (p. 18), exceeds thirteen millions; the whole being sixteen millions.

¹ A.D. 1834. (p. 142.) See also *ibid.* pp. 147, 148. We would commend the whole of this evidence to our readers as most practical and judicious, and forming a refreshing contrast to what we feel compelled to call the conceited and pedantic charlatanerie of Mr. Simpson's evidence before the Irish committee.

² 1835, p. 45.

³ 1803, p. 24.

subject of religion to care *what kind* of religious instruction their offspring receives." Hence the question of education of the poor is a very simple one. Their *poverty* entitles them to education from the *State*. Education to be a blessing, and not a bane, must be *religious*, must be *doctrinal*. The poor have a right, therefore, to be educated in the *doctrines* of *some* Christian community: and since the Church is the branch of the universal Church planted in these realms; since it is *Christ's* institution; since it is the religious community of the nation, established by law; since it is the community of the great *majority* of the people, therefore there is no one Christian community by which the poor *ought* to be educated, or *can* be educated, but the Church. We therefore conclude, that the *Church* ought to be enabled by the *State* to educate the poor.

We would also observe, that all *other* methods of educating the poor, except by means of the *Church*, have *failed*; and thus the problem has become much simpler than it formerly was. The "*general religion system*," or rather, as Dr. Hook justly calls it, (p. 35,) the *no-religion* system, has been tried and failed; the secular-and-sacred-severance system has also been tried and failed; and thus by the method of *exhaustions* we are brought to the *Church* system of education; which, we are persuaded, *will never fail*. *Without* the Church, especially in *England*, where the Church has TEN THOUSAND SCHOOLS, it is impossible for the State to educate the poor; *with* the Church, and *by* the Church, it may educate them all.

Another facility offered to the statesman for making Church education universal, arises from the *nature* of Church instruction. What is the *symbolum concordiæ* which binds Church schools together? The Catechism. And what is the Catechism? Simply the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the two Sacraments. *If* the Catechism were like the Creed of Pius IV., adding twelve new articles to the Nicene Creed, and imposing them *as necessary to salvation*; or if it were like the Westminster Catechism, discussing the most abstruse questions of theology, such as predestination, free will, and final perseverance, then the State would have great difficulty in making Church teaching *universal*. But seeing Catechisms are necessary in education (and let any one who doubts this look at the results now produced in Germany by their *abandonment*); and seeing that the *Church* Catechism is *what it is*, seeing also that it is not *imposed* on the pupil in our Church schools, to be *subscribed* by him as an article of faith, but received by him from the teacher, on the principle (without

which there can be no education,) that *oportet discentem credere*, and with a full understanding that *licet edocto judicare*; we are satisfied, that if men will only set themselves to labour for peace, and not for party, they will find no difficulty whatever in educating the poor of England *together* in the *same* schools, from one end of the land to the other,—we mean in the schools of the *Church*.

Here is a glorious result proposed to all: one worth living for, yes, and worth dying for: and the statesman who brings it about, or labours to do so, will confer an inestimable benefit on his country, and will earn immortal renown, not only on earth, but in heaven.

In the last place, let us be allowed to say one word to the Church.

Dr. Hook would lead the Church of *England* into the same *false position* in which the Church of France now stands. At the French Revolution of 1830, the *Charte* decreed the equality of three religions, Romanism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism, to which was soon, alas! added a fourth, Judaism. All these are now endowed by the French State.

In an evil hour the Church of France accepted the Revolutionary *Charte* as her watchword, because, like Dr. Hook's plan, it promised liberty of teaching (*Liberté d'Enseignement*) to all. "We plead our cause (said the Church champion in the House of Peers, M. de Montalembert)—we plead our cause, with one of our hands on the *Gospel*, and with the other on the *Charte*." He might as well have said, "with the other on the *Koran*."

The bishops of that Church have been unhappily deluded into using the same language, in the vain hope, as it seems, of making their cause popular with the democracy; and instead of asserting their own inalienable *right*, and indispensable *duty*, to teach, by virtue and obligation of their pastoral commission from Christ, they put forward a miserable plea for *liberty* to teach, derived from the *Charte* of July!

Let us mark the consequence. Having thus abandoned the ground of *right* and *duty*, they contend in vain for that of *liberty*. "You have renounced your right to teach," says the State to the Church. "Education is too serious a matter to be left free to every speculating adventurer. I must take it into my own hands. The *State* must be the *Church*."

And so it has become. Witness the present condition of secondary and primary education in France, as described in the preceding pages.

What further has been the result? Not merely *separation* of Church and State, but bitter *hostility* between them; in fact, a

deadly *civil war*, by which no party can be the gainer, except that of Popery and Infidelity ;

“ *Bella geri placuit, nullos habitura triumphos.*”

Let the Church and State of England take warning from this example, and not engage in a conflict by which nothing can be won, and every thing may be lost.

Taught by this practical lesson, let not the Church abandon an iota of her claim to be the religious teacher of the nation. Let her admit no partner in this sacred office. If she consents to *divide* the child, she proves herself a *false* mother. Yes, we repeat, let her maintain her right to be recognized as the religious teacher of the nation, first, as being the Church of the majority of the people; secondly, as being the Church established by law; thirdly, and above all, as being the branch of Christ's Church planted in this country. On these grounds let her claim aid and encouragement from the State, to enable her to perform the great work of national education, no less on the State's behalf than on her own; and blessed will those statesmen be, who lend a willing ear to her claim !

We close these remarks with the words of one who, from his office as Poet Laureate, has a special right to address the CROWN and the COUNTRY, and who from his wisdom and genius is entitled to a respectful hearing from the WORLD.

“ Hail to the crown by Freedom shaped—to gird
An English sovereign's brow! and to the throne
Whereon he sits! Whose deep foundations lie
In veneration and the people's love;
Whose steps are equity, whose seat is law.
—Hail to the STATE of England! And conjoin
With this a salutation as devout,
Made to the spiritual Fabric of her CHURCH;
Founded in truth; by blood of Martyrdom
Cemented; by the hands of Wisdom reared
In beauty of Holiness, with ordered pomp,
Decent, and unproved. The voice that greets
The majesty of both, shall pray for both;
That, mutually protected and sustained,
They may endure long as the sea surrounds
This favoured land, or sunshine warms her soil⁴.”

⁴ “The Excursion.” Book VI. London, 1832. “Church-yard among the Mountains.”—p. 199.

Speaking of the *right* of the Poor to religious EDUCATION by State provision, he says,

“ This *sacred right* is fruitlessly announced,
This universal plea in vain addressed,
To eyes and ears of parents who themselves
Did, in the time of their necessity,
Urge it in vain ; and therefore, like a prayer
That from the humblest floor ascends to heaven,
It mounts to reach the STATE’s parental ear ;
Who, if indeed she own a mother’s heart,
And be not most unfeelingly devoid
Of gratitude to Providence, will grant
The unquestionable good ; which ENGLAND, safe
From interference of external force,
May grant at leisure ; without risk incurred
That, what in wisdom for herself she doth,
Others shall e’er be able to undo ⁵. ”

A letter addressed by the late Chief Baron of the Exchequer to Lord Ashley, in 1839, seems to us deserving of serious attention at the present time, on account of the station and authority of the writer, and also as stating very clearly the rights and duties of the Church and State in the great matter of national education. We therefore subjoin it for the consideration of our readers by way of Postscript :—

“ Dear Lord Ashley,

“ I send herewith my first subscription to the National School Society. The lateness of this subscription is the result of circumstances purely accidental, and not of any change effected by recent publications, or by any other recent occurrence, in those opinions which induced me to take an active and public part in support of the society. Those opinions are contained in the following propositions :—

“ 1. That man is by nature a moral and religious as well as an intellectual being ; and that the cultivation of his intellect, without a simultaneous development and direction of his moral and religious sentiment, would make his intelligence a source of evil instead of benefit to his race.

“ 2. That the endowment, that is to say, the establishment of a national religion, and the uniformity of religious observances and opinions, as far as it can be attained without violating the liberty of conscience, are very great public advantages.

“ 3. That the Church of England, independently of the advantage which it now possesses of being already established and moulded up with our civil institutions, is more tolerant, has a better foundation in

⁵ Book ix. p. 311.

truth, and is of greater utility, than any other form of religion that could be substituted in its place.

"4. That the clergy of the Church of England, already the authorized teachers of the national religion, are better qualified, by their attainments and their high moral character, to be the teachers of every part of useful knowledge than any other class of persons who could be appointed for that purpose.

"5. That though it is an essential part of toleration to permit those who dissent from the religion of the state to educate their children after their own fashion, there ought not to be any system of education at the national expense that does not comprehend, as an essential part of it, instruction in the established religion. To tolerate is one thing—to cherish and to propagate quite another. The sower of good seed, though he may not separate or gather the tares before the harvest, is not enjoined to sow them with the good seed.

"6. That the application of the national funds, for the propagation of any but the national religion, is an exception from a general principle, to be justified only by some obvious political necessity of expediency.

* * * * *

"7. That the application of the national funds for the propagation of any other than the established religion, merely to secure the political interest of a party, however it may be masked under the specious names of toleration and liberty of conscience, is, in effect, nothing less than treachery to the state and to the sovereign.

"8. That no restraint or political exclusion should take place on account of any religious opinions or observances, except when they lead to the depravation of morals, or characterize some political hostility to our social institutions. The aberrations of conscience, when they turn upon the fashion of a button, or the form of a dialogue, are of no importance; but when they lead to the destruction of life, or property, or liberty, or take the form of avowed hostility to the State, they will justify, if they do not imperiously demand, exclusion from all political powers.

"These principles, formed in early life, and corroborated by the reflections and experience of maturer age, I think it my duty in the present times not only to avow, but steadily to act upon. I shall, therefore, endeavour to support the Society, with the most anxious wishes for its success.

"I am, my dear Lord, &c.,

"ABINGER."

"*Abinger Hall, Oct. 1839.*"

NOTE.

The document referred to in p. 139, is of so important a character, that we print it entire, with the king's reply, both in a French translation. Our readers may there learn not to be too sanguine about the

results of what some persons have been pleased to call a perfect system of educational organization.

“Sire, les mouvements qui, dans ces derniers temps, se sont manifestés dans notre Eglise, semblent devoir tellement fixer la sérieuse attention des hommes dévoués à leurs pays, que, dans nos rapports relatifs aux églises de la ville, nous n'avons pas cru convenable de nous dispenser de les prendre en considération, ainsi qu'il est de notre devoir. Si, par suite de ces motifs, nous osons nous adresser avec le plus profond respect à Sa Majesté en personne, et lui exposer très-humblement nos vœux, nos desirs et nos prières, nous le faisons dans l'intime conviction que ces mouvements ne sont pas des symptômes éphémères, mais qu'ils révèlent une nouvelle phase dans le développement intellectuel de la nation. D'un autre côté, non moins profondément convaincus que, dans notre vie nationale, dont le principal élément est la fidélité du peuple à son monarque, tout mouvement progressif ne peut se développer dans des conditions salutaires, s'il n'est dirigé par la prévoyance et l'intervention de Votre Majesté ; nous pensons que, de cette manière, il peut s'identifier avec l'Etat même, et concourir à la prospérité publique. Dans l'Eglise évangélique, les questions religieuses, qui pendant longtemps ont excité l'intérêt général, et qui étaient plutôt du domaine de la vie privée que de la vie publique, font maintenant invasion et jouent le premier rôle dans la vie nationale.

“La diversité des vœux et des croyances religieuses qui jusqu'à présent n'ont été diamétralement opposées que dans les régions scientifiques, et y ont donné naissance à plusieurs tentatives de transactions, apparaît maintenant dans la vie politique et dans l'Eglise. Ces croyances diverses se montrent maintenant sous l'aspect de partis religieux. Il en est surtout deux qui sont opposés à notre Eglise : l'un s'attache à l'ancienne tradition et s'appuie sur elle comme sur son droit historique, se considérant comme la seule Eglise évangélique et la revendiquant comme sa propriété exclusive ; l'autre parti affirme avec assurance que le Saint-Esprit, qui constitue, maintient et gouverne la véritable Eglise, n'est lié ni à Rome, ni à la lettre de la tradition. L'Ecriture et les symboles sont les témoignages des premiers chrétiens et de l'Eglise qui se forme. Œuvres des hommes, ils attestent et proclament la foi des hommes, et, ainsi, la *conception* et la *forme* portent l'empreinte du caractère de l'époque et des auteurs de ces témoignages. Ce n'est pas là que réside la vérité absolue, mais c'est l'esprit de vérité, de sainteté et d'amour qui agit et se meut éternellement dans l'humanité. Celui qui s'est manifesté au monde par les auteurs des saintes Ecritures est aussi, par nous et en nous, l'interprète de ces mêmes Ecritures et le juge de leur vérité.

“C'est ainsi que les partis expriment leur conviction sous les formes le plus diamétralement opposées ; ce qu'il y a surtout de dangereux, c'est que si l'un ou l'autre de ces partis veut l'emporter, l'Eglise évangélique se divise en sectes. Sans doute, il ne nous appartient pas de nous prononcer sur le droit que peuvent avoir ces partis, et nous nous garderons bien, dans cette humble représentation, d'avoir la témérité de nous étendre sur la question théologique. Toutefois, d'après les observations que nous avons faites au milieu de cette grande capitale, nous ne croyons pas devoir taire que la grande majorité des classes élevées de la population penche évidemment en faveur de la manière de penser du dernier parti que nous avons mentionné ; tandis que le premier qui se regarde comme le seul vrai croyant, porte ses regards vers le passé, et se rapproche du point de vue du parti catholique, le parti rationaliste se tourne tout à la fois vers le présent et l'avenir ; nos convictions ont leurs racines dans l'état actuel de notre civilisation et dans toute la vie sociale de l'époque. Bien que l'exposé de la vérité chrétienne donné jusqu'à présent par ce parti ne puisse répondre au besoin général religieux, et que des éléments impurs se mêlent, comme il arrive d'ordinaire, à ces mouvements déréglés, nous ne pouvons cependant méconnaître que cette direction ou cette tendance a pour base la liberté intellectuelle et chrétienne.

“Quiconque ne voudrait y avoir aucun égard condamnerait la base ou le fondement sur lequel repose cette tendance, c'est à dire, l'histoire et le développement des trois derniers siècles. C'est à cette conséquence que la chancellerie romaine serait condamnée. Quant à nous, nous tenons fermement aux conquêtes de la réformation et à sa marche progressive. Nous ne voulons pas nous départir de notre christia-

nisme, mais nous savons aussi que ce christianisme éternel, invariable dans son essence, se renouvelle dans le cœur humain, qu'il suit le développement de l'esprit de l'homme dans l'histoire, et revêt les formes nouvelles de la pensée, de la parole, ainsi que celles de l'existence de l'organisation de l'Eglise, à laquelle il donne l'expression et la vie. Nous estimons sans doute la tradition ; nous écoutons ses enseignements, et nous nous formons à sa discipline ; mais nous devons reconnaître à tout chrétien le droit et le devoir de s'approprier, par la liberté d'examen, la vérité chrétienne qui lui est offerte sous une forme déterminée, comme fait extérieur dans la tradition de l'Eglise. La vie chrétienne et la liberté évangélique ne sont possibles qu'à ces seules conditions.

"Aussi regardons-nous comme une erreur dangereuse de prétendre restreindre l'esprit divin dans l'humanité, de l'attacher à des formes et à des formules prescrites, et de vouloir en faire dépendre la félicité chrétienne, comme si la vérité éternelle résidait dans ces mêmes formules. En outre, il y a encore, selon nous, plus de gravité à porter cette erreur jusqu'à contester à ceux qui pensent autrement, la libre manifestation de leurs convictions et leur droit de rester dans le sein de l'Eglise. Nous sommes placés, en ce qui concerne nos convictions religieuses, à la limite d'un temps ancien et nouveau, et nous nous trouvons dans cette crise. Ce que des hommes profonds ont annoncé depuis longtemps, à savoir que ce siècle ne s'écoulerait pas sans que la vie religieuse et ecclésiastique de votre peuple reçût une forme nouvelle, semble vouloir s'accomplir. La science a écarté beaucoup de formes et d'idées dans lesquelles s'est exprimée la conscience religieuse des temps primitifs du christianisme et plus tard de la science. Mais la science a également développé et mis en lumière ce qui existait déjà dans une forme plus obscure dans l'esprit du peuple.

"Les résultats de la science pénètrent chaque jour davantage dans la conscience du peuple et donnent par conséquent une autre forme à ses convictions religieuses. Si les anciennes idées de l'Eglise, ses dogmes et formules, ces vases sacrés dans lesquels la croyance chrétienne des premiers temps du christianisme nous a été livrée, étaient inséparables de son contenu, et identiques avec lui à un tel point, que quiconque ne voudrait pas accepter ses idées et les tenir pour vraies, ne pourrait pas comprendre la doctrine et l'esprit du Christ, nous serions certainement forcés de douter que le christianisme pût devenir une vérité pour nous et pour la plupart de nos contemporains. Mais pour notre consolation, nous avons la ferme conviction que les formes dogmatiques et l'esprit du christianisme ne sont pas identiques, mais que le christianisme lui-même et notre Eglise évangélique nous ont débarrassés pour toujours de tout esclavage, tant du culte extérieur et des bonnes œuvres que de la lettre et de la formule.

"Nous avons la conviction que Jésus-Christ est hier et aujourd'hui et dans l'éternité, la base de notre félicité et le maître de son Eglise, mais que ce maître n'est autre chose que l'esprit de Jésus-Christ en nous ; l'esprit de sainteté et d'amour ; que tous ceux qui en sont animés sont des enfants de Dieu et complètement libres. Cette conscience plus ou moins développée remplit notre temps, et la crise dans laquelle nous nous trouvons nous paraît consister précisément en ce que le sentiment religieux tend à s'exprimer dans une forme nouvelle la vérité éternelle du christianisme qu'il ne peut abandonner sans se désavouer lui-même, et que cependant il ne peut mettre d'accord dans la forme où la doctrine la lui présente avec tout ce qu'on doit d'ailleurs considérer comme vérité.

"Notre temps se trouvant à ce point de développement, un parti réagit au sein de notre Eglise contre ces efforts. Ce parti craint que la perte des vases sacrés n'entraîne la perte de leur contenu, celle de la lettre, celle de l'esprit, celle du dogme, celle de la croyance, du sentiment et de l'amour chrétien, et enfin que la ruine de la religion n'entraîne celle de l'Etat. Redoutant ce danger, il croit ne pouvoir trouver son salut que dans le dogme de l'Eglise, et le saisit comme ancre de son espérance. Il identifie le dogme et le christianisme, la lettre et l'esprit, la forme et l'essence. La vérité chrétienne, il ne la voit que dans l'Ecriture et les livres symboliques, et l'homme doit l'accepter et la reconnaître, et voilà ce qu'il appelle croire. La croyance vivace au christianisme, qui vit éternellement dans le cœur et dans l'esprit de ses enfants, ce parti en fait une croyance à la confession de l'Eglise. Il ne considère pas comme vrais membres de l'Eglise et ses seuls repré-

sentants ceux qui sont remplis de l'esprit du Christ, et le prouvent par leur vie et leurs actions ; mais ceux qui sont animés de l'esprit de l'Eglise de ce parti et qui le prouvent en reconnaissant la confession de l'Eglise.

“Ce parti n'hésite pas, en laissant de côté tout amour chrétien, de qualifier la confession de l'Eglise de blasphémateurs hardis qu'elle n'est pas obligée de souffrir, même extérieurement, au milieu d'elle, que par suite de son profond abaissement.

“L'organe de ce parti, c'est la *Gazette de l'Eglise évangélique*, publiée ici par le professeur Hengstenberg ; on peut le comparer au judaïsme à la naissance du christianisme et à l'Eglise de Rome à l'époque de la réformation. Par suite de cette erreur fondamentale que la vérité chrétienne n'est contenue que dans la forme traditionnelle, n'est qu'un objet extérieur de la croyance, et non pas l'essence vraie et la plus intime de l'homme, ce parti perd la vérité même et reçoit là, en place de la vérité, sa forme et son apparence ; au lieu de la liberté il a l'esclavage ; au lieu de l'Evangile le dogme, et au lieu du protestantisme le principe du catholicisme. Nous sommes bien loin de condamner les hommes de cette tendance comme tels, au contraire, nous reconnaissons qu'eux aussi cherchent la vérité, mais leur principe est contraire à l'essence du protestantisme ainsi qu'au développement et à la conscience de notre temps. Aussi ne sommes-nous pas étonnés que l'opinion publique se prononce contre eux, et que les tendances pratiques aient provoqué des protestations ouvertes.

“Nous reconnaissons devant Votre Majesté royale, avec un respect profond et la sincérité que nous devons à Votre Majesté, comme fidèles sujets et représentants de la bourgeoisie, que ces protestations et les excitations qui s'y rattachent nous paraissent mériter une sérieuse appréciation. Une opinion et une direction dogmatique seule peut bien de nos jours provoquer une polémique littéraire, mais non, comme c'est le cas ici, occuper la presse quotidienne et remuer les masses. Bien plus, ces excitations ne nous paraissent venir que de la crainte et de l'opinion que les autorités de Votre Majesté auxquelles la direction de l'Eglise est confiée, n'agissent dans le sens du parti contre lequel les protestations sont dirigées, et ne donnent suite aux nombreuses sommations qui lui ont été faites de se prononcer contre une manière plus libre de concevoir le christianisme.

“Une pareille intervention, bien que nous ne la craignons pas, en égard à la liberté de conscience et de croyance que Votre Majesté a toujours accordée à ses sujets et qu'elle a énergiquement protégée, serait profondément regrettable non-seulement en elle-même, mais aussi à raison des conséquences fâcheuses qui en résulteraient. Le christianisme et l'Eglise évangélique n'ont pas besoin d'une protection extérieure pour conserver la pureté de leur doctrine, et ne peuvent se soumettre à une pareille protection.

“L'Eglise ne progresse qu'à la condition de combattre toujours et de triompher de toute erreur et de tout ce qui est impie ; mais cette lutte est purement intellectuelle, et l'Eglise protestante possède dans son principe profond, mais dans ce principe seulement, la puissance de soutenir victorieusement cette lutte. Qui donc oserait se poser comme juge de la vérité dans une Eglise qui ne reconnaît d'autre chef que le Christ et n'accorde l'infailibilité à aucun mortel ? Le symbole jugerait-il la vérité ? Mais le symbole est tiré de la parole de Dieu révélée dans la Bible, et la parole biblique a besoin d'interprétation ; et pour cela il faut l'esprit éclairé. La Bible elle-même dit qu'elle n'est pas une loi de la croyance.

“L'esprit de Jésus-Christ est seul juge de tout ; et si l'on pouvait supposer que l'Eglise fût jamais abandonnée de cet esprit, elle serait morte. Elle trouve dans les actes de sa fondation et de son passé le fil conducteur qui la conduit hors du labyrinthe des erreurs humaines, ainsi que la règle des développements de sa doctrine ; mais l'esprit de Jésus-Christ, qui doit survivre en elle, si elle doit être une Eglise, est son véritable guide et son unique juge, ainsi que l'unique juge des siens. Pour donner carrière à cet esprit, il faut assurément que l'Eglise ait un développement et une constitution qui mettent ses membres en état de travailler sérieusement au temple du Seigneur. Quoique l'Eglise soit dans l'Etat et se trouve dans de nombreux rapports avec la vie politique et celle du peuple, l'Eglise, considérée dans son essence, n'est pas une institution de l'Etat. Mais notre Eglise a reçu, par son développement historique, une forme qui ne lui permet pas développer avec énergie

tout sa force vitale. Nous prenons la liberté de manifester dès à présent nos vœux et nos prières modestes sur le mode et la forme de cette institution. Mais, après avoir examiné l'état actuel de nos rapports ecclésiastiques, nous avons cru que notre devoir nous commandait de déclarer respectueusement à Votre Majesté que l'Eglise évangélique, si elle veut aspirer avec une force nouvelle à sa haute destination, a besoin d'une nouvelle constitution qui lui en donne le moyen avec la participation énergique de ses membres.

"C'est pourquoi nous prions humblement Votre Majesté de vouloir bien ordonner aux autorités chargées du gouvernement de l'Eglise de ne limiter en aucune manière la liberté de la doctrine dans l'Eglise évangélique, autant que ces doctrines ne sont pas en opposition avec la morale publique et ne compromettent point la sûreté et la prospérité de l'Etat. Nous prions en outre humblement Votre Majesté de vouloir bien ordonner qu'une commission de membres ecclésiastiques et laïques de l'Eglise protestante soit convoquée dans toutes les provinces du royaume pour préparer un projet de constitution de notre Eglise qui soit en rapport avec les besoins actuels et qui devra, après discussion dans les synodes provinciaux, et d'accord avec un synode général, devenir, avec la haute sanction de Votre Majesté, la base de la vie religieuse de l'administration et du gouvernement de l'Eglise dans notre Eglise évangélique.—Suivent les signatures.

"Berlin, 22 août 1845."

Voici la réponse du Roi :—

"J'ai donné à la municipalité de Berlin un long délai pour qu'elle eût le temps de réfléchir à sa démarche. Je n'ai consenti à écouter l'adresse que sous la condition qu'elle me serait présentée et lue par la municipalité elle-même. Je me plaisais à espérer qu'elle envisagerait cette question sous un autre aspect, et qu'elle finirait par voir ce qu'il y a d'étrange à débiter en ma présence, face à face avec moi, une longue dissertation théologique. Enfin, Messieurs, vous l'avez voulu et j'ai souscrit à votre vœu. J'accorde volontiers à la première autorité de ma chère ville natale ce que je refuserais à d'autres. C'est un privilège dû aux sentiments de véritable fidélité au Roi, dont cette municipalité a constamment donné l'exemple aux habitants de la capitale. Vous avez parlé, j'ai écouté ; maintenant je vais répondre, autant que je le puis, après avoir prêté l'oreille à votre adresse.

"La municipalité paraît prendre un grand intérêt aux affaires ecclésiastiques ; il faut donc supposer qu'elle connaît à fond la situation légale de notre Eglise évangélique ; elle doit savoir que lorsqu'à l'époque de la réforme le pouvoir ecclésiastique perdit ses chefs, l'Eglise et les réformateurs eux-mêmes transmirent l'autorité spirituelle au souverain du pays. Cette autorité est donc une des prérogatives de ma couronne, et en augmente le fardeau. Elle m'impose une pénible tâche ; mais elle me confère aussi le droit incontestable et incontesté de veiller à l'organisation de l'Eglise. Je m'abstiens de l'exercer ; les cinq années de mon règne le prouvent ; et remarquez ceci, Messieurs, car c'est le point culminant de ma réponse, je m'abstiens, parceque je suis d'avis que l'Eglise doit procéder par elle-même. Feu le roi, mon père, lui a fait un don précieux en la dotant des synodes.

"A la vérité, l'ancienne administration du département des cultes n'était pas favorable à cette institution, aussi la négligea-t-elle. Sous le ministre actuel, qui s'effraie aussi peu que moi des lumières et de la publicité, ces synodes ont repris une vie nouvelle. Les synodes sont les organes compétents pour proclamer l'opinion de l'Eglise. S'ils prennent l'initiative d'une nouvelle organisation de l'Eglise, alors je mettrai volontiers la main à l'œuvre, et je bénirai le jour où je pourrai remettre le pouvoir ecclésiastique à qui de droit ; mais sans cette initiative des organes légitimes, je ne ferai rien. Du reste, je dois contester à la municipalité toute initiative ou toute intervention dans l'organisation de l'Eglise évangélique ; je lui reconnaitrais volontiers le droit moral, si elle avait rempli à un degré éminent ses devoirs de patronage ; si, en d'autres circonstances, elle avait manifesté le même intérêt pour les affaires ecclésiastiques ; si, enfin, elle avait respecté les liens de la fraternité protestante.

"Mais, la main sur la conscience, Messieurs, il ne m'est vraiment pas possible de vous reconnaître ce droit moral. Jetez un regard sur la situation du clergé de

cette capitale. En aucune ville, grande ou petite, de ce royaume, on ne prend si peu de souci de la charge des âmes ! Il est un fait qu'il importe surtout de ne pas perdre de vue, quelque incroyable qu'il paraisse, et pourtant, il est vrai, c'est que, sous Frédéric-Guillaume 1^{er}, lorsque la ville ne comptait que de 60 à 70 mille habitants, le nombre des prêtres était en réalité, et non pas proportionnellement, beaucoup plus considérable qu'il ne l'est aujourd'hui, que le chiffre de la population de Berlin s'élève à 400,000.—On a souvent tenté de mettre fin à cet intolérable état de choses.

“ Des particuliers, des communes, feu mon père et moi-même, tous nous avons entrepris cette œuvre. Mais tous ces efforts ont toujours éprouvé de si fâcheuses entraves, que ce n'est qu'à force de temps et de labeur que quelques-uns ont eu du succès, tandis que tous les autres ont échoué.

“ Récemment encore, Messieurs, la fraternité protestante a reçu de douloureuses atteintes, quand vous avez rejeté la requête que vous adressaient des protestants Anglicans pour avoir temporairement la jouissance en commun d'une des églises dépendant de l'autorité municipale, et cela au moment où, sans avoir, à ce que je crois, reçu la demande, vous offriez aux dissidents de l'Eglise romaine l'usage de deux temples. Les choses étant ainsi, je ne puis malheureusement accorder à la municipalité un droit moral que je voudrais bien lui reconnaître. Pour finir, je vais aborder ce qui m'a le plus péniblement affecté dans votre adresse. Vous désignez sous le nom de *parti* les véritables fidèles de l'Eglise évangélique. Rien ne m'a plus vivement affligé. Mais vous ne vous êtes pas arrêté là. Vous accusez, bien que d'une manière détournée, mais cependant assez explicite, mon gouvernement de favoriser un parti. Sur ce dernier point, Messieurs, je contiens mon ressentiment par respect pour ma propre dignité et pour celle de la magistrature. Du reste, j'ajouterai quelques mots.

“ La municipalité s'est laissé tellement aveugler par son zèle, qu'elle profère un nom et le donne comme bannière d'une opinion à laquelle, avec plus de calme, moi-même ou chacun de vous, nous ne pourrions reprocher qu'une trop grande ardeur dans l'accomplissement des devoirs imposés par votre serment, et une manière de les comprendre dans un sens étroit. En cela, je serais parfaitement d'accord avec vous. Vous accusez ces hommes auprès de moi, en un moment où notre Eglise est le plus affligée et le plus outragée par ceux qui ont prêté à notre religion le même serment que les hommes qui sont en butte à vos accusations. Ces serments ont été prêtés spontanément, solennellement, à la face des saints autels, et ceux qu'ils tiennent liés prêchent l'apostasie, emploient des moyens illégaux, excitent le peuple et le convoquent en assemblées.

“ L'adresse n'en mentionne aucun, et ne frappe pas d'une juste réprobation ces menées inouïes. Toute l'Europe a les yeux sur nous et sur les agitations de notre Eglise. Que doivent penser de l'état de notre Eglise et de notre patronage les confessions étrangères et les hommes impartiaux entre eux, lorsque la municipalité de Berlin élève, en présence de son roi, des accusations si dures contre ceux qui sont trop fidèles, tandis que, pour les autres, qui ont tous les *criteriums* (*denen auch nicht ein Criterium fehlt*), qui désignent un parti et un parti très dangereux, le conseil municipal n'exprime aucune plainte ? Voilà ce qui m'a profondément affligé ; je le déplore comme un malheur, et je vous en exprime toute ma désapprobation.

“ La véritable amitié ne consiste que dans la sincérité : sous ce rapport, j'ai fourni ma part, en vous exprimant franchement et sérieusement, selon ma conscience, mon opinion, à vous, que je me plais à appeler mes amis. Il existe depuis 400 ans, entre ma dynastie et votre ville un beau lien qui a produit les plus heureux résultats. Dans l'assurance que mes paroles, bien interprétées, fortifieront et resserreront ce lien, je vous congédie en vous donnant l'assurance de ma bienveillance.”

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. Jenyns' Observations on Natural History. 2. Maskell's Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England.—Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia. 3. Allies' Church of England cleared. 4. Proceedings of Archæological Institute. 5. Todd on Antichrist. 6. Hook's Ecclesiastical Biography. 7. Schiller's Works. 8. Plummer's Clergyman's Assistant. 9. Outlines of the Christian Faith. 10. Winterton, by Mrs. Vidal. 11. The Church, &c., by Mc Neile. 12. Brown's Justin Martyr. 13. Bennett on the Eucharist. 14. Gatty's Sermons. 15. Whitley on the Life Everlasting. 16. Bishop Parry on the Ordination Vows. 17. Hastings' Sermons. 18. Bishop of Lincoln's Charge. 19. Harington's Succession of Bishops. 20. Miscellaneous.
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- 1.—*Observations on Natural History: with an Introduction on Habits of Observing, as connected with the Study of that Science. Also a Calendar of Periodic Phenomena in Natural History; with Remarks on the Importance of such Registers. By the Rev. LEONARD JENYNS, M.A., &c. London; Van Voorst.*

THE author of this pleasing and instructive volume, is one of the rather numerous class of writers who have followed in the track of the venerable author of the *Natural History of Selborne*; a publication which will always be perused with fresh delight by every observer of the beauties and marvels of creation. The work before us owes its origin to the preparation of notes for a new edition of the *History of Selborne*, during which a body of materials accumulated, a considerable proportion of which now makes its appearance as a separate work. Of the value and interest of Mr. Jenyns' observations there cannot be any question. Any competent observer who with pencil in hand will regularly, and systematically, for a series of years note down the habits and manners of animals, and the various phenomena presented by the operations of nature, cannot fail to accumulate facts equally valuable and interesting. The resources of nature are inexhaustible, and furnish a never-failing source of new and important

information. There is great justice in Mr. Jenyns' remarks on this point.

"Let none think," he says, "that because we have so many works conducted on the plan of White's, and so much on record in these days respecting the habits of animals, there is nothing more to be learnt. Ray has remarked, that so rich is nature, that a man born a thousand ages hence will still find enough left for him to do and notice. The field open to the observer is really inexhaustible; and this is not more true in respect of the immense number of species inhabiting this globe, than of what is requisite to perfect the history even of those known. In how very few cases, if any, can we say that we have attained to a complete knowledge of any one species, so as to give a detailed account of all its characters and instincts, and the degree to which these are liable to be affected by an alteration in the circumstances of its life. To those who travel in foreign and remote countries, still more to those who are stationed in localities but seldom visited by man, the force of this remark must be obvious."—p. 12.

The following observations, on the pleasure which arises from such studies of the works of God, are well expressed:—

"There is much pleasure in watching and registering such natural phenomena as we last alluded to, whether, after all, we turn them to any account or not. Many persons have found their chief happiness in a habit of observing the life and manners of the animals in their immediate neighbourhood, without any view to the facts so acquired being made subservient to the progress of zoology. We would throw no hindrance or discouragement in the way of such observers. We desire not to say any thing that might tend to check their inquiries, though no benefit were thereby to accrue to the higher departments of the science. For we are deeply sensible ourselves of the pleasure which attends an observing habit of mind, as well as its usefulness in other ways, besides its bearing upon the general objects of science. When a man has learnt to take an interest in the varied operations of nature, which are every where being carried on about him, and has acquired the habit of directing his attention to such matters, and keeping his senses always alive to any new information thereby afforded him, he has made himself almost independent of outward circumstances. He has opened to himself a source of occupation and mental enjoyment, but little affected by the ordinary vicissitudes of life."

Mr. Jenyns observes on the profit and improvement which might be derived from such studies by many persons, who are not tied down by their circumstances to any particular employment, and who are content to do nothing. Such persons, he argues, might more agreeably fill up their time, and contribute to their happiness, by applying their minds to the great book of nature.

ever open before them. A moral and religious frame of mind would be promoted by such a habit.

“As a further encouragement to the forming a habit of observing the works of nature, we might mention, what has been so often alluded to, its tendency to foster, if not to generate, a devout turn of mind towards their adorable Author. Undoubtedly it has this effect, when there is no perverseness or viciousness of temper present to counteract it. In watching the habits of animals and the provision made for their welfare and happiness, in noting their varied instincts, their art and stratagems to obtain the necessary support for themselves and young, their mode of defending themselves against their enemies, and all their ways, so replete with matter for reflection and astonishment, we cannot but trace the finger of their Great Creator; we cannot but consider all we see as affording the clearest indications of His over-ruling Providence.”

We do not like such expressions as the “works of nature.” In the present day, more especially, when pantheistic notions are becoming extensively prevalent, it would be well to abstain from the use of any language which may be unintentionally made conducive to the promotion of such fatal errors. Mr. Jenyns lays down a series of practical rules for observing the phenomena of nature. He shows by examples the necessity of accuracy, and freedom from prejudice or from devotion to a particular class of ideas. He urges the importance of distinguishing between the attendant circumstances, and prescribes the most approved method of searching for facts. We select the following as illustrative of his mode of treating this part of the subject:—

“Perhaps it will be thought, to act upon the plan just suggested requires much patience on the part of the observer: but we fear without patience a man will never be a proficient in natural history, more than in any other department of science; at least he can learn but little of the habits of animals from his own autopsia. And perhaps it is not sufficiently known or considered how near it may be possible to get even to the most timid animals, to watch them in their actions, if the observer will be occasionally content to remain still and motionless for a few minutes. We have seated ourselves in a wood, and, while keeping perfectly quiet, without moving a limb, have had the hares sporting at our very feet, as if quite unconscious of our proximity: the same thing has occurred with the water-rat, one of the shyest of our native quadrupeds, and which in general darts into the water with great rapidity on the slightest alarm. It is moving objects, or the noise of some one approaching, which most readily frightens animals. Yet even when it becomes necessary to advance, in order to see any thing of their ways, as where they are feeding at a distance in open grounds, we may sometimes, by dint of great caution and patience, get almost completely up to them without causing them to fly. We must only be careful to

take very short steps, and at intervals, always desisting the moment our object shows any apprehensions, and remaining stock-still till we see it resuming its former state of ease, and returning to its food, or to whatever else it is occupied with. By these means, we remember once succeeding in actually getting so close to an old rabbit, feeding upon a lawn, as to secure it with a common walking-stick, where there was nothing whatever to conceal our approach to the animal, which appeared in perfect health and nowise disabled."—pp. 43, 44.‡

We select the following amusing anecdotes illustrative of instincts and force of habit in dogs:—

"A lady living in the neighbourhood of my own village had some years back a favourite Scotch-terrier, which always accompanied her in her rides, and which was also in the habit of following the carriage to church every Sunday morning. One summer the lady and her family were from home several weeks, the dog being left behind. The latter, however, continued to come to church by itself for several Sundays in succession, galloping off from the house at the accustomed hour, so as to arrive at the time of the service commencing. After waiting in the church-yard a short time, it was seen to return quiet and dispirited home. The distance from the house to the church is three miles, and beyond that at which the ringing of the bells could be ordinarily heard. . . . The same lady has communicated to me an anecdote, somewhat similar to the above, but more extraordinary. This related to a poodle-dog belonging to a gentleman in Cheshire, which it appears was in the habit of not only going to church, but of remaining quietly in the pew during service, whether his master was there or not. One Sunday the dam at the head of a lake in that neighbourhood gave way, so that the whole road was inundated. The congregation in consequence consisted of a very few, who came from some cottages close by, but nobody attended from the great house. The clergyman informed the lady, that whilst reading the psalms, he saw his friend the poodle come slowly up the aisle dripping with wet, having swam above a quarter of a mile to get to church. He went into the usual pew, and remained quietly there to the end of the service."—pp. 70, 71.

There is something truly astonishing in these instances. The most extraordinary feature in them is the knowledge evinced of the lapse of time. How is it conceivable that these animals could have become aware that another Sunday had arrived? We do not distrust Mr. Jenyns in the least, but we own that these tales, at first reading, seemed to us to have somewhat of the Munchausen character. At the same time stories are certainly current about the sagacity of dogs which appear to be well founded, and which do not in any degree fall short of those which we have extracted above.

At the conclusion of this work there is a calendar of periodic

phenomena, containing in a tabular form the result of the author's observations, for a period of eleven years, of the periods at which the animal and vegetable world pass through their principal changes. On the whole the volume is highly creditable to its author, and we can safely recommend it as an agreeable and useful supplement to the History of Selborne.

- 11.—1. *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England, according to the Uses of Sarum, Bangor, York, and Hereford, and the Modern Roman Liturgy, arranged in parallel columns. By the Rev. WILLIAM MASKELL, M.A. Second Edition. London: Pickering.*
2. *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, or occasional Offices of the Church of England, according to the ancient use of Salisbury, the Prymer in English, and other Prayers and Forms, with Dissertations and Notes. By the Rev. WILLIAM MASKELL, M.A. In Two Volumes. London: Pickering.*

AMONGST the various writers who have, of late years, applied themselves to the study of ritual subjects, Mr. Maskell is most honourably distinguished by the research and labour which he has bestowed on the illustration of the Liturgies and Ritual of the English Church prior to the Reformation. The second work in our list has, in our opinion, greater claims to notice than the first, comprising as it does, a mass of rites which have never been before brought within the reach of the ordinary purchaser and reader. Its contents are various. Two dissertations are prefixed, the first on the "ancient service books of the Church of England," in which the author treats, at far greater length and with much more minuteness of detail than any previous writer has done, on the complicated and curious questions connected with the service books of the ages prior to the Reformation. The variety of names by which these books are designated, and the difference which is frequently found between the contents of two volumes bearing the same appellation, renders this study one of no ordinary difficulty; and, while it is of course desirable that accuracy of idea should be attained on the subject by those who are engaged in researches bearing on ritual antiquities, it must be confessed, that few persons would have gone through the toil and labour which Mr. Maskell has bestowed on what is perhaps more a subject of bibliographical and antiquarian interest, than of any very high ecclesiastical or theological importance. The dissertation, however, bears the most undeniable marks of research and industry; and those who peruse it will certainly not

be in much danger of mistaking the Missal for the Breviary, or the Manual for the Horæ. In a bibliographical and antiquarian point of view, there is much to interest and instruct in this part of Mr. Maskell's work. We may be accused of illiberality; but we should have been glad if Mr. Maskell had abstained here and elsewhere from so much of complimentary allusion to Dr. Rock and other clergy of the Romanists in England. Of Dr. Rock's work the "*Hierurgia*" we have formed a far lower estimate than Mr. Maskell seems to have done. However good as a compilation of the information on the Roman mass which has been supplied by writers whose works are very easily accessible, and as showing the actual practice of its ceremonies in the present day, we cannot observe the slightest signs of originality or research. The most ordinary statements of ritualists are accepted without any attempt at criticism. Almost the only part of the work which exhibits reading, and which was new to the English public at the time, was the argument in behalf of certain Romish practices, grounded on the ancient sepulchral monuments and other relics found at Rome; but this was, we apprehend, suggested by, if not derived from Dr. Wiseman's works. On the whole, whatever may be Dr. Rock's familiarity with the service books of his own communion, and however he may be thus enabled to solve antiquarian difficulties connected with the service books immediately before the Reformation, we certainly cannot award to him any high character for learning and originality as a ritualist, and we should have been glad if Mr. Maskell had not made quite such frequent or complimentary reference to his writings.

We extract the following passage as illustrative of the views of the author of this learned publication:—

"Some men, I trust but few, would have thought it almost necessary in such a discussion to make frequent observations upon the contents of the volumes under examination: to point out the absurdity of a rubric or the interruption of a response; to exclaim against the want of vital Christianity in an age which could be content with such and such forms of devotion; and against the excess of superstition which could alone account for the gorgeousness of this procession, or the abasement of that humiliation; which required, if we may so speak, such a multitude of service books: closing up the whole with loud congratulations upon the blessings which we now enjoy in the possession of the Common Prayer-book. From all such I have carefully abstained; and this, not because I do not fully value and appreciate our present Prayer-book, but because I am sure such remarks would have been utterly out of place.

"We have not been examining volumes of the same character and kind as those with which, to the injury of true and lively devotion,

countries are at this time inundated, which are immediately subjected to the authority of the Church of Rome. Such as are the psalters of Bonaventure, the litanies of the Blessed Virgin, and many others. It is not to be denied, that some of the old "*Horæ*," of the Salisbury use especially, contained prayers and recommendations of prayers, which were the unhealthy produce of a period in the history of the Church of England, when the people and rulers, if they were anxious to pray more frequently than in modern times, were not so careful as they ought to have been about the language in which their petitions were couched, the matter which was in them, and to whom they were addressed. But, objectionable as such portions of the ancient service books were, they are not to be compared with the almost innumerable manuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for the use of which in the communion of the Church of Rome, and their recommendation to the laity, universal as we know it is, I am at a loss even to conceive an excuse. An attempt has lately been made to introduce some such again among ourselves: adaptations, and so-called corrected editions, which cannot be looked upon without grave suspicion, and which we hope may have failed of success. Not by a stubborn resistance against what is really Catholic and good, not by an easy reception of what is at best but doubtful, and has certainly been mischievous: not by an ignorant and indiscriminating hatred of the rites and worship of other branches of the Church of Christ, not by a varnishing over of abuses which cannot be denied, and by a stealthy introduction of observances which we know have done injury, in fact, both to faith and practice, can we hope to restore once more the interrupted unity of the Church, and ourselves to the inestimable blessings which must be the result."

We think such sentiments are in every respect deserving of approbation, and sincerely hope that they may become generally prevalent.

Mr. Maskell has some curious remarks on the question of the possibility of changing the Christian name at confirmation. Prior to the Reformation, the bishop at confirmation might substitute a new name for that which was given at baptism; and Lord Coke says that "if a man be baptized by the name of Thomas, and after, at his confirmation by the bishop, he is named John, his name of confirmation shall stand good. And this was the case of Sir Francis Gawdie, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, whose name by baptism was Thomas, and his name of confirmation Francis: and the name of Francis, by the advice of all the judges, he did bear, and afterwards used in all his purchases and grants." Burn is, it seems, of opinion, that the bishop has now no such power of changing the name at confirmation, as he alleges that, at the last review of the Book of Common-Prayer, the office of confirmation was altered, so that the bishop does not pronounce the name of the person to be confirmed, and therefore cannot alter it.

But, as Mr. Maskell remarks, the change here alluded to has been made a century before, namely in 1552; and he therefore does not agree with Dr. Burn. Bishop White Kennet, in a manuscript note preserved in a book in Mr. Maskell's possession, states the following curious fact:—

“Confirmation. (Mem.) On Sunday, December 21, 1707, the Lord Bishop of Lincoln confirmed a young lad in Henry VII. chapel; who upon that ceremony was to change his Christian name: and accordingly the sponsors who presented him, delivered to the bishop a certificate which his lordship signed, to notify that he had confirmed such a person by such a name, and did order the parish minister then present to register the person in the parish book under that name. This was done by the opinion under hand of Sir Edward Worthey, and the like opinion of Lord Chief Justice Holt, founded on the authority of Sir Edward Coke, who says it was the common law of England, by which he meant the common custom of the Roman Church.”—p. cexix.

The following passage bears on an important subject:—

“I shall not extract any of the canons, which forbid the bodies of certain great criminals to be buried with the solemn offices of the Church; such as of perjured persons, adulterers, fornicators, suicides and others. This may be seen in the excerpts of Egbert; in the canons of King Edgar, in the laws of the Northumbrian Priests, &c. In even earlier times, almost as soon as the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, we have a proof, from the penitential of Archbishop Theodore, how strongly the Church detested the presence of buried bodies of sinful and unbaptized men within holy ground. ‘Missam celebrare in ecclesia licet, ubi fideles ac religiosi sepulti fuerint. Si vero infideles, ac hæretici, vel perfidi Judæi sepulti fuerint, sanctificare vel missam celebrare non licet; sed si apta videtur ad consecrandum, inde evulsis corporibus, et rasis vel lotis parietibus, sanctificabitur, si antea consecratum fuit.’”—p. cexli.

The general principle of the ancient Canon Law certainly was, that the offices of the Church should not be celebrated over the remains of those whom, when living, she would not have permitted to receive her sacraments or rites. In the present day it seems to be ruled by ecclesiastical lawyers, that all who have received valid baptism, and who have not been denounced excommunicate or adjudged guilty of suicide, ought to be admitted to Christian burial. On the principles usually laid down by ecclesiastical lawyers on this subject, we apprehend that there would be nothing to prevent the burial with Christian rites of a person who, after receiving baptism, had apostatized to Islamism or to the Jewish religion, and been formally admitted by circumcision or by formal profession of these false religions! If the existing

principles of ecclesiastical lawyers lead to this consequence, that a clergyman is, by our canons, liable to ecclesiastical censure for refusing to bury a Mahomedan or a Jew, it ought to show them at once that they have altogether misunderstood the principles of the Canon Law. It is perfectly incredible that so great an absurdity could have been authorized by any ecclesiastical law. The celebration of general offices, in its obvious meaning, seems to be an act of religious communion with the deceased. It cannot be regarded as a mere act of civil respect. It seems therefore unreasonable that religious rites should be celebrated by the clergy over persons of a different religion from that of the Church; and the more fitting course would seem to be, that the remains of persons of a different religious persuasion from that of the Church should be interred in the Church cemeteries, in the presence of the clergy as witnesses of the fact; without the rites of the Church, but after the celebration of the religious ceremonies of the sect to which they had belonged, in the chapel of that communion, or in some private dwelling. We cannot suppose that the present anomalous state of our practice on this subject will be permitted to remain much longer without reform and correction in some shape.

Mr. Maskell makes the following remarks on the use of holy water, which Romish ritualists ascribe to so early an origin as the second century:—

“Although then of such general observance for many centuries in the Church of England, it seems allowed, as regards proofs, by the most learned writers of the Roman communion, that it was of no earlier introduction than about the ninth century. It is true that Bellarmin and Baronius labour, or rather without labour quietly lay down its apostolical origin, and that the hallowing of water to be so frequently used, rests upon the authority of the first ages of the Church. But we know the extreme views of those learned authors, and the objects for which they wrote: and a far more candid writer, Martene, declares that he cannot trace it beyond the time of which I have just spoken.”
—p. cclvi.

The learned dissertations from which we have made the foregoing extracts are followed by a large number of offices in the original language, selected from the ritual books of the Salisbury use, accompanied by copious annotations. The offices included are, baptism—confirmation—purification—marriage—visitation of the sick—extreme unction—commending of souls—burial—form for blessing water—blessing of bread—various other benedictions—consecration of a Church—consecration of a cemetery—mode of holding a synod—excommunication—absolution—reception of

apostates. Mr. Maskell proposes to add a third volume, comprising the Ordinal and the Coronation Service from the Sarum pontifical. There cannot be the least doubt of the value and interest of the work now before us, and of its fitness to occupy a place in all clerical libraries.

“The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England” is less comprehensive in its contents than the work to which we have hitherto directed attention. It relates entirely to the office of the Holy Eucharist as celebrated previously to the Reformation in the English churches, and presents a tabular view of the variations in the offices according to the uses of Sarum, Bangor, York, and Hereford, compared with the modern Roman Liturgy. We should have thought that the latter feature in this work might have been advantageously replaced by a reference to the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great, which formed the basis of all these rites; or, at least, that it might have been *added* to the present work. The Offices are illustrated by copious annotations selected from the principal writers on ritual subjects; and they are preceded by a very learned preface on the origin of Liturgies, and the various rites which have obtained in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. We extract the following interesting observations in reference to the Form to be used at the *distribution* of the Sacred Elements, drawn up in 1548:—

“Doubtless this was a good order of communion so far as it restored the cup once more to the laity; and the letter of the privy council to the bishops, which accompanied it, truly said, ‘that according to the first institution and use of the primitive Church, the most Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kinds of bread and wine.’ This, indeed, is a fact which the most learned supporters of the practice of Communion under one kind only do not attempt to deny; to use the words of Cardinal Bona: ‘Semper enim et ubique ab ecclesiæ primordiis usque ad sæculum XII. sub specie panis et vini communicarunt fideles.’ No change, therefore, could be so justifiable, so necessary, as that which, after an interruption of some three hundred years, restored the undoubted practice of twelve hundred years, and of the age of the Apostles: and which, moreover, faithfully relying upon the command of our Blessed Lord, cut short all disputes upon a question which involves very terrible consequences, viz., how far Communion under one kind only is Communion at all.

“Again, this order of Communion was a most praiseworthy step towards a revival of the Liturgy in ‘a tongue understood of the people.’ I do not deny that stronger reasons have been produced by many authors for the sufferance, it cannot be put upon higher grounds, of a dead or foreign language in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, than ever have been, or can be alleged for the denial of the cup: but

these avail not in those cases, where liturgies are adapted by learned men, and under the guidance and authority of national Churches, to the gradual changes which, as time goes on, must take place in the vulgar tongue. Hence it may remain a question, whether we do not too hastily nowadays translate our Common Prayer Book, or at least the more solemn parts of it, those I mean relating to the due administration of the Sacraments, into the languages of heathen people, which we do not ourselves fully understand? One thing is unhappily most certain: an easy door is opened for designing men to intrude their own heretical opinions. Secure from almost the possibility of detection, innumerable errors may be foisted in, and the most important doctrines of the faith perverted, under the apparent sanction of the Catholic Church of England; the truths of Regeneration in Baptism be denied, or of the Communion of the Body and Blood of our Blessed Saviour in the Holy Eucharist

“The evil which must follow a stubborn, because unnecessary, adhesion to the use of a dead tongue in the public offices of the Church, is not unacknowledged by several writers of the Roman communion. Thus Gerbert, whilst he dares not, perhaps, go so far as to own the necessity of translations, yet complains of the consequence in the case of those who, though ignorant of the language, are bound by their rules to recite the office daily. ‘Dolendum vero est, illud deinceps penitus cessasse studium, ita ut hodie moniales nec quidquam intelligunt, quid psallant, contra Apostoli monitum et adhortationem.’ Extracts from earlier authors have been collected by Cassander, to which I would refer the reader; particularly directing his attention to one, *Billet in Summa*, who, speaking of the abuse in persisting in the observance of a dead language in his day, concludes: ‘Videtur ergo potius esse tacendum, quam psallendum; potius silendum, quam tripudiandum.’”

Mr. Maskell discusses at some length the question which has of late arisen, whether non-communicants ought to be present during the administration of the Holy Communion, or whether their departure ought to be prevented. These questions are determined in the negative by Mr. Maskell, who, however, admits that the rubric of 1549 is not clear either way, but remarks that, in the exhortation to negligent people in the various editions of the Common Prayer from 1552 until the revision in 1662, we find a prohibition of remaining during the Holy Communion without partaking of it. This passage certainly seems decisive of the question so far as the practice of the Church is concerned: it, doubtless, established, and that even from 1552, the custom which still exists in reference to the departure of non-communicants. At the revision of 1662, however, this passage was expunged, and thus far it seems that at present there is no actual law bearing on the point; so that in this, as in so many other points, the guidance of general custom is to be fol-

lowed, unless there be a clear reason for exception in any particular case. It seems clear, however, that it is not possible to maintain on any legal or canonical grounds the *necessity* of non-communicants remaining during the whole of the communion office.

Mr. Maskell is of opinion that, when the Holy Communion is administered, non-communicants should withdraw as they usually do, after the Creed and before the Offertory.

On the subject of the Reformers Mr. Maskell has the following remarks :—

“ I would not be understood as desirous to speak ill of the Reformers of the Church. There are at present two parties who hold very different opinions of their merits: the extreme of the one would exalt them to the standard of the great Fathers of the Catholic Church, of the Saints and Martyrs; the extreme of the other would depress them to the class of rash innovators, and speak of them in terms which may be, indeed, used of Peter Martyr, or Calvin, or Bucer. Rather let us, on the one hand, give what praise and honour may be justly due to their early exertions in the cause of truth, to which we owe our freedom from numerous errors and abuses which still overrun a large portion of the Church: let us, upon the other, disavow the lengths to which they were at last driven, not so much by the principle within, as by the pressure from without. Above all, let us remember that the Church of England has refused to ratify by her consent very many of the doctrines which have been attributed to her, by men who look upon the exiles at Frankfort, or upon Cranmer, and Hooper, and Latimer, and their decisions and indecisions, as her own and herself.”—p. xeviii.

Mr. Maskell holds the opinion which Bishop Bull and others have maintained, that prayers for the departed are still included in our Liturgy. In this we are unable to agree with him; but he argues the point with moderation and ability. There is some degree of uncertainty whether the “Use of Bangor” has yet been discovered. Mr. Maskell is of opinion that a MS. in his possession of about the year 1400 represents this “use;” but the reasons which he alleges for his opinion do not seem to be in any degree conclusive. We are, however, indebted to him for his careful and diligent researches on ritual subjects; and in taking our leave of his publications we have to express the pleasure and the information which we have derived from their perusal.

III.—*The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism upon Testimonies of Councils and Fathers of the First Six Centuries.* By THOMAS WILLIAM ALLIES, M.A., Rector of Launton, Oxon. London: Burns.

A MORE important subject than that which Mr. Allies has here taken in hand cannot well be conceived; and we are bound to say that he has executed his task in a manner which reflects the highest credit on his abilities, research, and honesty of purpose. Mr. Allies is no mere advocate of a favourite cause, and is entirely free from controversial acrimony. His work assumes rather the character of a conscientious inquiry than of a polemical discussion, and if its conclusions are firm and unhesitating they result from a careful and fair-minded and dispassionate induction of facts. He evidently entered on his task in a frame of mind which fitted him for arriving at a right conclusion.

“The writer,” he says, “will not conceal that he took up this inquiry for the purpose of satisfying his own mind. Had he found the Councils and Fathers of the first six centuries bearing witness to the Roman supremacy, as at present claimed, instead of *against* it, he should have felt bound to obey them. As a priest of the Church Catholic in England, he desires to hold, and to the best of his ability will teach, all doctrines which the undivided Church always held. He finds by reference to those authorities, which could not be deceived, and cannot be adulterated, that while they unanimously held the Roman Primacy and the Patriarchal System, of which the Roman pontiff stood at the head, they as unanimously did not hold, nor even contemplate, that supremacy or monarchy which alone Rome will now accept as the price of her communion. They certainly do not recognise it, but their words and their actions most manifestly contradict it.”—Pref. p. v.

The inquiry on which Mr. Allies has entered in this work appears to have been chiefly, if not entirely, suggested by the perusal of the work of Dr. Maistre in defence of the Papal Supremacy, and by Mr. Newman's arguments in reference to the same subject in his late publication on “Development.” Mr. Allies is evidently more than a match for these writers. He follows them through their citations, and triumphantly refutes the various arguments from Christian antiquity to which Romanists are fond of appealing. On the whole we have been much pleased with this work, and commend it with confidence to inquirers into the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy. We do not go along with Mr. Allies in some of his opinions on other subjects, as stated in this book, which we think are occasionally

somewhat unguardedly expressed ; but altogether we have been much interested and gratified by its perusal.

- iv.—*Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, at Winchester, September, MDCCCXLV.* London: Longmans.

THIS volume is rich in papers which cannot fail to excite the liveliest interest amongst the numerous class, whose tastes lead them to Antiquarian inquiries. The most important and elaborate paper in the volume is that by Professor Willis, on the Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral. We cannot help smiling a little at the gravity with which the learned professor relates the monkish legends about the dimensions of the cathedral of Winchester, in the time of king *Lucius*, which are about as deserving of credit as the veracious history of Gulliver. But, setting aside such matters, the professor has certainly produced a most valuable and curious history of the cathedral, derived from history, compared with the actual condition of the building. Mr. Cockerell's paper on the Architectural Works of William of Wykeham is also most ably executed. Mr. Smirke contends, and apparently very successfully, that the well-known hall at Winchester, which was supposed by Dr. Milner to have been a chapel, formed originally one of the halls in the royal palace of Winchester. The volume is rich in papers on other antiquarian topics, which we regret that space does not permit us to notice more particularly. The engravings and woodcuts, which are numerous, are executed in the most creditable way.

- v.—*Six Discourses on the Prophecies relating to Antichrist in the Apocalypse of St. John. Preached before the University of Dublin, at the Donnellan Lecture. By JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., M.R.I.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.* Dublin: University Press.

THE general object of this ably written work is to prove that the prophecies of the Apocalypse have been misunderstood by the majority of modern commentators in England, who have interpreted them in a merely figurative sense ; and that they still remain to be fulfilled, in a literal sense. Dr. Todd argues with great learning and ability against the opinions of those commentators who suppose certain symbols of the Revelation to have reference to the pope ; and this doubtless will render his work unacceptable to those who employ arguments based on such an interpretation, in controversy with Romanism. Dr. Todd is conscious of the jea-

lousy which is likely to be felt on this subject, and remarks on it as follows :—

“ The interpretation of prophecy advocated in the following pages is frequently represented, in popular declamations and invectives, as unfavourable to Protestantism, and as having a tendency to support the claims and peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome. This prejudice, it is true, is often raised as a mere artifice of controversy ; but there are many sincere and serious persons who are really influenced and perplexed by it, and whose scruples are entitled to every respect. To such persons it seems as if a powerful weapon were snatched from the armoury of Protestants, when we deny that the prophecies of the Apocalypse are fulfilled in the Romish corruptions : they imagine this denial to imply a more favourable view of the errors of the Church of Rome, and a less deep conviction of the evils inflicted by the Papal system on the happiness of man, than is quite consistent with an entire loyalty to the Reformation.

“ But the first principle of the Reformation, submission to the paramount authority of the written word of God, requires us to abandon the controversial interpretation of these prophecies. For if it be necessary to pervert the plain words of Holy Scripture ; to deny and reject its literal and obvious meaning ; if it be necessary to represent the Roman Catholic religion as a virtual renunciation of every article of the faith, and to pronounce all its followers, as such, to be beyond the hope or possibility of salvation ;—if all this be necessary before we can apply the prophecies that speak of Antichrist to the corruptions of Romanism, then assuredly TRUTH requires us to abandon whatever advantages we may obtain from the use of such a weapon of controversy, even though those advantages are twofold greater than they are.”

This work cannot fail to attract the attention of all who are engaged in the study of the prophecies of Holy Scripture.

VI. *An Ecclesiastical Biography, containing the Lives of Ancient Fathers and Modern Divines, interspersed with notices of Heretics and Schismatics, forming a brief history of the Church in every age.* By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., Vicar of Leeds. Vol. II. London : Rivingtons.

How the author of this most interesting volume can find time to accomplish the various works in which he is engaged, is a matter of surprise to every one who is acquainted with their variety and extent, and the effective way in which they are carried out. Few, if any, parishes in England, we believe, are under better management than the extensive vicarage of Leeds ; while there are few writers who are enabled to appear more frequently before the public. The work now before us is evidently the result of very

considerable study and application: it appears in monthly parts, at a very low price, and is collected into volumes from time to time. The object seems to be to provide a work on Church history, which shall be calculated at once to amuse and instruct the middling and lower classes, and young persons. For this purpose it seems admirably adapted. On the whole, judging from the volume before us, it promises to become a very useful work for circulation and reference in country parishes, and in Parochial Lending Libraries.

VII. *The Works of Frederick Schiller (Historical) Translated from the German, by the Rev. A. J. W. MORRISON, M.A.* London: Bohn.

THE "Standard Library" of Mr. Bohn continues to sustain, in all respects, the character which it has acquired by the value and cheapness of the volumes included in the series. Of this series the work now before us bids fair to be one of the most important and valuable. It is the first volume of a new translation of the whole of Schiller's works. It comprises the History of the Thirty Years' War complete, and the History of the Revolt in the Netherlands, to the end of the third book. This history will be completed in the next volume, which will also include the Trial and execution of Counts Egmont and Horn; Wallenstein's Camp; the Piccolomini; the Death of Wallenstein and Don Carlos. The series will be completed in four volumes, with the last of which will be given a Life of the Author. We have no doubt that this series will obtain an extensive sale.

VIII. *The Clergyman's Assistant in Visiting the Sick: to which are added the Offices for the Communion of the Sick, &c.* By the Rev. MATTHEW PLUMMER, M.A., &c. London: Burns.

THIS little volume will be found very serviceable to young clergymen in affording hints and suggestions for the effective discharge of the important and difficult duty of visiting the sick. It consists of a series of "Visits," with exhortations, prayers, &c. suitable to each. The language of many parts of these forms being derived from old writers, the forms are not adapted to use in the present day without alterations; but they supply a useful collection of hints. We are a little surprised to find Mr. Plummer apparently recommending the remainder of the consecrated elements to be committed to the flames, when the Rubric so expressly enjoins them to be reverently received by the minister and some of the communicants present.

- IX.—*Outlines of the Christian Faith, in fifteen Short Lectures.*
By A CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. London:
Burns.

FEW tasks can be more difficult to an educated man than that which the Reverend author of this little work has proposed to himself, to trace the general outline of Christianity as a doctrinal whole in such a form as is adapted to the instruction of "humbler minds." We fear that the author has not succeeded at least in making his pages intelligible to the uneducated. They are in fact more suited for young persons of an inquiring turn of mind, and whose general education has been attended to. Such expressions as "the law of correlation," &c. are only adapted for cultivated minds.

- X.—*Winterton.* By MRS. FRANCIS VIDAL, *Author of the "Tales for the Bush."* London: Rivingtons.

A PLEASING little tale adapted to young persons. The narrative is simple and well told, and the conversations natural and well sustained.

- XI.—*The Church and the Churches, &c.* By the Rev. HUGH MC NEILE, M.A., &c. London: Hatchards.

THE able author of this work is, we think, more successful as a speaker and preacher than as a writer. The volume before us is heavy in more respects than one. The author seems to be very little more satisfied at the present condition of the English Church than those whom he assails—the romanizing party. We select the following passage, which is deserving of attention:—

"In no society upon earth do the marks of 'the Church of God in Christ' appear more conspicuously—or, as the writer thinks, so conspicuously,—as in the Church of England; judged by her constitution and authorized standards. He is guided by the force of facts to feel,—but, feeling it, he cannot withhold the faithful avowal,—that, judged by her present practice, she is not entitled to such commendation.

"Yes, though our adversaries should mock at our complaints, though they should misrepresent as essential and inseparable parts of our system what we deprecate as departures from, and abuses of that system; and though they should ascribe to unworthy motives our continued attachment to our Church, notwithstanding the evils so exposed and deplored; still our duty is clear; our attachment is sincere and unaltered: though this we freely confess, that to render that attachment abidingly

conscientious in existing circumstances, it must be continued under protest against the abuses.

"Instead of being a fair counterpart of her standards, the present practice of the Church of England, viewed in her authoritative administration, is in many respects a deplorable contrast. Apostolical doctrine, in all the free grace and unsearchable riches of Christ, is plainly maintained in her standards; and as plainly discountenanced by her rulers—with some exceptions. Apostolical fervour, in earnest prayer for the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, breathes through her Liturgy; but is condemned as unhallowed enthusiasm, when expressed in any other than the very terms which have become familiar to the ear, while the life and power of their true meaning is far from the heart. . . .

"In her administration, there is an unfeigned and scarcely concealed horror of zeal, as of a most unorthodox and ungentlemanlike quality, altogether unsuited to sober-minded and harmless Churchmen."

"In her standards, the Church of England is Protestant—emphatically Protestant; but in her present administration—thank God, not universally—but in a very influential section of her governing body, she is, to say the least, doubtful; softly expressing one opinion, and with infatuated inconsistency acting upon another; justly reproving Tractarianism, and substantially promoting Tractarians. The good sense of the country is shocked by such proceedings, and whether our rulers will believe the awful fact or not, it is a fact that the attachment of the lay members of the Church, in unnumbered multitudes throughout the kingdom, is becoming seriously relaxed."

We are bound to say, that although on very many points we are unable to concur with the able and eloquent author of this work, we admire the earnestness and sincerity with which his views are stated; nor have we observed any of the acrimony which has unfortunately too frequently mingled in discussions on the subjects of the work before us.

XII.—*Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew. Translated from the Greek, &c. By HENRY BROWN, M.A., Vicar of Netherswell, Gloucestershire.* Cambridge: Deightons.

THIS is a reprint of a valuable and scarce translation of Justin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho, which was executed about a century since. It is enriched by notes selected from the best commentators, and is neatly and correctly printed.

XIII.—*The Eucharist, its History, Doctrine, and Practice, with Meditations and Prayers suitable to that Holy Sacrament. By WILLIAM J. E. BENNETT, M.D., Priest of the English Church,*
VOL. VI.—NO. XI.—SEPT. 1846. o

Perpetual Curate of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. Second Edition,
London: Cleaver.

THIS is a new edition of a valuable and useful treatise, historical and practical, on the holy sacrament of the Eucharist. It is calculated for circulation amongst the well-informed and seriously disposed lay members of the Church, rather than for the use of the clergy or of the middling and lower orders. The meditations and prayers which are subjoined to the historical part of the volume, are far superior to the generality of similar devotional exercises.

XIV.—*Sermons published at the request of his Congregation. By*
ALFRED GATTY, M.A., *Vicar of Ecclesfield.* London:
Painter.

THIS volume comprises thirty sermons, addressed to a country congregation, in that style of forcible and simple exhortation which is the best adapted to their understandings. There is more of the character of sermons in these discourses than any that we have lately seen. They have all the characteristics of reality. We have no doubt that they will be found highly useful.

XV.—*The Life Everlasting: in which are considered the Intermediate State, the New Body and the New World, the Man in Heaven, Angels, the Final Consummate Life. By* JOHN WHITLEY, D.D., *Rector of Ballymackey, and Chancellor of Killaloe.* London: Longman.

THE object of this work, as stated by the author in his preface, is to evince that the soul is naturally and necessarily immortal; and neither asleep nor dead in the grave—that virtue is more than mere words—that religion consists not in bare affirmatives and negatives, but in something real and vital, substantial and eternal, the soul first, and the man afterwards partaking of the life of the world to come. Dr. Whitley's style is rather didactic and hortatory than argumentative, but there is much both to please and instruct in his volume.

XVI.—*Ordination Vows: Practically considered in a series of Sermons. By* THOMAS PARRY, D.D., *Lord Bishop of Barbados.* London: Rivingtons.

THE little volume before us comprises a series of sound and excellent discourses on the motives to the work of the ministry, the

outward call, teaching from Holy Scripture, Church conformity, and the Church's need of both priests and deacons. These discourses are exactly what episcopal exhortations ought to be. We select the following passage in reference to the Burial Service:—

“An office evidently designed to be used only over the remains of such as really were members of the Church, and died in her communion. Nor is there, perhaps, any part of our discipline which it were more desirable to restore to its original vigour than this. It is true that burial is no sacrament, and in no way affects the departed; it is also true, that it is better, if we must speak, to err on the side of charity than of severity; better, where the slightest doubt exists, to give the title of brother to a fellow sinner than withhold it, and to express some hope, however faint, than to speak the language of blank despair in the case of any one in any sense entitled to be called a Christian, and who may at the very last have touched the hem of the Saviour's garment. But the duty is at best a painful one: and what an argument it ought to be with those who stray from the communion of the Church into irreligion, immorality, or schism, yet trust to receive at her hands a Christian's burial! What an argument for repentance, to think that the Church not only mourns over them while living, but that even over their graves she will be unable to speak with confidence the language of Christian hope!”

xvii.—*Parochial Sermons from Trinity to Advent Sunday.* By HENRY JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., Rector of Areley Kings. London: Hatchards.

THE sermons comprised in this volume are of a plain, practical character; and, from what we have seen of them, we think the doctrines seem to be sound and useful.

xviii.—*A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln.* By JOHN, LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN, delivered at the Triennial Visitation in 1846. London: Rivingtons.

THIS charge abounds in topics of more than ordinary interest, at the present time. The moderation of the Church of England, as evinced in the Reformation, is shown by a historical survey. The impropriety of relaxing subscription to the Articles, or of introducing alterations in the Prayer Book, and the necessity of reviving ecclesiastical discipline, is argued in a most able and satisfactory way. We must lay before the reader some extracts on these subjects.

“Though there exists little desire on the part of the members of the Church to see the Articles revised, a wish has been expressed in cer-

tain quarters that subscription to them should no longer be required as a necessary preliminary to admission into Holy Orders, and to institution into a Benefice: nor can we well be surprised at the expression of such a wish, when it has been gravely contended that men may subscribe them in a non-natural sense. But I would inquire of those who wish to do away with subscription to the Articles, whether they are prepared to admit men to the office of teachers in the Church, without taking from them any security that they will inculcate the doctrines of the Church: or, if they deem a test necessary, what test will they substitute? . . . If, therefore, we abolish subscription, we alter the terms on which the clergy hold their benefices, and *pro tanto* repeal the acts by which the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church is constituted the Established Church of the realm; and under which the clergy derive their legal right to their temporalities.”—pp. 13—16.

With reference to the questions affecting the celebration of Divine Service, the Bishop remarks that,

“The contents of the Book of Common Prayer may be classed under two heads,—the Prayers and Thanksgivings, and other forms of devotion which the minister is to use:—on the Rubrics, or directions respecting the manner in which they are to be used,—respecting the order, posture, the different parts of the sacred edifice in which they are to be recited. There is doubtless a wide difference between the two, in respect of their intrinsic value and importance. . . . Yet it is certain that the clergy, when they promise to conform to the Liturgy, bind themselves to conform to it in both its parts: not only to use the form of words, but to use it in the manner prescribed by the Rubric. While, however, the object aimed at by the framers of the Act of Uniformity has, in its more important part, been in great measure attained, they have not been equally successful in respect of the other part. Rare, comparatively, are the instances in which a clergyman ventures, in the celebration of public worship, to deviate from the prayers of the Liturgy, or to introduce his own extemporaneous effusions: but wide deviations have taken place in practice from the directions of the Rubric: and these deviations have now continued for so long a period, and the laity have become so accustomed to them, that the attempt to return to the letter of the Rubric is regarded and resented as an innovation.”—pp. 18, 19.

The Bishop remarks on the great delicacy of reviving regulations which have been allowed to fall into desuetude, and discourages young men especially from attempting alterations which are likely to offend the feelings of congregations, unless some great good is to be achieved by their revival.

The Bishop calls attention to the following passage in the Archbishop's Encyclical Letter on these subjects:—

“‘All change in the performance of Divine Service, affecting the

doctrine of the Church by alteration, addition, or omission, I regard with unqualified disapprobation.' Such change, is in truth, a dishonest act. The person who resorts to it admits that he is not satisfied with the doctrine of the Church as set forth in its formularies; and I can, in respect of the violation of moral obligation, discover little difference between the case of those who, while holding all Romish opinions, retain their position in the Established Church, and of those who change or wrest the words of the Liturgy in order to accommodate them to their own peculiar views of doctrine."—p. 20, 21.

We extract the following important passage in reference to ecclesiastical discipline:—

"A cursory inspection of the *Reformatio Legum* will suffice to show what were the sentiments of our Reformers respecting the maintenance of discipline in the Church. Many of the canons of 1603 are directed to that object: and the articles of inquiry, issued before every visitation of the diocese, are founded on those canons. But the canons having been pronounced to be not binding on the laity, presentments—with a view to the correction of offences against the laws of God—are rarely made, and the censures of the Church no longer operate to deter men from sin. I am aware that I am treading on dangerous ground when I venture to speak of a revival of those censures, and especially of excommunication. I am aware of the jealousy which exists—a jealousy which, looking back on the past, I cannot pronounce to be unfounded or unreasonable—of any measure which appears to place power in the hands of the clergy. But the national Church is now deprived of a power of which the possession is, as I have already observed, involved in the notion, and almost essential to the existence of a society,—the power of cutting off from the privileges of membership offenders against its authority and laws. The sense entertained by the framers of our Liturgy of the injury inflicted on the Church by the want of a penitential discipline, is forcibly expressed in the preface of the Communion Service. But if we proceed to inquire why we labour under that want, the answer must, I think, be, that the very aid which has been invoked to give effect to ecclesiastical censures—the aid of the State—has caused them to fall into disuse. The civil penalties, consequent upon a sentence of excommunication, has prevented the ecclesiastical authorities from proceeding against offenders. They shrink from the attempt: not more from an apprehension of the clamour which the infliction of those penalties would create, than from a sense of their unsuitableness to accomplish the true end of spiritual censures,—the awakening of the conscience of the transgressor. My conclusion therefore is, that in order to restore to those censures their due authority, we must disconnect them with all civil penalties. The offences against which they are directed are transgressions of the Divine Law; and the motive which the Church ought to propose in order to deter men from offending is fear, not of the temporal penalties inflicted by human laws, but of the eternal punishments

denounced in God's Law against sin. To pronounce an offender excommunicate, and then to call in the civil power, is to confess at once that the Church is not invested by its Divine Founder with any external coercive power, and that it is desirous to obtain that which He never intended to confer on it."—p. 28—30.

We commend to the attentive consideration of our readers the subsequent remarks of the learned prelate on this most important subject, and also his just censure of that absurd congeries of sectarians entitled the "Evangelical Alliance." The concluding part of the charge is also replete with excellent advice in reference to the true method of resisting Romish attempts at proselytism, namely, by making our own system as efficient as possible in every way.

XIX.—*The Succession of Bishops in the Church of England unbroken; or, the Nag's Head Fable refuted. With a Postscript on the Ordination Services of Edward the Sixth, in reply to the Ninth Letter of the Rev. J. Spencer Northcote. By E. C. HARRINGTON, M.A., Prebendary of Exeter, &c.* London: Rivingtons.

THE author of this tract, whose research and erudition are well known to the public, as the author of a valuable work on the "Object, Importance, and Antiquity of the Rite of Consecration of Churches," has now added to the obligations under which he has placed all good Churchmen by the publication of the seasonable and well written pamphlet of which we have transcribed the title. In this tract Mr. Harrington satisfactorily disposes of the absurd and wicked fable of the Nag's Head Consecration,—a fable which is produced and reproduced by those who are fully aware of its falsehood. Mr. Harrington's refutation of Mr. Northcote's objections to the validity of the form of consecration in the ordinal of Edward VI. is also most complete. The tract will be found useful for circulation where attempts are made to throw doubt on the validity of the English ordinations.

XX.—*Miscellaneous.*

A USEFUL tract entitled "Dialogues on Confirmation" has lately been published by Mr. Burns. It explains in a clear and intelligible way the various branches of the Christian covenant, and the vows which are renewed at confirmation. A little manual entitled "A Few Words of Advice to a Public School Boy, by an Assistant Master" (Rivingtons), comprises a series of brief

rules and practical suggestions as to conduct at a public school, which cannot fail to be very useful. A Visitation Sermon on "The Means of Increasing the Efficiency of the Church," by the Rev. James A. Beaumont, M.A. (Leeds: Harrison), assigns reasons for a large increase in the numbers of bishops and clergy. A Visitation Sermon, by the Rev. H. Almack, D.D., describes the defective state of the popular religion of the day, and points out as a remedy an increased faithfulness on the part of the clergy in the discharge of their ordination vows.

We have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a copy of a Discourse delivered at Newark, New Jersey, by the Rector, the Rev. M. H. Henderson (New York). This discourse was delivered on the Centennial Anniversary of the granting the Charter of the Church at Newark; and it assumes an historical character, which, on such an occasion, was doubtless full of interest to those who heard it.

Amongst periodical publications we have to notice the "Ecclesiologist" as being continued with unabated interest. "Sharpe's London Magazine" is establishing its reputation as the cheapest, and one of the best of the periodical publications of the day. "The West of England Miscellany" appears to be well and ably conducted. "The Churchman's Monthly Penny Magazine, or Guide to Christian Truth," appears to be "evangelical" in its principles. It is written with spirit and ability, and appears to be, at present, chiefly occupied in the defence of the Church of England against the attacks of Dissenters.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

AMERICA.—*Popish Occupation of the Oregon Territory.*—Hardly has the dispute between England and America on the division of the Oregon territory been brought to a peaceable termination, when the Popish papers announce the fact that the whole of the territory has been claimed for the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. In the exercise of this assumed universal jurisdiction over the whole earth, the territory has been divided into eight dioceses, one of which is to have an archiepiscopal see, with jurisdiction over the other seven. The *Ami de la Religion* gives on this occasion a detailed history of the Popish mission which has existed in the Oregon territory ever since November, 1838; containing also a variety of statements respecting the Protestant missions, especially those of the Methodists and Presbyterians: and among others the assertion that the only clergyman of the English Church, stationed for two years at Vancouver, left the country three weeks before the arrival of the first Popish missionaries. We have no means of testing the accuracy of this statement, nor are we aware whether the English Church has at present any mission or ecclesiastical establishment in that part of the world; at all events it is evident that unless efficient measures be at once adopted to plant our national Church there, the ground will be effectually preoccupied by the Romish intruders. Of the eight sees erected, three only are to be filled up at present; viz., the archiepiscopal see, of which M. Blanchet, appointed last year to the newly-created Bishopric of Oregon, is to be the first occupant; a brother of his and his vicar-general will be the other two bishops; one of these will take under his administration the whole of the English, and the adjacent Russian possessions; the other will share with the archbishop the administration of the American part of the territory. M. Blanchet has been perambulating France, with a view to raise money and men in aid of his mission; he is expected to leave France at the end of September, with twelve missionaries and eight nuns; besides four Jesuits and four *Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes*. The previous force of the mission consists of sixteen missionaries, one half of whom are Jesuits, imported into the territory two years ago, with a superior, Father Smet, at their head. The order will therefore have at once a *nucleus* of twelve members to commence operations. We sincerely hope that this intelligence will arouse the two Missionary Societies of our Church to active exertion in that quarter.

Roman Catholic Synod at Baltimore.—A provincial council was held with great pomp and ceremony, in May last, by the prelates of the Romish hierarchy in the United States, at which twenty-three bishops out of the twenty-seven comprised in the province were present; one, M. Blanchet, Bishop of Oregon, being absent in Europe, and three others

prevented from attending through age or ill health. Several decrees were passed, one of them appointing the next council to be held at Baltimore in 1849. The other decrees have reference to the administration of the sacraments, and to other matters of ecclesiastical discipline; they will not be published until they have received the approbation of the Pope; it is, however, understood that the erection of four new bishoprics is one of the measures in contemplation. A synodal letter to "the faithful of the United States" was agreed to, and the council brought its official acts to a close, by "*solemnly placing the United States under the patronage and especial protection of the most holy Virgin Mary.*"

The following is a list of the sees of the Romish Church in the United States, according to the official acts of the council. The Archbishopric of Baltimore, the Bishoprics of Mobile, Philadelphia, Louisville, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Dubuque, New York, Nashville, Vincennes, Natchez, Richmond, Saint Louis, Pittsburg, Little Rock, Chicago, Axiern, Hartford, Charleston, Milwankie, Boston. Besides the occupants of these twenty-one sees, there are six bishops *in partibus*, three of whom are coadjutors, and the three others, the administrator of Detroit, the Vicar-Apostolic of Texas, and the Vicar-Apostolic of Oregon, since erected into a separate province. Out of the twenty-seven prelates, seven are natives of Ireland, and seven natives of France.

Establishment of the Benedictines in the United States.—A Benedictine mission left France in July last, for St. Joseph in Pennsylvania, where it is to found the first Benedictine monastery in the United States. The mission consists of the superior, three other divines, four scholars, and twenty-five artisans.

AUSTRALASIA.—Difficulty of evangelizing the native population.—A letter from one of the missionaries stationed in Western Australia, addressed to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, contains a most discouraging account of the difficulty of evangelizing the natives, and urges the establishment of schools for native children, as the only means of introducing Christianity among the indigenous population of this vast continent. "Though," he says, "the adult native population is absolutely inaccessible, through our instrumentality, to the truth of the Gospel, the rising generation may be rescued from this lamentable condition. Four years have now elapsed since I established our school for aboriginal children at Fremantle; and during this period, their advancement towards civilization and evangelical knowledge has been uniformly progressive; and I have no hesitation in stating my conviction, that in moral sentiment, as well as in the attainments of ordinary humble tuition, they are not one degree inferior to the common average of European children. And with this fair field, under the very shadow of the British flag, inviting the culture of British benevolence, what has Britain done? How many missionaries has she sent forth to evangelize the children of the dark wanderers in the Australian bush? Alas,

not one ! Are our brethren at home aware of this melancholy fact ? And will they not arise, and wipe away this black stain from the page of her history ? If you could send us *one catechist*, at present, together with a suitable apparatus for school instruction, and a provision for the maintenance of *some twenty or more native children* ; under the Lord's guidance we will proceed in the work, and with the blessing of God it will prosper. That the natural erratic habits of the race may be quite subdued by education, our success in the first instance triumphantly exhibits ; up to the present they have remained steady, without one exception, and we have no apprehension as to the future."

In another part of the same letter, the inefficient state of the mission, in consequence of its crippled means, is thus urged : "Our humble labours, as you are aware, are confined to the rising generation, the only avenue to which hope seems to beckon our willing advance ; and this is extremely narrowed and circumscribed through a deficiency of means. *In regard to numbers, our native school is at a stand, and must remain so, except we receive aid from home. The Government grant, which is its sole support, is 50l. per annum, and cannot be augmented. From this sum we pay 25l. per annum to the matron in charge of the institution ; and the remaining 25l. is our only available fund for the clothing and entire maintenance of eleven youths.*"

In the hope of drawing attention to the urgent appeal of the writer of the above remarks, and to the national sin of abandoning our colonial population to be divided between heathenism and popery, we give from the *Ami de la Religion* the following extracts from a letter written by a Benedictine missionary, within a few weeks, and a few miles' distance of the other ¹, which shows both the activity of the Romanists, and the encouragement which they receive from the Government : "In a few days," says the writer, "we shall leave Perth, and proceed to the interior of Australia, towards Moore River. That is the post which our Bishop has kindly confided to us. *He has marked out the whole country between the 31st and 20th degrees of south latitude, for the Benedictine Mission* ; but one of us, M. Zastell, having lost all courage, is determined not to leave Perth, and we are thus reduced to the number of three. This number is very small for the great enterprises we have before us. Let us hope that Providence will send us a reinforcement of some French Benedictines.

"I have thought it right to propose to the Propaganda at Rome, *the establishment of a Congregation of Missionary Benedictines of Australia* ; by and by it would consist of such natives as might embrace the rule of our Father St. Benedict. *The Government has authorized us to select twenty acres of land at Moore River* ; but we have only our own arms for tilling the ground and for building, and, above all, we have to devote ourselves to the instruction of the poor savages, and to public prayer. Besides, we must forthwith think of preparing others to

¹ The letter of our missionary, the Rev. G. King, is dated Fremantle, January 1, 1846 ; that of the Benedictine missionary, Don Serra, Perth, February 13, 1846.

succeed us. Thus manual labour, prayer and study, prescribed by our holy patriarch, become with us a matter of imperative necessity.

"Our plan of proceeding is as follows. We shall join the first savage tribe which we shall meet; we shall go with them, and share their nomad life, until we shall be able to fix them in some favourable situation, where we mean to teach them by our example to obtain their subsistence by agriculture. When we have thus attached them to the soil, we shall begin to speak to them of religion, and initiate them in ecclesiastical knowledge, in order that we may find in the very sons of Australia future missionaries who shall assist in instructing their still savage brethren. This method is perhaps the only one that will produce some solid results among a nomad population.

"When we shall have the good fortune of seeing new fellow-labourers arrive from Europe, we shall locate them in the monastery-huts already established, leaving them to bestow their labour upon the tribes already attached to the soil. This will leave us at liberty to advance further, and to endeavour to win other tribes to the faith of Jesus Christ. *If we can in this manner establish a chain of monasteries, the conversion and civilization of Australia are secured.*"

At the same time that the Romish missionaries are thus occupying the continent of Australia, they are no less actively engaged in fixing themselves on the islands of the Australasian seas. On one of these, seemingly one of the group called the Solomon Islands, the life of Dr. Epalle, the Vicar Apostolic of Western Oceania, has recently been sacrificed in his attempt to get a footing among its savage inhabitants. It appears that he effected, about the middle of December last, a landing in the company of two priests and a lay brother, and of a ship's officer and four sailors, on one of the islands, with a view to ascertain its suitableness for a missionary station; when they were attacked and overpowered by a large body of natives, one of whom inflicted several wounds with a tomahawk on the bishop's head. The party returned immediately to the vessel, to which they conveyed Dr. Epalle in a state of insensibility; his case was at once pronounced hopeless, and he died within a few hours after. Dr. Epalle was in the prime of life, having scarcely attained his thirty-fifth year; he was a native of the diocese of Lyons, and had early devoted himself to the missionary life in Australia. He returned to Europe in 1844, when he was consecrated Bishop of Sion *in partibus*, and appointed Vicar Apostolic of Western Oceania.

GERMANY.—*General Synod of Prussia.*—The measure contemplated for some time by the King of Prussia, of convening a general synod of all the Protestant churches of the kingdom, has been carried into execution in the course of last spring. It will be remembered that in the year 1843 the first steps were taken, preparatory to this measure, by the convocation of district synods, consisting of the clergy of each district under the presidency of the superintendent. In the royal ordinance by which they were convoked, it was intimated, that according to the views of

the king, no solid or permanent good could be effected for the evangelic Church, otherwise than by the internal development of the life that was in her. In these district synods the existing evils and defects of the Church were canvassed, and various suggestions were made with a view to the application of a remedy. The result of these discussions formed the materials on which the provincial synods, convoked in the autumn of the year 1844², were called upon to deliberate; and upon the same principle of gradual centralization, the general synod has now been called upon to take into consideration the different subjects debated by the provincial synods, and the conclusions at which they have arrived. The time appointed for the meeting of the synod was Whitsun week, the composition of it was as follows:—1. Clerical members: the general superintendents of the eight provinces, the two bishops Neander and Eylert, the four royal chaplains and the military chaplain-in-chief; the six assessors and the six secretaries of the provincial synods of the eastern provinces, the two presidents, and the two assessors of the provincial synods of Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia, six professors of divinity, chosen by the theological faculties of the six universities of the kingdom. 2. Lay members: the eight presidents of the provincial consistories, either in person, or represented by one of the lay members of their respective consistories; six Protestant professors of law, to be chosen by the faculties of law, with a preference for those versed in the ecclesiastical law; and for each of the eight provinces three lay members, chosen by the members of the provincial synods, out of a number of eighteen, put in nomination by the chief of the provincial government, and the general superintendent concurrently; except in Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces, where the provincial synods which have there been longer established, deputed three of their lay elders; making in all seventy-five members, thirty-seven ecclesiastics, and thirty-eight laymen. Of the twenty-four laymen appointed by election, there were eleven holding judicial or administrative offices under the government, four municipal office bearers, one general military officer, five landed proprietors of the order of nobility, two professors, independently of those chosen by the faculties of theology and of law; and one apothecary. Among the professors deputed by the universities, are the divines, Dorner, Twesten, and Sack; and the professor of law, Stahl of Berlin. The presidency belonged *ex officio* to Dr. Eichhorn, minister of worship; Bishop Dr. Neander was elected to the office of vice-president by the synod.

The members of the synod met for the first time on Whit Sunday at the cathedral, when after a sermon on the prophecy of Joel, by Dr. Ehrenberg, one of the royal chaplains, they all received the Holy Communion, in which they were joined by a small number of the congregation. The formal constitution of the synod took place on Whit Monday morning, again at the cathedral, when Dr. Strauss, another of the royal chaplains, preached on Ephesians iv. 4; the first meeting for business, on Whit Tuesday, at the chapel royal, the locality assigned to it for

² For an account of these synods, see English Review, Vol. iii. p. 493.

its regular sittings. On the last named day, Dr. Eichhorn opened the synod with a discourse, in which he explained the views of the king in convoking it, and the extent of its powers. The condition of the Evangelic Church, which led to this attempt to apply a remedy, he thus described: "The time is not very long past, when many among the faithful members of our Evangelical Church viewed her condition with anxious solicitude. They saw the indications of her visible life vanishing more and more; and what little movement was as yet perceptible in her, tended on the one hand to separation and individual isolation; or on the other hand, to an union without principle and without meaning. The symptoms of the movement were those of dissolution rather than of regeneration. Her faithful members, who inwardly still clung to the hope that the Head of the Church would not forsake her, found among her outward circumstances only one ground of confidence, which was, that men distinguished in theological literature began again zealously and deeply to scrutinize the sense of the revealed word, and to seek, not without great conflicts and efforts, to revive a knowledge of it in the minds of the present generation, by means of those whom they trained up for the service of the Church. Compared with those days of anxious forecasting, how cheering is the prospect which opens before us, when we look around upon this assembly! From every part of our fatherland, from all the institutions and corporations which are connected with our Church, from all the spheres in which our common Church life dwells, ecclesiastics and laymen have met together, for an interchange of their sentiments touching our evangelic Church, of their thoughts and views, the fruit of deep study with some, of living experience with others; to the intent that we may be stirred up together to life and energy, by a clear understanding of the aims which our Church is to pursue, and of the means by which her welfare is to be promoted. Dr. Eichhorn next adverted to the fact, that the wish for the convocation of such an assembly had been expressed in various quarters; and after complimenting the king on his liberality in allowing the Church free scope for her development, he took care to inform the synod, that as the superior ecclesiastic authority had suggested no definite objects for their deliberations, but had left them to deal with the materials furnished by the district and provincial synods, so it was not intended that they should actually legislate for the Church, but only pave the way for future legislation by a full consideration of her wants. Having exhorted them to enter upon that consideration "in a spirit of true freedom and of sincere love," he concluded by observing: "Since the days of the reformation, the Church of our fatherland has not seen any assembly which can be compared with the present, whether we look to the manner of its composition and the number of its members, or to the nature and extent of the subjects on which it is called upon to deliberate. Neither has there ever been a time when the power which protects the Church, showed like generous confidence in not only permitting, but encouraging her free development. Let us use wisely this favour of the times. May the result of your deliberations be, to allay the conflict of

the age by a profound comprehension of what is needed, to secure what has been tottering, to unite what has been separated, and to open a fountain from which new life may flow forth abundantly into all the parts, and upon all the members, of our evangelic Church."

These general intimations of the limits within which the synod was to confine itself, as an assembly called upon to offer advice, but not to frame decrees, were repeated by the minister in a still more definite form during the discussion on the address to be presented to the king, which took place in the second session. The address itself, which was presented by the vice-president, Dr. Neander, accompanied by the whole of the members, on the 11th of June, was nothing more than an expression of gratitude to the king for having called the synod, and a promise to do all in their power to show themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them. The reply of the king, which appears to have been unpremeditated, and which was pronounced by his majesty "with visible emotion," was of a more significant character than the generalities and commonplaces behind which his minister had entrenched himself, from an evident desire to say, though placed in a position of authority, nothing of an authoritative character. The king himself, indeed, disclaimed all intention of influencing the synod; at the same time, his words were such as could not fail to carry great weight with them. He spoke as follows: "From my very heart I bid you welcome here. I meet you with entire confidence; the fact of your being convened, of itself proves this. But I hope that you, too, gentlemen, are come here in the confidence, justified I trust by what has transpired since you have been here, that there is no intention on my part, or that of my government, in any way to influence your deliberations. The most entire freedom of deliberation and conviction can alone be productive of happy results in such a cause. On the other hand, I also shall exercise the most entire freedom, a freedom resting on immutable principles, in examining the result of your proceedings, and in deciding whether I shall give it my concurrence or my opposition. What little I have to say to you, and wish to impress upon you, will, I trust, by the very fact of my saying it, preclude all idea of my wishing to influence your convictions. Unfortunately, I have not had time to prepare it, and to express it as clearly as I could wish. *Do not confine yourselves within the narrow limits of our country, or even of our communion. Raise your eyes above these narrow limits to the universal Church of Christ upon earth; consider her origin, her history, her present condition, her future prospects, her position in this age of the world. Discern the mission which the Lord has given to our Evangelic Church.* I feel that I am too unprepared, too deficient in eloquence and in depth of expression, to declare in suitable terms this mission which the Evangelic Church has towards all mankind; indeed I am afraid lest I should, by an ill-chosen expression, give rise to serious misapprehension. Only bear this in mind, gentlemen, *our Church has a definite mission, a distinct call within the universal Church of Christ. This call is no other than that which has been addressed to the Church universal in all ages, which has been*

actually realized in the life and power of the apostolic days. Ecclesiastical history teaches us that the exercise of this divine call has for centuries been sadly interrupted. Understand, therefore, that we are called to arise in apostolic power, and so to organize ourselves, that we may be capable of fulfilling our mission. With me this is no empty phrase ; I speak from a living picture in my mind of the history of the universal Christian Church. THIS IS THE ONLY STANDARD WHICH I SHALL APPLY TO YOUR LABOURS ; *greatly shall I rejoice to find them coming up to it. I have earnestly desired to see this present moment, to see you thus assembled ; and, once more, from my heart, I bid you welcome."*

With a view to the despatch of business, the synod proceeded to divide the mass of materials contained in the minutes of the provincial synods (of which each member was furnished with a printed copy) into eight departments ; and a like number of committees were appointed, for the purpose of digesting the materials and reporting them to the synod. The eight departments were as follows:—1. Matters relative to doctrine and confession, including the question of subscription in connexion with the ordination of the clergy. 2. Matters touching the constitution of the Church, and the state of the ecclesiastical laws bearing upon this subject. 3. Examination of the suggestions made relative to the course of preparation for the ministerial office. 4. Examination of the suggestions made with a view to increase the efficiency of the ministry, or to remove obstacles by which that efficiency is impeded. 5. Every thing connected with the celebration of public worship and with private edification. 6. Inquiry into the relation between the Church and public education. 7. Preliminary discussions on the relations between the Evangelic Church and other Churches or religious communions touched upon in the minutes of the provincial synods. 8. Consideration of the position of the Church in regard to matters subject to civil legislation, and especially matrimonial law and the administration of oaths.

These arrangements occupied the first four sessions ; the business of the fifth session was confined to the consideration of additional suggestions from different members of the synod, for receiving which a week's delay had been permitted, and which were either referred to the committees into whose departments they fell, or else "ordered to lie on the table ;" in the sixth session, in which the consideration of additional suggestions was resumed, the synod was chiefly occupied with the question, how the addresses were to be dealt with, which had been sent, some to individual members of the assembly, and others to the synod itself, both by private individuals, and by different municipal corporations, not a few of them at the instigation of the "friends of light." The general tendency of these addresses was to remonstrate and to protest beforehand against the adoption of any resolutions by the synod, tending to pledge the Evangelic Church to the doctrines contained in the symbolical books of the Reformation ; some of them were of a decidedly rationalistic character, others complained of the constitution of the synod and impeached its competency, while others indulged in severe censures of the ecclesiastical government, and assumed a tone of dictation as to the

course which the synod was to pursue. After considerable discussion, especially as to the right of civil corporations to interfere in the affairs of the Church, it was determined to leave the correction of any excess of power of which the authors of the addresses might have been guilty, in other hands, and without taking any notice of their origin or their mode of expression, to refer them to the committees to whose department the matters mooted in them belonged³.

Having thus escaped from the dilemma of either appearing to disregard

³ As the synod had anticipated, the interference of these addresses was not suffered to pass unnoticed; the following royal rescript of the 22nd of June, 1846, having been notified to the authorities of the different towns from which such addresses proceeded.

"In several towns of the monarchy magistrates and municipal bodies have taken occasion from the convocation of a general evangelic synod, to forward addresses to members of the synod, which both as to their origin and their purport have excited my royal disapprobation. The town authorities are according to their calling to attend to the municipal affairs of their several localities; they forget their position and their calling, if in their magisterial or other capacity they permit themselves to give an opinion on the general affairs of the Church, which by the municipal regulations they are in no way authorised to do. Besides, in some of the addresses my own position is lost sight of, as well as my exclusive right to determine in what way and by what method I may see fit to collect the opinions of the Church respecting her wants, and the means of quickening her life, and further, my exclusive right to keep the assemblies convoked by me within the course and the limits of their commission, in case they should venture to transgress them. If the magistrates had considered this, they would have perceived, that in protesting against the possible assumption of the character of a regularly constituted ecclesiastical assembly, on the part of the general synod, they transgressed both against me, and against themselves; against themselves, because the promulgation of such gratuitous and unfounded assumptions is but too much calculated to bring them under the suspicion of wilful agitation. All this I can pass over with indulgence, only in consideration of the perfect faithfulness and the absolute confidence with which such cities as Magdeberg, Breslau, Königsberg, &c. have in good and in evil times attached themselves to their king, and thereby entitled themselves to the honourable privilege of being quoted as examples of loyalty; of whose representatives I cannot, therefore, but conclude, that in eliciting and signing such addresses, they have fallen into unconscious and unintentional error. But this shows the necessity of pointing out to them that ecclesiastical supremacy, which I have not assumed, but which has been transmitted to me by my ancestors, on whom it devolved in consequence of the reformation, and which, as I have more than once declared, I am determined to use in such wise, that the evangelic Church may by her own inherent life rise to a state of independence, and of long lost unity. But the way to accomplish this, is not by a false liberty, but by a liberty within legal bounds; not on the ground of a newly invented and arbitrary doctrine, but only upon the ground of the ancient faith upon which the Church of Christ is built, and which is established once for all. To protect and to assist the Church in this course, is both my duty and my purpose. Magistrates and municipal authorities are to be admonished, not to anticipate these my intentions, but quietly to wait their execution, and to keep strictly within those limits of their official authority, within which they are according to the municipal regulations competent, and which I could not suffer them again to transgress with impunity. You, Minister of State, Von Bodelschwingh are to notify this to the magistrates and municipalities by whom the addresses were signed, and you, Minister of State, Eichhorn, are to communicate this my present order to the general synod. Sans-souci, 22nd June, 1846. Signed: Frederick William."

In consequence of this communication some members of the synod imagined that the synod had incurred the king's displeasure by the course taken upon the addresses; they were, however, informed by the minister of worship, that no ground whatever existed for such an apprehension.

the wishes of the people, or else sanctioning the principle of private and corporate interference with its deliberations, the synod at last proceeded to actual business in the seventh and eighth sessions, in which the report of the eighth committee respecting the administration of oaths was taken into consideration. Here a preliminary question arose as to the abstract lawfulness of oaths, a point which had been agitated in the provincial synods, and which the report proposed to pass over unnoticed. This course was strongly objected to on the ground, that the implied assumption of the lawfulness of oaths was calculated to give offence to those parties, who had a conscientious objection to oaths under any circumstances. The synod determined to give no such offence, and having satisfied all "tender consciences" by an express reservation of the abstract principle as "an open question," proceeded, on the ground that in the existing state of the law oaths are required as a matter of fact, to consider the various points connected with their administration. On one point there was an unanimous feeling, viz. that oaths were far too frequently administered; and it was resolved that the synod should formally record its opinion, that in any revision of the law the diminution of the frequency of oaths should be specially kept in view. The next suggestion, adopted after a short discussion, was, that the administration of every oath should be preceded by a solemn exhortation; the majority being in favour of a set formulary, with leave to the judge or magistrate administering the oath, to add special exhortations of his own. In the composition of such a formulary it was agreed, that care should be taken so to word it as to make it suitable for persons of every variety of creed, a rule which the synod wisely abstained from reducing to practice, on the ground that the judicial authorities were the proper parties to provide the requisite formulary, in doing which it was suggested that they would probably seek ecclesiastical counsel. The report had proposed to add a prayer at the close of the exhortation, but this was thought inexpedient. Several other proposals of the committee were adopted, which had for their object to increase the solemnity of the act of administering the oath, and to provide, in some cases under the co-operation of the clergy, for the instruction of parties about to be sworn, both as to the sanctity of the oath, and with regard to the particular matters in reference to which the oath was to be taken. The subject was with great difficulty brought to a close in the eighth session, a variety of suggestions from individual members of the synod being overruled for want of time; notwithstanding which the subject was again forced upon the attention of the synod at the beginning of the ninth session, but without any practical result.

The subject which occupied the synod during the ninth and tenth sessions, was the report of the fourth committee respecting the best means of lightening the onerous duties of the clergy, and especially the superintendents, in regard to correspondence, registration, and other like administrative functions, by which their time and attention is too much diverted from their proper calling as ministers of the Gospel. The

evil, which appears to be a serious one, was universally acknowledged ; but in the way of remedy little was done. It was proposed by the committee, and agreed to by the synod, that the government should be applied to for an allowance to the superintendents, enabling them to procure assistance in the manual labour of writing ; and the whole matter was recommended to the attention of the superior ecclesiastical authorities, who would be best able to devise and to apply a remedy.

From the eleventh to the fifteenth session inclusively, the synod was engaged in considering the important subject of preparation for the ministry. The present state of the case is, according to the report of the committee, as follows :—The future minister passes through the colleges (*Gymnasia*) and the universities much in the same manner as youths destined for other learned professions. At the close of his university career he presents himself before the superintendent of the diocese in which he is resident. Generally speaking there is an interval of from ten to fifteen years between this period and his appointment to an ecclesiastical office ; and during this time the Church takes but little account of him. He has to gain his livelihood as best he can, either as a private tutor, or in some public scholastic position ; once or twice a year he has to send in to the superintendent an essay on some theological subject, in proof of his continued attention to theological studies ; and he has also to pass through two theological examinations. But beyond this he is left to himself, and the best years of his life are generally lost to the service of the Church. While the want of labourers in the parishes is universally felt, and numbers of “ candidates ” who have made choice of the clerical profession, and gone through the necessary course of study, are waiting for employment, the existing arrangements prevent the latter from being called in to supply the wants of the former.

In dealing with the subject with a view to an amelioration of the present system, the committee directed the attention of the synod to four different points :—1. the preparatory education at the Gymnasium ; 2. the University career ; 3. the examinations ; 4. the farther training of the candidate, until his entrance upon the ministerial office. Touching the first point the committee were of opinion, that no difference should be made between the education of youths destined for the ministry, and those destined for other professions. They suggested, however, that care should be taken to provide for proper religious instruction generally in the *Gymnasia*, that the study of Hebrew should not be neglected, and that regular attendance on public worship should be encouraged, without, however, having recourse to compulsory means. With regard to the University career, the same feeling prevailed, that the theological students should be placed upon the same academic footing as others ; but a desire was expressed that the theological faculties might be induced to attach more importance to their connexion with the Church ; and it was suggested that the members of the faculty should take an interest in the characters of the young men, that private tutors (*repetentes*) should be employed, and University preachers, or rather Univer-

sity ministers, with special care of souls over the members of the University, appointed. Lastly, it was proposed that seminaries should be established for the reception of those candidates in theology who had completed their University education, in which they might go through a course of homiletical and catechetical training, and obtain a knowledge of church music. In the course of this discussion two points came out, which deserve to be noted; the first, that young men, while they are mere students, before they have passed their examination or completed their course, are permitted to act occasionally not only as catechists, but as public preachers; the other, that while they are thus allowed to anticipate their future calling, they remain subject to the general laws of military service, which in Prussia require every citizen to serve in the army for a certain period of time; the result of which is, that one and the same youth may be seen to-day in the pulpit preaching the gospel of peace, and to-morrow in the ranks shouldering the musket.

With regard to examinations it was thought best to retain the present system of two examinations, one, *pro licentia concionandi*, at the conclusion of the academic course, the other, *pro ministerio*, after an interval of from one to three years; which latter examination should have for its object chiefly to test the candidate's acquaintance with Scripture, with the symbolical books, and with the ecclesiastical law, as well as his ability as a preacher and a catechist. It was further determined, that on account of the length of time which often intervenes between the second examination and the appointment to an ecclesiastical charge, the existing practice ought to be retained, according to which the appointment is to be preceded by a kind of oral examination, termed a *colloquium*. A suggestion that the candidate should be specially examined as to his "faith and piety," as well as required to produce a certificate of his attendance on the holy communion, was overruled by the synod in accordance with the report of the committee. Another suggestion, that the examinations should be public, was pressed with a variety of modifications, but uniformly rejected by the synod.

The most difficult point, and that which elicited the greatest possible diversity of opinions, was the question as to the employment of the candidates in the interval between the second examination and the appointment to an ecclesiastical charge. The suggestions which were ultimately adopted by the synod, were the following:—That in every district the synod of that district should select a certain number of clergymen qualified to direct and superintend the further theological studies of the candidates who had passed the second examination; leaving the candidates themselves free to choose which of them they will take for their guide; and the ecclesiastical authorities exercising a general superintendence over the course to be pursued in regard to their private studies, and the practical preparation for the ministerial office connected with them;—that in addition to this general provision, embracing all the candidates for the ministry, those living on their private means, those engaged as private tutors, &c., arrangements should be made to place small knots of candidates, from four to six, in a kind of miniature seminaries, larger

seminaries being objected to as too monastic in their character, under the charge of distinguished clergymen, for the completion of their clerical education ;—lastly, that the candidates after having been for some time under this discipline, should be employed at the expense of the state, in the capacity of assistant ministers and substitutes in large parishes, in vacant charges, in district churches and chapels of ease, in prisons, penitentiaries, and other similar institutions. An important point which came out in this part of the discussion, is the light in which ordination is regarded in the Prussian Church. It was distinctly asserted, and does not appear to have been contradicted, that ordination is unnecessary, not only for the office of preaching, but also for the administration of the sacraments, all which functions may be performed by non-ordained candidates ; ordination by laying on of hands, being defined as the act of consecration to the pastoral office in a permanent charge, in other words, ordination being considered as a mere form of induction.

As the detailed reports of the proceedings of the synod, which have reached our hands, do not extend beyond the fifteenth session, held on the 9th of July, we must reserve the continuation of this subject for our next number.

Moravian Conference.—The Conference of the Moravian Communion, at which fifty-eight ministers from different parts were assembled, took place at Herrnhut on the 10th of June last. The discussion itself, in which the case of the German Catholics and of the clergy in the Canton de Vaud occupied a prominent place, presented no features of particular importance ; the most interesting point connected with this conference being the circular by which it was convoked, and in which the central ecclesiastical authority of the Moravian body expressed, in opposition to the laxity of the times, their strict and faithful adherence to the faith of their fathers. In the introductory part of the circular, in which the origin of the Conference is referred to, it is said : “ The Communion of the United Brethren, which adheres to the twenty-one doctrinal articles of the Confession of Augsburg, regarding them as a pure and scriptural summary of belief, has from its first origin, notwithstanding the peculiarities of its constitution, considered itself as a part of the Evangelic Church, and desired to remain in connexion with it, esteeming highly the blessing of acquaintance with faithful witnesses and approved servants of that Church, by which it has in return been recognized as a Christian community.” After giving a short history of the Conference, and the admission to it of ministers of other Protestant communions, the circular deprecates all discussion of points of faith, which in that Conference ought ever to be taken for granted : “ Neither was it, from the very first, consistent with the objects of the Conference to enter upon controversies on theological and doctrinal points. The brethren who met at it, were all like-minded as to the foundation of their faith, on which they stood firmly ; and on the same foundation of faith, however much it may be spoken against in our days, we are still determined to maintain our stand with unshaken firmness. The Holy

Scripture of the Old and New Testament is and remains the alone rule of our faith and our life. We venerate it as God's word, and are persuaded that every truth, the knowledge of which is necessary to our salvation, is completely contained therein, and that the Holy Ghost will give an understanding of it, and an inward apprehension of its truth, to every one who seeks for that truth with sincerity of heart and humility of mind. We confess Jesus Christ as God manifest in the flesh, who came into this world to save us sinners; who gave his life a ransom for us, and shed his blood for the remission of our sins; who was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification. We confess that we are by nature sinful men, alienated from God, and stand in need of such a Saviour and Mediator; that no one comes to the Father but through the Son; and that there is no salvation in any other, nor any name given unto men, whereby they shall be saved, but only the name of Jesus Christ. We hold it to be the office of preachers to preach Christ crucified, and as messengers to beseech and entreat men in his stead to be reconciled unto God. Upon this doctrine of reconciliation, as the central point of the gospel of salvation by Christ, we found, after the example of Paul and other Apostles, both the justification and the sanctification of penitent sinners; in it we find our greatest comfort in life and in death. We enter into no controversy on points which are left obscure or indefinite in Holy Scripture, or which go beyond it. We do not wish to set ourselves up as judges of any man's conscience; neither are we unmindful of the progress of our age in many respects: but we cannot allow the wisdom of our day to assume the right of invading the truths which are so clearly and repeatedly declared in Holy Scripture, which for centuries have proved to so many souls the power of God and divine wisdom, and in which we too have found peace of heart and blessedness. These truths are esteemed by us as eternal truths, high above all the vicissitudes of time and of men's opinions, according to that saying of our Lord: 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.' This is the foundation on which the faith of the Evangelic Church is founded, on which the Communion of United Brethren has rested from its very origin, and on which we pray the Lord to keep it."

University Statistics.—The following statistical account of the principal universities of Germany and the adjacent countries is compiled from authentic sources.

	Total number of students; winter half-year, 1845-6.		No. of students in theology.		No. of professors in theology.		Subjects lectured on in the summer half-year, 1846.
Berlin	1608	Prot.	279		15		26
Munich	1417	R. Cath.	228				
Tübingen	890	{ Prot.	166		8		16
		{ R. Cath.	—		7		11
Heidelberg	828				5		18
Leipzig	825		222				
Breslau	771	{ Prot.	69				
		{ R. Cath.	216				

Total number of students; winter half-year, 1845-6.		No. of students in theology.		No. of professors in theology.		Subjects lectured on in the summer half-year, 1846.	
Halle	732	Prot.	457		17		38
Bonn	674	{ Prot.	68		6		18
		{ R. Cath.			5		15
Göttingen	653	Prot.	145		16		37
Giessen	488	{ Prot.	95				
		{ R. Cath.	42				
Würzburg	464	R. Cath.	89		5		13
Jena	408	Prot.	106		12		27
Münster	260		167				
Freiburg	212		79				
Rostock	103				6		17
Marburg					9		26
Greifswalde					7		17
Bern					7		17
Zürich					7		17
Basle					7		16
Upsala	1367						
Dorpat	570		83				
Amsterdam	145						

As regards the subjects of the lectures, a review of the different programmes gives the following general data. The only subjects treated of in all the universities are, Dogmatic and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; these occupy out of 329 courses of lectures, dogmatic, 20; interpretation of the Old Testament, 55; of the New Testament, 69. Lectures on Church history are delivered in all, except the Roman Catholic faculty of Tübingen, and the Roman Catholic University of Würzburg, total, 29 courses. The other subjects are taught in the following proportions: encyclopædic knowledge of theology and theological literature, 14; the history of Christian doctrine, 14; symbolic, 11; practical theology, including introduction to homiletic and catechetical instruction, 21; pastoral theology, 6; Christian morality, 11; various biblical subjects, 8; subjects connected with the history of religion in general, 6, among them a course on the history of Mahometanism at Halle; Jewish and Christian antiquities, 7; Christian apologetic, 4; the philosophy of religion, 12; patristic readings, 2; liturgical subjects, 3; ecclesiastical law, 3; Church statistics, 2; the apocrypha, 1; controversial subjects, 2; pædagogic science, 4; Hebrew language and literature, 8; other Oriental languages, 14; miscellaneous, 3. In addition to the regular lectures, class meetings are appointed for various practical purposes, such as examinations, repetitory courses, exegetical, homiletic and catechetical exercises, and conversaciones on general theological subjects. These class meetings are conducted by the several professors generally in connexion with their lectures; and some of them are held in almost every university; the Protestant faculty of Bonn, and the Roman Catholic faculties of Tübingen and Würzburg being the only exceptions; but by far the greatest attention to this part of theological education appears to be paid in the University of Göttingen.

RUSSIA.—*Proselytism of the Russo-Greek Church.*—Not the least significant among the many indications of the present tendency of the world to resolve all the questions of the day into religious questions, is the attitude which, under the impulse of the imperial government, the Russo-Greek Church has latterly assumed towards the other Christian communions established within the dominions of the Czar. By a sudden transition from a state of torpid inaction, she has entered upon a course of the most active proselytism, which is the more remarkable, as it takes no account of the Mahometan and heathen populations, but is exclusively directed upon the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. The movement is evidently connected with a deep-laid scheme of Russian policy, the object of which is to raise a colossal Slavonian empire in the East of Europe, enlisting for this purpose the national sympathies of the different branches of the Slavonian family, both those which already owe allegiance to the Russian sceptre, and those which are subject to Austria and Prussia. Whatever may be the origin of the new tendencies in the national life of the Slavonians, whether it be, as the author of an able article on this subject in the *Revue des deux Mondes* suggests, the example of the newly awakened nationality of their German neighbours, and of the wonders which it wrought in the war of deliverance against Napoleon, the young Slavonians who frequent the German universities bringing home with them, along with the erudition of Germany and more enlarged views of the world, the infection of national enthusiasm; or whether it be, that in the natural development of the Slavonian tribes, and their progress in civilization, they have arrived at the period at which a nation becomes conscious of its intellectual and moral power, and of its own place in the destinies of the world, certain it is, that the national mind in the various tribes of the great Slavonian family responds in a most remarkable manner to the ambitious designs of the Russian autocrat. A spirit of nationality breathes through the recent productions of Slavonian literature, both in the field of history and in that of poetry, and that not only under the immediate inspiration of imperial patronage, but in Bohemia, and among the exiled Poles. Even the latter, represented by the mystic and visionary Mickiewicz, appear to have turned from the hopeless dream of Polish independence, towards the rising sun of Slavonian unity and greatness under the mighty sceptre of the Czar. In Bohemia, the poet John Kollar, in his great national poem, bearing the bi-significant title "*Slavi Dcera*," i. e., "The Daughter of Glory;" or, "the Slavonian Maid," by a bold figure "melts the different ores of the Slavonian mine," for the casting of a statue, of which, he says, "Bohemia shall be the arm, Poland the heart, Russia the head;" and in a fantastic description of the Slavonian paradise, prophetically places in it the Emperor Nicholas and the Grand Duke Constantine. Meanwhile the practical character of the tendencies which literature thus at once attests and fosters, becomes more and more apparent, and that in a manner calculated to create the most serious alarm in the mind of those governments which reckon Slavonian tribes among their subjects. An in-

creasing impatience of foreign, that is, of German rule, is betrayed by them; and there appear to be very sufficient grounds for the suspicion, that Russian influence was secretly at work in producing the recent disorders in Galicia and in the Grand Duchy of Posen; for, however cautiously the Russian cabinet may proceed in the pursuit of its comprehensive and ambitious schemes, it is evident that the malcontents count upon the silent approbation, and that in some instances they have even obtained the direct countenance, of Russia, in their attempts to heighten the hereditary antipathies of the Slavonian against the German race. And it is surely more than a mere coincidence, that at the very moment when the subjects of Austria and Prussia turn their eyes towards the great Slavonian monarch, as if expecting from him the impulse of national regeneration, a new line of policy, one which courts popularity by the same promise of national regeneration, should be adopted towards oppressed and persecuted Poland.

To the working out, however, of this vast conception of a Slavonian empire in the east of Europe⁴, there is at present one great obstacle; viz., the difference of religion. So long as a large portion of the Slavonian race owns spiritual allegiance to the Roman see, and while in the most civilized portion of the great Russian empire, the Baltic provinces, whose population contains, in the upper classes especially, a large admixture of German blood, the people are leavened with the leaven of Protestantism, the leaven of free inquiry and independence of thought, such a complete amalgamation as the policy of Russia contemplates, cannot possibly take place. It is for the purpose, then, of removing this obstacle, that the Russo-Greek Church has received the mission, in the execution of which it is at this time displaying a combination of subtlety and cruelty, such as the world has not witnessed since the days when the Holy Inquisition employed the secular arm of the mightiest kingdoms of western Europe for the maintenance of the "Catholic" faith.

Before entering upon the details of the facts which have transpired, in spite of the jealous care with which Russia guards the secret of her internal affairs, a slight sketch of the history of the Russian Church may not be unacceptable to our readers. Its origin dates from the conversion of the chieftain Wladimir, at whose request the patriarch of Constantinople despatched a number of missionaries to the Russian provinces, and among them several bishops, one of whom was invested with the title of metropolitan. This happened about seventy years before the great schism between the east and the west, in which, as

⁴ The *Revue des deux Mondes* refers its readers to a work which has recently appeared under the title "*Deutschland, Polen und Russland*," (Germany, Poland and Russia), by F. SCHUSELKA; and to a pamphlet published at Paris, "*Lettre d'un Gentilhomme polonais sur les massacres de la Galicie*," addressed to Prince Metternich. Another work, which bears more upon the religious part of the question, is reviewed in the first number of the "*Theologische Quartalschrift*" for the present year; it bears the title: "*Die morgenländische orthodoxe Kirche Russlands und das Europäische Abendland*." (The Eastern Orthodox Church of Russia, and the West of Europe.) Von JOHANN FRIEDRICH HEINRICH SCHLOSSER."

might be expected, the Russian Church took sides with the patriarch, to whom, by virtue of its descent, it owed canonical obedience. The see of the first metropolitan was Kiew, at that time the residence of the sovereign princes; which has, on account of its antiquity, maintained its ecclesiastical rank, although its political importance has been greatly diminished. The seat of government has long been removed, and two other metropolitan sees have in consequence been erected. For a considerable period the Russian Church was thus divided between the metropolitical sees of Kiew, of Moscow, and of Novogorod; all three acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Subsequently, during the confusions to which the invasion of the Tartars gave rise, the Patriarch of Constantinople lost *de facto* his rights over the Russian Church: the appointment of its metropolitans, which had hitherto been at least nominally in his hands, devolved upon the Russian episcopate; and the metropolitan of Moscow, which had become the seat of government, obtained a sort of primacy over the two other metropolitans. Still a show of recognition of the patriarchate of Constantinople was retained, even after the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, until, in the year 1589, the Patriarch of Constantinople, having been expelled from his see and obliged to take refuge in Russia, conferred upon the Metropolitan of Moscow, to the prejudice of his own rights, the patriarchal dignity, on the plea, it is alleged, that Rome having separated itself from the Catholic Church, the primitive number of patriarchates should nevertheless be maintained. This act was afterwards confirmed, after his restoration to his own see, by a formal decree, to which the other patriarchs of the east gave their adhesion. By this means the Russian Church became altogether independent of all extraneous influence, and assumed an important position among the Christian communions of the east. But at the same time the patriarchal dignity gave to its possessor so high an ascendancy, and so powerful an influence, that it was viewed with a jealous eye by the despotic rulers of Russia; till at last Peter the Great adopted the expedient, on the death of the last patriarch, of appointing an ecclesiastical commission for the administration of the affairs of the National Church. This commission, which was in the first instance only provisional, was afterwards made permanent, under the name of the "Holy Governing Synod." The substitution of this corporate body for the personal authority of the patriarch was notified by Peter the Great to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the other patriarchs of the east, in an epistle addressed to them on the 30th of September, 1721; to which, after the lapse of two years, consumed in hesitations and negotiations, the Patriarch of Constantinople replied by the following curious document: "Jeremiah, by the grace of God, Patriarch of the city of Constantine. By the grace and power of the Holy Ghost, the giver of life and fountain of all perfection, our Humility declares lawful, confirms and proclaims the synod which the most pious and most clement autocrat, the holy Czar, Lord of all Moscovia, of White and Little Russia, and of all the eastern and western and other regions, the Lord Peter

Alexewitch, your Emperor, most beloved in the Holy Spirit, has established for the holy and great empire of Russia. This synod both exists and is named holy and sacred, by all my brethren in Christ Jesus, and by all pious and orthodox Christians, both of the clerical and the secular orders, superiors as well as inferiors, and by all persons holding any place of dignity. It has power to do and to act, the same as the four apostolical, holy, and patriarchal sees. We put it in mind, we exhort and enjoin it, to preserve and maintain incorrupt the rules and customs of the seven holy œcumenical councils, and of the other councils which the holy Oriental Church acknowledges, that the same may be inviolably kept throughout all ages. And may the grace of God and the prayers and benediction of our Humility be with you!" A precisely similar adhesion to the change made in the Russian patriarchate was sent in by the Patriarch of Antioch; what the reply of the two other patriarchs, of Alexandria and Jerusalem, was, does not appear.

In this "Holy Governing Synod" all authority in matters of faith and discipline, and the appointment to all ecclesiastical offices, was henceforth concentrated. The dignities of metropolitan and archbishop, which had hitherto had a practical importance in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, became empty titles of distinction, and the bishops generally mere spiritual functionaries, charged with the administration of the word and sacraments, and the execution of the ecclesiastical law, but without any synodal, deliberative, or legislative power. By the appointment of a lay procurator-general, who is the organ of communication between the synod and the czar, and through whose hands all the business of the synod passes, the direction of the proceedings of the synod is substantially in the hands of the emperor himself; and thus, while in theory the Russian Church maintains the principle, that "the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ is alone the true Head of the one true Church," the supreme ecclesiastical power is practically wielded by the same despotic hand with the imperial sceptre. Under these circumstances it is obvious, how easily the action of the Russo-Greek Church can be brought to bear upon the promotion of the political designs of the czar, in the manner described in recent accounts from different parts of the empire.

As regards the Roman Catholics, the scene of operation is chiefly in Poland and the southern provinces, where means similar to those which were first adopted in 1839 for separating the "United Greeks" from the communion of the Roman Church⁵, continue to be used. From the extreme ignorance of the people, added to the use in public worship of "a tongue not understood of the people," the measures of conversion, if conversion it can be called, bear chiefly upon the clergy, whose conformity to the Greek rite, and submission to the authorities of the Russian Church, it is attempted by various means, both of conciliation

⁵ A detailed and documentary history of these transactions has been published at Paris under the title; "*Persécutions et souffrances de l'Eglise Catholique en Russie.*"

and compulsion, to obtain. In many instances the common people do not even seem to be aware of the change, when it has been effected ; the priests retaining the vestments of the Romish Church, while they recite the Liturgy of the Greek Church. Nor is that ignorance likely to be remedied, the priests being prohibited, under pain of deportation to Siberia, from enlightening the common people as to the progress which has been made in the incorporation of their Church with the Russo-Greek Church, or preaching on the question of the confessional differences. The priests who refuse to conform, are placed in a position of great perplexity ; many of them have been deprived of their incomes without any indemnity or pension, and are dependent on the voluntary contributions of their flocks. Various advantages are held out to the people also ; *e. g.* a tax is levied upon marriages performed according to the Romish rite, while those according to the Greek rite are performed without charge. Children born of mixed marriages, or, in case both parents were originally Roman Catholics, after the conversion of either parent to the Greek Church, are by law baptized according to the Greek rite, and being so baptized, are compulsorily brought up as members of the Greek communion. And while thus a variety of methods are used for obtaining proselytes from the Roman to the Greek Church, defection from the Greek Church to any other communion is visited by the severest penalties, more especially in the case of persons who originally belonged to other communions, and who, as "relapsed heretics," are treated with increased severity. The extent of barbarity to which the persecution of the Russo-Greek clergy against the Roman Catholics occasionally proceeds, has become notorious throughout Europe by the account of the sufferings of the nuns of the Basilian convent of Minsk, given by the superior of the convent, Makrena Mieczyslawska, who succeeded in making her escape, and having proceeded to Paris, and thence to Rome, furnished in the last-named place materials for a publication which appeared at Paris under the title, "*Récit de MAKRENA MIECZYSLAWSKA, abbesse des Basiliennes de Minsk, ou Histoire d'une Persécution de sept ans, soufferte pour la foi par elle et ses religieuses ; écrite sous sa dictée, et d'après les ordres de N. T. S. Père le Pape Grégoire XVI., par le R. P. Maximilien Ryllo, Recteur de la Propagande à Rome ; l'abbé Alexandre Jélowicki, recteur de l'Église Saint-Claude à Rome ; l'abbé Aloys Leitner, théologien de la Propagande à Rome ; commencé le 8 Novembre, et terminé le 6 Décembre, 1845, dans le couvent de la Trinité-du-Mont, à Rome.*" The circumstantial indication of these names, coupled with the fact that the document was published by one of the regular ecclesiastical booksellers at Paris (Gaume frères), can leave little doubt as to the authenticity of this examination. In the interval, however, between the examination and the publication of it, towards the end of January of the present year, the emperor had paid his personal visit to the pope, and it was accordingly thought more expedient by the Roman court to disavow the official character of the above-named document. The truth of the facts set forth in it, the substance of which had previously

been made known to the public, was still asserted. Into the details of these facts it is unnecessary for us here to enter, as their uncommon atrocity excited universal attention to them at the time. Suffice it to state, that they became afterwards the subject of violent controversy; the Russian government putting forth repeated denials of the whole story; first in anonymous newspaper articles, and afterwards by two demi-official notes, which M. de Bouténieff, the Russian minister at the court of Rome, circulated among the influential clergy at Rome, without, however, presenting them officially to the pontifical government, and which have found their way into the public prints. In these notes, however, the Russian government overreached itself, by denying the very existence of a Basilian convent at Minsk, and of such a person as the abbess Mieczyslawska; the publicity given to these denials provoking communications from a variety of persons, who attested both the fact that there is such a convent at Minsk, though *extra muros*, and also the fact of its being under the direction of an abbess of the name of Makrena Mieczyslawska, the history of whose family some of the correspondents gave. As far as it is possible in a matter of this kind, when the testimony is of so conflicting a nature, to form an opinion, there seems to be no reason to question the substantial truth of the account originally given by the abbess, while great suspicion attaches to the denials put forth in the name of the Russian government.

But whatever might be the merits of this story, it appears unquestionable that the impression which it had produced upon the mind of Gregory XVI., coupled with the knowledge of many other circumstances of oppression against the Roman Catholic Church in the Russian dominions, led to the earnest remonstrance, which according to the accounts furnished from Rome of the visit of the Emperor Nicholas to the pope, was addressed by the latter to his imperial visitor. This remonstrance does not appear to have been without effect; immediately on his return to his own dominions, the emperor appointed a commission of inquiry into the condition of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, and the grievances alleged by the Papal government, the report of which is said to be decidedly favourable to the interests of the Romish Church. The news of the decease of Gregory XVI. having arrived at St. Petersburg, at the moment when it was intended to despatch a special envoy to Rome, with a view to the accommodation of existing differences, the subject was for a time adjourned; but the latest accounts from St. Petersburg announce, that as soon as the intelligence of the election of Pius IX. had arrived, the envoy, Count Bloudoff, accompanied by M. de Hube, a learned canonist, was directed to proceed on his mission. The Romish journals, however, do not anticipate that much good will result from the negotiation, the count being a zealous partizan of the Russo-Greek Church, and one of those who have taken an active part in the measures of oppression against the Romish communion. The same inference is drawn by them from the names of eight candidates which the count is to propose to the pope, for filling up eight bishoprics which have become vacant during

the late differences; and it is generally thought that Russia, while making concessions sufficient to meet the exigences of the moment, will not the less steadily pursue the plan of merging all the Christian communions under its sway in the one Russo-Greek establishment.

The determination to effect this object is further attested by the proceedings which have taken place in the Baltic provinces. In these provinces the Russo-Greek Church has, upon the faith of the treaties by which they were incorporated in the Russian empire, no legal existence; they having made their submission upon the express condition, that they should be protected "in the inviolable exercise of that religion which had hitherto obtained amongst them, on the ground of the evangelical and apostolical Scriptures of the pure Church of Christ, and in conformity with the decrees of the council of Nicæa and the determinations of the Confession of Augsburg;" and that "no other preacher of any other confession should ever be permitted to introduce or superadd any kind of alteration or innovation." In direct violation of these stipulations, a Russo-Greek Church was established at Riga, in the midst of a Lutheran population. This encroachment was soon followed up by a similar proceeding in the other chief towns; and latterly, moveable churches, and itinerant Russo-Greek priests, have been sent through the country districts, for the express purpose of proselytizing the ignorant multitude. The course adopted in this case is, to employ inferior agents of the government, whose declarations are disavowed, whenever it is convenient, for the purpose of disseminating among the peasants, who constitute the chief part of the population, and who are emancipated serfs, living upon the land as tenants, in a state of abject dependence upon the lords of the soil, the notion that, by embracing "the religion of the emperor," they will obtain relief from many of the burdens which now press upon them. At the same time, by an accommodation similar to that adopted among the Romish populations of the south, the difference between the two modes of worship is made to appear as slight as possible. By the representations made to them, many have been induced to allow their names to be placed on lists of persons willing to embrace "the religion of the emperor." In some cases, indeed, they seem to have been inveigled into signing, or rather setting their mark, to documents of the purport of which they were totally ignorant, but which were, in fact, lists of proselytes. No sooner is this point accomplished, than they become subject to the operation of the laws already referred to, against "relapsed heretics," and are thus forcibly retained in a communion in which they have been ignorantly, and in some cases even unconsciously, enrolled. Their protestations that they were not aware what they were doing, are not listened to; their signatures or marks are taken as conclusive evidence of their conversion, and they are treated accordingly. The unfairness of the proceedings adopted by the Russo-Greek clergy and their emissaries and abettors, having been reported to the emperor by Count Pahlen, the governor of the Baltic provinces, and himself a Lutheran, the only result was the recall of the count, who was retained at St. Petersburg under the semblance of pro-

motion to a higher dignity, while his place in the government of the Baltic provinces was supplied by Count Golowin, a Russian by birth, and a Russo-Greek by faith. Under his administration the proselytizing system of the Greek Church is carried on with the greatest activity, chiefly by the agency of a Russo-Greek neophyte, formerly a Lutheran, of the name of Bürger, who is armed with special powers from the imperial government for this purpose. The Protestant clergy are prohibited, under severe penalties, and by a special engagement entered into on their appointment, from preaching, or otherwise seeming to influence the people against defection from their communion to the Greek Church; and unfortunately, moreover, the machinations of the Russo-Greek priesthood are facilitated by a feud of long standing between the strict old Lutherans and the Moravians, who obtained leave to form establishments in these provinces from the Empress Catherine, and received great favour and encouragement more recently at the hands of the Emperor Alexander. The latest accounts state that the number of so-called converts exceeds already 10,000; and that whole districts have departed from the faith of their fathers, and gone over to the Russo-Greek Church. Considering that the Protestants are divided among themselves, and that they have no power or influence to fall back upon in their resistance against these aggressions, it is to be anticipated that at no distant period the Russo-Greek will be, if not the exclusive, at least the dominant religion of these provinces; and that in this part of the empire, at all events, the ambitious designs of the Russian Colossus will meet with success.

SWITZERLAND.—*Bishop Marilley at Geneva.* The appointment of M. Marilley, expelled some time ago from the territory of Geneva, in consequence of a dispute between the late bishop of Freiburg, Lausanne, and Geneva, and the cantonal government⁶, to the vacant see, has begun to bear its fruit. Having set out on a primary visitation of his diocese, and paid a passing visit, at Lausanne, to the radical M. Druey, the President of the Council of State, and persecutor of the Protestant Church in the Canton de Vaud, Mgr. Marilley proceeded to make his triumphal entry into the city of Calvin, where he arrived towards the end of June last. The following is the account given of his reception by the *Ami de la Religion*.

“The Catholics of Geneva enjoy now the ineffable happiness of having amongst them their chief pastor, him who formerly, as a simple priest, was subjected to the persecutions of calvinistic intolerance. Last Tuesday, as early as five in the morning, a body of young men were in waiting for Mgr. Marilley, in order to serve him as a guard of honour. About half-past ten, the carriage of the prelate passed through the gates, and soon after he entered the Church of St. Germain. A way was opened for him between the lines of young orphans which had

⁶ For the particulars of this dispute, and the causes which led to it, see English Review, vol. v. pp. 454—456.

been placed there, as a speaking symbol of the Church of Geneva. At that moment the most inexpressible emotion manifested itself in the whole assembly of the faithful, and Monseigneur himself, after kneeling down, shed abundant tears; tears which are precious to *all the true children of Geneva*, tears of a kind father, tears of joy and of love, which will not be shed in vain."

The authorities of the town, who had so unceremoniously disposed of his person, paid their respects and received his visits, by way of first instalment of that "justice from Rome" for which M. Marilley's predecessor in the episcopate had appealed to the Pope. The fruit of the tears of Mgr. Marilley, so confidently predicted in the foregoing paragraph, has not failed to make its appearance; for the *Ami de la Religion* gives in a subsequent number the following statement on the authority of the Romish journals of Switzerland: "The affair of the nomination of a *curé* of Geneva does not seem to have advanced a single step. It is true the government had proposed to the bishop three priests, one of whom in particular seemed highly deserving, but in the course of the negotiations the pretensions of the Council of State seem to have increased. They meant, by way of preliminary, to extort from the episcopal authority a concordate analogous to that which expired at the death of Mgr. Yenni. Mgr. Marilley had had too much experience of the extravagant pretensions which the Genevese authorities found on concessions of this kind, to go into the trap. In consequence the negotiation is broken off, and probably a higher power will have to interpose between the contending parties." In other words, Mgr. Marilley having been a party to the violation of the rights expressly reserved to the temporal authorities of Geneva, on the re-admission of the Romish communion into the republic, now refuses in his episcopal capacity to recognize the very existence of the laws, which in a lower station he had already helped to outrage.

Foreign Correspondence.

From a Correspondent in Switzerland.

Yverdon, Canton de Vaud, August 20, 1846.

MY DEAR —,

I HAVE been for some days past endeavouring to bring myself to write to you in answer to your note of the 14th July; but I find it no easy matter to put upon paper my impressions on the state of matters in this country. Knowing that you wish rather to know actual facts than to hear of my mere personal judgment of them, I have been very desirous of gathering from persons of contrary parties all I could on the subject. Here, as in most places, it is most difficult to get information simple and unvarnished. Party feeling has broken society into pieces, and houses are divided in themselves and against houses, and every thing seems to be out of joint. My remarks must, however, be considered as relating particularly to this canton; for although I fear, from all I hear, that the other Protestant cantons are much in the same case, yet as I have not had any opportunity of conversing with persons from Bern, Geneva, &c., I can say nothing positive. The strife is here, as in England, the same, *au fond*, and proceeds, no doubt, from the same cause; but here we have it in miniature and more within compass. The dismissal of the clergy was on the point of bringing on a crisis, but the decision and firmness of the government on the occasion appears to have arrested it for a time: a considerable number returned to their parishes, which gave a death-blow to the liberty and, perhaps, even the existence of their national Church. After considerable difficulty I obtained the loan of an old Prayer-book, which contains the Helvetic confession, the Church liturgy, and the Psalms. You will be surprised, no doubt, that I should have found difficulty in borrowing such a book! The fact is, the Prayer-book is never used by the congregation in church, except for singing, when the people sit: the minister reads the prayers, the people standing; but no one reads the prayers with him or after him, nor says "Amen" aloud. All but the singing is done from the pulpit by the minister or deacon alone, so that there seems to be no use for Prayer-books; indeed, modern Prayer-books only contain the Psalms set to music, and the office for the Lord's Supper.

But I must go further back. Previous to 1830 a part of the people were dissatisfied with the way in which the religious services of the Church were performed, and (as in our own country) they commenced forming themselves into what we call sects, or parties, who desired more spirituality than they fancied the Church possessed the means of affording them,—became an evangelical body, or section,—till at length the purity and sufficiency of their national confession of faith were called into question. Both ministers and people were divided on this point. The old school or national party attributed this schism to the "English Methodists" (as they call some of our good people who have of late years taken the world in hand), and they especially name a "Miss G——," who came to reside for some time at Lausanne, as the prime cause of the movement. Be this, however, as it may, most distressing have been the results. The

Canton de Vaud cannot now be said to have an established Church at all; for such were the lengths to which parties went, that the civil authorities at length interfered; and it has ended in a total suspension of the Helvetic Confession, and nobody seems to know where they are, or what they are about; for some cry one thing and some another. In the midst of this lamentable state of things in ecclesiastical matters, the Conservatives, who seem to have favoured, on the whole, the Evangelical party, were suddenly and most unexpectedly driven from office by an almost infidel party. Matters then became still worse; for, finding the Church stripped of its privileges as a Church, they treated her and her ministry as the mere servants of a political party, and so have made use of them. This brought on the dismissal of the ministers, who refused to read—as they were ordered by the government to do from the pulpit on a Sunday—a brief of the “New Constitution,” introduced by the present party. The Evangelical party they, as far as they can do, seem to persecute, and accuse of insubordination. In the midst of all this, the condition of both ministers and people is most deplorable, they are languishing in bondage. A blind zeal has so entangled them in the enemy’s net, that they see no way of escape from it but by endeavouring to proclaim the necessity of a total disunion of Church and State—which I believe they will not readily succeed in bringing about. They take the Free Church of Scotland as their model; but at present the divisions among them are too numerous to admit of uniformity. Numerous churches are without pastors. The “*démissionnaires*” are without churches; and although a considerable portion of their flocks are sympathising with them, and have followed them to hear their preaching in private rooms, yet they are counted by the government as mere laymen and private individuals; and many of them have been fined and even condemned to imprisonment, for not attending to the militia rules. Sunday is as much as possible by the government dedicated to public amusement; of which we, last Sunday week, had an example here; and it was the case throughout the canton, by order of the civil authorities. The day was set apart by authority for public rejoicing; when a considerable sum of money was given by them for the purpose. There was firing, feasting, and dancing, with illumination in the evening. This is the most melancholy issue of dissension on religious matters I have yet seen; but it is only what thousands in our own country would blindly and ignorantly lead the multitude to, thinking all the time they are doing God service. The more I reflect on our state at home, the more I think we ought to pray that we may desire the good old paths of fixed principles, instead of that love of change, which destroys merely for the sake of having something new, on the experimental chance of its being better. If we are contented with our foundations, why lay them afresh? If the superstructure be fallen into decay, let us repair it, before the enemy fall upon it with impious hand, or the friend in mistaken zeal destroy it. For where shall we find the spirit of unity and love at present strong enough to rear a national temple to God afresh on holier ground than our forefathers have chosen?

The Church at Geneva is also in a most deplorable state as to its

national peace and unity. They have there orthodox, heterodox, and various dissensions besides. In Neuchâtel they have dispensed with the Helvetic Confession, and substituted, as they say, the Bible. So that I presume the ministers are inducted into their sacred office upon individual and private interpretations of the Scripture, in such general terms as may prove satisfactory to the examining parties, who probably question the authority of all human beings in matters of faith, making a reservation in favour of their own. From the state to which Protestantism is reduced in Switzerland, I think they have reason to fear more enemies than one. On the one hand, an attack from the papacy; on the other, an attack from infidelity; will find them but little prepared for the shock, and still less able to reckon on the issue. What Protestantism may be on other parts of the Continent, I cannot of course judge; but if it resembles that which I have seen in the Canton de Vaud, I am not surprised at the Bishop of Exeter's protest against the Chevalier Bunsen's bishopric at Jerusalem. Nothing, I think, could be more unwise than the Church of England descending from her sacred and responsible position, in order to meet the views of private individuals, whose chief labour seems to be in unnecessarily irritating the Roman Catholics, and in causing further dissensions amongst Protestants. They think perhaps the only way to bring about the unity they seek is to break us up into fragments, like the particles of a macadamized road, in order that we may, for the future, unite the better into one solid mass. May we be defended from such philosophy and vain deceit!

I must not omit to tell you, as an instance of the state of things here, that the chief magistrate of the cantonal government and his friends entered the pulpit themselves in the church of Lausanne, on the Sunday of the public rejoicing, and delivered to the congregation political speeches. This seems to have been all part of the entertainment of the people. Of the private character of some of the individuals who direct public affairs in these matters we hear scandalous things; but I will not repeat them, as some of our own public officers at home are not chosen for their private virtues. Public duties are thought not to need such considerations.

AUGUST 31.—Affairs in this country of Switzerland are in a state of disruption. This and the canton of Berne are passing through an *accès* of intermittent fever. They have just now obtained new constitutions, by means of an overwhelming majority of Radicals, who, I expect, will give these republicans such a dose of liberty, as they will not know what to do with. Society appears to me to be in a wretched state of disunion. Our dissenters have, I fear, been one means of unsettling them in Church matters; for in this canton they seem to have no Church at all. The state has wounded it to death, by removing its Confession of Faith; so that they are now Protestants without a "protest." The clergy are officers of the state in every sense of the word, for their synod has lost its independence. They are truly in the most unhappy state of bondage.

THE
ENGLISH REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1846.

- ART. I.—1. *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne D'Arc, dite la Pucelle, publiés pour la première fois d'après les Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale, suivis de tous les documents historiques qu'on a pu réunir, et accompagnés de notes et d'éclaircissements. Par JULES QUICHERAT. Tom. i.—iii. Paris, 1841-5.*
2. *Jeanne D'Arc, Trilogie Nationale. Par ALEXANDRE SOUMET, de l'Académie Française. Paris, 1846.*
3. *The Maid of Orleans. A romantic tragedy, translated from the German of Friedrich von Schiller. Burns' Fire-side Library. London, no date.*
4. *Selections from the Dramas of Goethe and Schiller. Translated, with Introductory Remarks, by ANNA SWANWICK. London, 1846.*

HERSELF more like an apparition than like a reality, a creature of romance rather than a historical character, the heroine of Dom Remi has yet left on the face of her own age so deep a mark of her fleet and passing footstep, that in spite of the difficulty of reducing her tale to the sober proportions of historic truth, and separating matter of fact from matter altogether visionary, the historian cannot avoid dealing with this most perplexing episode in the annals of modern times. And while the historian is thus compelled to insert among the records of well-authenticated transactions a story scarcely less fabulous than that of the Trojan war, philosophers exhaust their ingenuity to fathom the depth, and poets weary the wing of their fancy to rise to the height, of that most enigmatic and most poetic of subjects—Joan of Arc.

Setting aside all the curious details with which her story is rife, and all the embellishments which it has at different times received, taking merely the broad outline of the facts, as they stand forth undeniably in the general history of the times, the tale is marvellous enough. A simple country lass, obscure and unlettered, not out of her teens, suddenly appears on the stage of the world; by her appearance she changes the whole tide of events; victorious armies are put to the rout, the fallen fortunes of a fugitive king

are repaired, and the royal diadem is set on his brow; in the midst of her career she falls into the hands of her enemies, and is subjected to a legal procedure of the most appalling as well as perplexing nature; she is placed before the tribunal of the Inquisition, where she defies the power, and baffles the wiles of her judges; and a conviction being at last procured by the most disgraceful perversion of justice, she dies with the fortitude of a martyr. But even here her power does not end; long after her death the proceedings taken against her are subjected to a searching revision, and the result is, that the infallible Church of Rome solemnly recants a sentence solemnly pronounced, and that in a case involving questions of faith, by the dread tribunal to which she has committed the guardianship of her orthodoxy.

These are the leading facts about which there can be no dispute; they are of a character sufficiently extraordinary to induce an inquiry into the means by which so powerful an influence was exercised over the world by one whom her sex, her age, her birth, and her education, all alike disqualified, according to the ordinary rules of judgment, for the task she undertook, and for the career which she accomplished. The course of that inquiry, instead of explaining so singular a phenomenon in the history of human affairs, on the contrary tends to increase the mystery, and still further to perplex the mind; till at last it seems as if the whole were a riddle cast forth upon the tide of events on very purpose to teach us that

“ There are more things in heaven and earth,
Than are dreamt of in our philosophy.”

That the keen edge of this lesson was felt by the vain and shallow philosophers of the encyclopædist school, who pretended to know all and to explain all, is attested, not only by the many untenable and often ridiculous hypotheses¹, which were advanced with a view to account for the extraordinary circumstances connected with the history of the Maid of Orleans; but, above all, by the infamous production by which the corypheus of that school unwittingly bore witness to the close connexion between unbelief and moral corruptness; the standard-bearer of infidelity exhibiting himself, to his own irretrievable disgrace, in the character of a “filthy dreamer” and a “brute beast.”

¹ The most absurd, perhaps, of all the suppositions which have been started in explanation of the mysterious tale of *Jeanne d'Arc*, is that of Mr. Caze: he sets about gravely to prove that she was an illegitimate daughter of Isabel of Bavaria and Louis of Orleans, who was put in her infancy under the charge of her supposed parents, and had accidentally become acquainted with the secret of her birth.

Against this abomination the purer moral sense and the loftier poetic feeling, both of England and of Germany, revolted. Almost simultaneously, and apparently without any knowledge of each other's performance, appeared Southey's epic, "Joan of Arc," and Schiller's "Maid of Orleans, a romantic tragedy." The former, with all its imperfections, frankly acknowledged by the great laureate himself in the preface to the new edition of it, published, in 1841, in the collection of his poetical works, atones largely for the coarse blows dealt to "the Mission'd Maid" by the misplaced patriotism of the Bard of Avon. The latter, by its great and deserved popularity, contributed in no small degree to the diffusion of nobler and more worthy views on the subject in the public mind, and so helped to realize Schiller's own prophecy, in one of his short lyric poems, of which, as neither of the two English versions which we have seen of it², is sufficiently faithful to convey a correct idea of the original, we shall venture to give a translation of our own:—

Humanity to foul, the scoffer lewd
 Low through the dust thy virgin form did hale;
 Wit against beauty bears eternal feud,
 Spurns God and angel, like a fabled tale:
 Whate'er the heart holds dear, it basely reaves,
 Whate'er or fancy dreams, or faith believes.

But, like thyself, sprung from a childlike race,
 A pious maiden, shepherdly in guise,
 High poesy in her divine embrace,
 Does clasp and bear thee to th' eternal skies;
 With radiant glory she encircles thee:
 The heart's creation must immortal be.

² One of them in Sir Lytton Bulwer's translation of the minor poems of Schiller, which is too "free" to be satisfactory; the other prefixed to the translation of the drama in Burns' Fire-side Library (No. 3), which, to say nothing of its general defectiveness, altogether mistakes the sense of the original in the second stanza, where the lines,

*Reicht dir die Dichtkunst ihre Götterrechte,
 Poesy holds out to thee her divine right hand,
 Schwingt sich mit dir den ew'gen Sternen zu,
 Wings her flight with thee to the eternal stars,*

are thus rendered,

Soars to the everlasting stars with thee,
 And makes thee partner of her rights divine;

the translator evidently mistaking the sense of the word "*Götterrechte*," which signifies "thy divine right hand;" and in consequence of this *quid pro quo* reversing the order of the two lines.

To soil whate'er is bright, to drag down low
 Whate'er is lofty, is the world's delight.
 But fear not thou ; there are yet hearts which glow
 With glorious thoughts, and upward wing their flight.
 To gaping crowds let Momus shake his bells ;
 A noble mind on nobler visions dwells.

It was not to be supposed that the most egotistical people in the world, on this side the Atlantic, would long submit to the indignity of allowing foreign literature to monopolize one of the noblest themes of their national history. The more the poems of Southey and Schiller became known in France, the more was Voltaire's *Pucelle* felt to be a national disgrace, and pen after pen was set to work, to celebrate in strains more worthy of her the pure and heroic maiden. Besides a variety of smaller poems, and several pieces written for the stage, there have been no less than four epic poems produced on the subject since the restoration of the Bourbons ; one by M. Pierre Duménil, one by Mme. de Choiseul, one by Mlle. Bigot, and the fourth by M. Alexandre Soumet, the only one of the four which has in France itself met with considerable success.

But it is not in the field of poetry alone that our French neighbours have exerted themselves to make the *amende honorable* to the injured memory of their national heroine. As far back as the middle of the last century, Lenglet Dufresnoy had published a history of the Maid of Orleans, abridged from the manuscript compilation of Richer ; which was succeeded by the still more copious work of M. de Laverdy, during the early part of the revolution. The restoration of the Bourbons, and the taste for mediæval and "Catholic" subjects, which it brought in its train, gave a new impulse to this line of study : M. Berriat Saint-Prix endeavoured to bring the adventures of Joan into an accurate chronological arrangement ; and M. Lebrun de Charmettes gave an abstract of her history, with detailed accounts of the proceedings in her cause, taken from the original manuscript documents preserved in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*. But by far the most important and the most valuable of the recent historical labours on this subject, is the publication of the original documents themselves by M. Quicherat, under the auspices of the *Société de l'Histoire de France*. The work is to be preceded, in a fourth volume, by a general introduction ; but the three volumes which are before the public, contain the whole of the judicial proceedings instituted for the condemnation of Joan, and afterwards for her *réhabilitation*, together with some extrajudicial pieces written during her lifetime.

These authentic documents contain ample and most interesting materials for appreciating the real character of the mysterious maiden; and if they disprove the supposition of her being a delegate of heaven, which M. Lebrun endeavours to support, they furnish equally clear evidence that she was neither herself an impostor, nor the dupe and tool of a crafty policy; but that, in whatever way the phenomenon may be accounted for, she was herself sincerely persuaded of her divine mission, and of the reality of her visions.

The witnesses examined in the place of her birth unanimously depose to the spotless character of her childhood and youth. She was the daughter of poor, but honest and respectable rustics, and down to the time of her sallying forth for the rescue of France from the English yoke, she had never left her parents. Her occupations were of the same nature as those of other girls in her station: she was employed in spinning and in household work; sometimes she followed the plough with her father; and when his turn came to provide for the custody of the cattle of the parish on the common pasture, the task was performed by her. For a short time the inhabitants of Dom Remi were obliged to fly in a body to Neufchateau, when she too went thither in the company of her parents. On their return they found their own village, and the church itself, reduced to ashes; a circumstance which appears to have made a strong impression on the mind of Joan.

Her education was of the most limited kind; it extended not beyond the knowledge of the Creed, the Pater-noster, and Ave-Maria, and such legendary lore of saints and angels as an intelligent girl, diligent in her attendance upon all the solemnities of Romish worship, could not fail to acquire. Her fervent piety was the only remarkable feature in her character; she was frequent and regular at confession and at the Holy Communion, heard mass on all the festivals, and when the bell for prayer sounded, she would either repair to the church, or else say her prayers standing, with her knees bent, in the place where she was. On Sundays it was her custom, moreover, to make a short pilgrimage to a chapel dedicated to "the Blessed Lady of Bermont," at a short distance from Dom Remi. She was liberal after her power in offerings to the Church, and in almsgiving, and took pleasure in solacing her sick neighbours.

Two points respecting the early life of Joan, which are generally introduced into the histories and poems, and which were much insisted on by her judges also, among the counts of the indictment, are wholly disposed of by the witnesses of Dom Remi,

and by Joan's own answers on her trial; viz. the allegation that she had for some time served the unfeminine office of ostler at an inn, and the legend about the haunted oak. The former was intended on her trial to support the general charge of looseness of conduct; and among a certain class of her biographers, the circumstance helps to explain the interest which she took in the political events of the day, by the various tales of wayfaring and warfaring men, with which in that situation she is supposed to have become familiar. It turns out, however, on inquiry, that the whole is a perversion of the simple fact, that during the flight of the people of Dom Remi to Neufchateau, she lent a helping hand, in the general confusion, to the mistress of the house in which, with her parents, she had taken refuge for a few days.

As for the haunted oak, it appears that there was indeed a fine old beech-tree not far from her native village, under which the old gossips would have it that the fairies used to hold their nightly revels in days of yore. But in the days of Joan's childhood it was chiefly noted as the favourite resort of the promenaders of all ranks and ages; and on certain village holidays in spring and autumn, and especially on the Sunday called *Des Fontaines*, or the Sunday *Lætare Jerusalem*, i. e. the fourth Sunday in Lent, it was the custom for the maidens of the village to repair to the old beech, which they decorated with wreaths of flowers, danced and sang around it, and afterwards feasted under its shade upon cakes baked for the occasion, and drank of a brook which ran close by it. Whatever connexion this custom might have had originally with superstitious notions about the fairies, it is clear that it had long ceased to be regarded in any other light than that of innocent mirth; for, as one of the witnesses gravely deposes, "although it was anciently reported that the fairies met there, yet he had never seen any of them, nor had he ever heard in his own lifetime of their meeting under that tree." In this amusement it appears that Joan had usually taken part, in her younger years, with the other girls of the village; and this circumstance was on her trial tortured into an evidence of her dealing with "familiar spirits." In two respects this part of her examination is curious and interesting; first, because it affords a striking illustration of the unfair nature of the proceedings against her; and, secondly, because her answers prove how clearly she distinguished in her own mind between fairy superstitions, which she utterly repudiated, and the heavenly visitations of which she believed herself to be the favoured object. Notwithstanding that she disclaimed all knowledge of, or belief in the fairies or their power, and gave repeatedly the fullest explanation

of the merry doings under the beech-tree, in which, moreover, she herself had never taken any part after she had come to years of discretion, the matter is thus articulated against her:—

“V. ITEM, near the said village of Dom Remi there is a certain great, large, and ancient tree, commonly called *l'arbre charmine faée de Bourlemont*, and near the said tree there is a certain brook; round which certain evil spirits, called *Fata*, French, *faées*, are said to be conversant; with which they who deal in witchcraft are wont to dance at night, going round the said tree and brook.

“VI. ITEM, the said Joan was in the habit of frequenting the said brook and tree, and that for the most part at night; sometimes in the day, and chiefly at the hours at which divine service is celebrated in church, in order that she might be alone; and she danced and went round the tree and brook aforesaid; and afterwards hung up on the branches of the same tree sundry wreaths of divers plants and flowers, made with her own hands, saying and singing, both before and after, certain songs and spells, with certain invocations, sorceries, and other black arts; all which on the following morning were not to be found there.”—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. pp. 210, 211.

And in the summary of the indictment, which was submitted to various doctors and learned bodies, and among others to the University of Paris, for their opinion thereon, and which formed the basis of the sentence of condemnation, the same charge is introduced in connexion with her visions; an admission having been extorted from her that she might have heard her “voices” sometimes near that tree, as well as elsewhere:

“And that the said saints, Catherine and Margaret, sometimes spoke to her, near a certain brook, by the side of a large tree, commonly called *l'arbre des fées*; of which brook and tree it is commonly reported that the fairies (*Fatales Dominæ*) resort thither, and that sundry persons afflicted with fever repair to the said brook and tree, in order to recover their health, although they be situated in a profane spot. Which fairies she then and elsewhere repeatedly venerated, and did them reverence.”—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. p. 328.

Whereupon “the sacred faculty of theology in the University of Paris” came to the following wise conclusion:—

“That the said revelations [of St. Catherine and St. Margaret] are either feigned, seducing, and pernicious lies, or else the aforesaid apparitions and revelations are superstitious, proceeding from the malignant and diabolical spirits, Belial, Satan, and Behemoth.”—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. p. 414.

For our own part, we greatly prefer, touching this matter of

the fairies, the conclusions of Joan herself, who, in answer to the numberless interrogatories addressed to her on the subject, could never be got further than to say, that "she never saw them," that "she did not believe in them," or else, that "they must be sorceries."

The next interesting point in the history, is Joan's departure from her home, to come to the rescue of the Dauphin, at the bidding, as she herself uniformly maintained, of her "voices." Of this, the deposition of her uncle *Durand Laxart* gives the following account:—

"That he himself went to fetch her from her father's house, and brought her to his own home; and she told witness, that she wanted to go to France to the Dauphin, to cause him to be crowned, saying, 'Was it not said of old, that France should be laid waste by a woman, and afterwards restored by a virgin?' And with this she told witness to go to Robert de Baudricour, to tell him that he should have her conducted to the place where M. le Dauphin was. And the said Robert several times told the witness to take her back to her father's house, and to box her ears; and when the Maid saw that he, Robert, would not cause her to be conducted to the place where the Dauphin was, she took his, witness's, clothes, and said she wanted to depart; and when she departed, witness brought her to Vaucouleurs³; and after she had got there, she was taken with a safe-conduct to Lord Charles, Duke of Lorraine; and when the duke saw her, he spoke to her, and the said Lord Charles gave her four francs, which she, Joan, showed to witness; and then when she, Joan, had returned to Vaucouleurs, the inhabitants of the town of Vaucouleurs bought her man's clothes, boots, greaves, and other necessities; and he, witness, and James Alain of Vaucouleurs, bought her a horse for twelve francs, which they made their own debt; however, afterwards, Lord Robert of Baudricour caused it to be paid. And this being done, John of Metis, Bertrand of Poulengey, Colet of Vienne, and Richard the archer, with two servitors of the said John of Metz and of Bertrand, brought the said Joan to the place where the said Dauphin was. And, as the said witness has now deposed, so did he formerly state all these things to the king; nor does he know aught else, except that he saw her at Rheims, at the king's coronation."—*Procès de Réhabilitation*, t. ii. pp. 444, 445.

The John of Metis, or Metz, here mentioned, was John de Novelonpont, whose deposition supplies several particulars which throw light on the state of mind in which Joan was at the outset of her expedition; among others, the reply which she made to

³ M. Quicherat here suspects a clerical error, and proposes the reading "St. Nicolas," instead of "Vaucouleurs;" as the *Chronique de Lorraine* says it was at Vaucouleurs that Robert de Baudricour was staying, and at Nancy that Joan met the Duke of Lorraine.

the inquiries of her host at Vaucouleurs, respecting the object of her journey :

“ I am come here to this royal place, to speak to Robert de Baudricour, that he should conduct me, or have me conducted, to the king ; but he does not care for me or my words. Nevertheless, before the middle of Lent I must to the king, if I should walk my legs off up to the knee-joints. For no one in the world, neither kings, nor dukes, nor the king of Scotland’s daughter, nor any others, can recover the kingdom of France ; nor is there any help for it, except from me ; although I would rather spin by the side of my poor mother ; for this is not my proper state ; but I must go and do this, because my Lord wills that I should do so.”—*Procès de Réhabilitation*, t. ii. p. 436.

During their progress to Chinon, which, on account of the difficulty of passing through a country occupied by the English and the Burgundians, took eleven days, John of Metz says that he asked her whether she thought she should accomplish what she professed. Her answer was, that

“ They need not be afraid ; that she had commandment so to do, because her brethren from Paradise told her what she was to do ; and that for four or five years past her brethren from Paradise, and her Lord, that is God, had told her that she must go to war for the recovery of the kingdom of France.”—*Ibid.* pp. 437, 438.

Where the evidence of John de Novelonpont stops, the thread of the history is taken up by the depositions of several witnesses who were present when she arrived at Chinon. Among them is Simon Charles, president of the *chambre des comptes*, whose account of the reception she met with at the hands of the Dauphin is as follows :—

“ This deponent knows that when the said Joan arrived at the town of Chinon, it was debated in council whether the king should give her audience or not. And first they questioned her what she came for, and what she wanted. Although she would say nothing unless she spoke to the king, yet she was compelled by the king’s command to state the object of her mission, and she said that she had two things in command from the King of heaven ; namely, first, that she should raise the siege of Orléans ; and secondly, that she should lead the king to Rheims to be crowned and anointed. Whereupon some of the king’s councillors said, that the king ought not to give any credence to the said Joan ; and others, that since she professed to be sent by God, and that she had certain matters to speak to the king, the king ought at least to give her audience. However, the king directed that she should first be examined by clerks and ecclesiastics, which was done accordingly. And at last, though with difficulty, it was settled that

the king should give her an audience. And when she was coming into the castle of Chinon to be brought into the king's presence, the king still, by the advice of the chief men of his court, hesitated to have an interview with her, until it was reported to the king, that Robert de Baudricour had written to him, that he had sent to him a certain woman, and that she had been led thither through the country of the king's enemies, and had almost miraculously forded many rivers in order to be brought to the king. And upon this the king was moved to hear her, and accordingly an audience was granted to the said Joan. And when the king knew she was coming, he stood aside from the others; nevertheless, Joan knew him well, and did him reverence; and for a long space she spoke with the king. And having heard her, the king seemed to be glad. And then the king, still unwilling to do any thing, unless he had advice from ecclesiastics, sent the said Joan again to the town of Poitiers, there to be examined by the clerks of the University of Poitiers; and after the king knew she had been so examined, and when it was reported to him that nothing but good was found in her, the king caused armour to be made for her, and gave her troops, and took order in the matter of the war."—*Procès de Réhabilitation*, t. iii. pp. 115, 116.

This unvarnished tale of President Simon Charles does away with two of the extraordinary circumstances generally introduced into the history of Joan; viz. her alleged miraculous recognition of the king, and the revelation of some matter which could only be known to the king himself, by which she is said to have proved to the king the reality of her divine mission. As regards the former, it appears clearly from the deposition of President Charles, that so far from concealing himself among his courtiers, and getting one of them to personate him, which is the common version of the story, on the contrary, Charles was, on her entrance into the room, standing apart from the rest; in a position, therefore, in which it was most natural that Joan should direct her steps to him, almost instinctively; nor is it in the least surprising that afterwards she herself should, as it appears from her answers on her trial she did, attribute her fortunate identification of the king to the guidance of her "voices." As regards the story about some secret said to have been revealed to the king by Joan, the statement of President Charles is altogether inconsistent with it. If Joan had given to the king such positive and irrefragable evidence of her divine mission, as the revelation of a secret of which his own heart and the Omniscient alone were cognizant, there could have been no occasion for her being remanded to the ecclesiastics of the University of Poitiers for further examination. And even supposing that after such conclusive evidence of her being the delegate of heaven, the king had still desired to fortify himself by the advice of the Church, at

all events the fact of such a revelation made to him must have been one of the points, or rather the principal point, referred to the theologians of Poitiers. But of this there is no trace whatever; on the contrary, the qualified terms in which the University expressed its opinion leads to the conclusion, that Joan had nothing but her enthusiasm, and her own account of her visions, to produce in attestation of the divine commission to which she laid claim. The most competent witness, touching the examinations which Joan underwent upon that occasion, is Séguin, the dean of the faculty of theology in the University of Poitiers, who deposes to the following effect:—

“They put to the said Joan sundry questions, and among other questions, Master John Lombart asked her wherefore she had come, and that the king desired to know what had moved her to come to the king; and she replied in a lofty manner, that while she was keeping cattle, a certain voice appeared to her, which told her that God had great pity on the people of France, and that she, Joan, must go to France. Who, on hearing this, began to weep; and then the voice told her she must go to Vaucouleurs, where she should find a certain captain, who would bring her safely into France, and to the king; and that she must not be of a doubtful mind; and that she did so, and had come to the king without any impediment. And Master William Aymeri asked her, ‘Thou hast said, that the voice told thee, that God wishes to deliver the people of France from their present calamity. If God will deliver them, it is not necessary to have armed men.’ To which the said Joan replied: ‘*En nom Dieu*, the men of arms will fight, and God will give them victory.’ With which answer the said Master William was [as well he might be] content.

“And he, deponent, asked her in what language the voice spoke to her; to which she answered, that it spoke better than he, deponent (who was speaking in the Limousin dialect). And again he asked her, whether she believed in God; to which again she answered, yes, better than he, deponent. And then deponent told the said Joan, that it was not God’s will that she should be believed, unless some other reason should appear why credence should be given her; and that they should not advise the king that upon her bare assertions armed troops should be given to her and placed in jeopardy, unless she had something else to allege. To which she answered, ‘*En nom Dieu*, I am not come to Poitiers to work signs; but lead me to Orléans, and I will show you the signs for which I am sent,’ and that troops should be given to her, in such number as should seem good to themselves, and that then she would go to Orléans. And then she told to deponent and to the other persons present four things which were yet to come, and which afterwards happened. First, she said that the English would be destroyed, and that the siege of Orléans would be raised, and the town of Orléans be delivered from the English; but she would first summon them.

Secondly, that the king would be anointed at Rheims. Thirdly, that the town of Paris would be brought back to the king's obedience; and, that the Duke of Orléans would return from England. All which things he, deponent, has seen accomplished. And all these things they reported to the council of the king; and they were of opinion that, considering the imminent distress and danger in which the town of Orléans was, the king might avail himself of her services, and send her to Orléans."—*Procès de Réhabilitation*, t. iii. pp. 204, 205.

If we deduct from this evidence the matters which transpired afterwards, viz. the alleged fulfilment of the four predictions, it evidently appears that the faculty of Poitiers, though forced at last to rest content with Joan's bare assertion in evidence of her divine mission, because she frankly acknowledged she had no other evidence to adduce, was by no means satisfied on the subject; and the same is apparent from the evidence of Francis Garivel, one of the king's councillors, who, after enumerating the members of the commission appointed for the examination of Joan at Poitiers, says:

"They examined the said Joan sundry times, and repeatedly for the space of about three weeks, visiting her and weighing all she did and said; but finally, considering her condition and her answers, they said that the Maid was a simple girl, who, being questioned by them, *persisted in this answer*, viz. that she was sent by the God of heaven for the benefit of the noble Dauphin, to restore him to his kingdom, to raise the siege of Orléans, and to lead him to Rheims to be anointed; but that she must first summon the English, and write to them that they should depart, forasmuch as this was the will of heaven. . . .

"Further, that the said Joan was told by the said clerks, that she ought to show some sign, by which it might be believed that she was sent from God; but that she answered them, that the sign given her by God was, that she should raise the siege of Orléans, and that she did not doubt that this would come to pass, if the king would give her ever so small a company of armed men. . . .

"At last, after a long consideration held by clerks of the different faculties for a long time, deponent says, that they all determined and concluded, that the king might lawfully receive her, and that she might lead a company of armed men before Orléans, because they found nothing in her, except what was catholic, and quite agreeable with reason."—*Procès de Réhabilitation*, t. iii. pp. 20, 21.

The inference to which these depositions lead, that in advising the king to avail himself of Joan's services, the University was influenced by the consideration of the present necessities of Charles, rather than by any certain conclusions at which her examiners had arrived as to the validity of her claim to be regarded as an inspired messenger of God, is abundantly confirmed by the

document itself, in which the opinions of the examiners were summed up, and which M. Quicherat gives in the Appendix to the third volume of his work. It runs as follows :—

“THIS IS THE OPINION OF THE DOCTORS, OF WHOM THE KING HAS INQUIRED, TOUCHING THE FACT OF THE MAID SENT FROM GOD.

“The king, *considering the distress of himself and of his kingdom*, and considering the constant prayers to God of his poor people, and of all others who love peace and justice, ought not to repel nor to reject the Maid who asserts herself to be sent from God to bring him help, *notwithstanding that her promises are mere human works; neither on the other hand ought he to believe in her hastily and lightly*; but following holy Scripture, he ought to prove her in two ways: that is to say, by human prudence, making inquiry of her life, her character, and her purpose; as saith St. Paul the Apostle: ‘Try the spirits, whether they be of God⁴;’ and by devout prayer, asking a sign of some divine work or promise, by which it may be possible to decide that she is come from the will of God. Thus God commanded Ahaz to ask a sign, when God promised him victory, saying unto him: ‘Ask thee a sign of the Lord;’ and even so did Gideon, who asked a sign, and several others, &c.

“The king, since the arrival of the said Maid, has observed and put in practice the two methods before named; that is to say, trial by human prudence, and by prayer, asking a sign of God. As for the former, *i. e.* by human prudence, he has caused the said Maid to be tried concerning her life, her birth, her character, her purpose, and has caused her to be kept near him, for full the space of six weeks, in order to show her to all people, whether clerks, ecclesiastics, devout people, men of arms, wives, widows, and others. And publicly and privately she has conversed with all people; but no evil is found in her, nor aught but good, humility, virginity, devotion, honesty, simpleness; and of her birth and her life several marvellous things are alleged to be true. As for the second mode of trial, *the king asked a sign of her, to which she answers, that before the town of Orléans she will show it, and not by aught in any other place, for so it is commanded her by God.*

“The king, considering the trial made of the said Maid, as far as is possible for him, and that no evil is found in her, and considering her answer, which is to show a divine token before Orléans; considering her constancy and perseverance in her speech, and her pressing entreaties to go to Orléans, in order to show there the sign of divine succour, ought not to hinder her from going to Orléans with his men of arms, but ought to have her honourably conducted thither, hoping in God. For to doubt or dismiss her, without appearance of evil, would be to strive against the Holy Ghost, and to render himself unworthy

⁴ This quotation under the name of St. Paul is a mistake; the passage occurs in 1 John iv. 1.

of the aid of God, as said Gamaliel in a council of the Jews in regard to the Apostles."—*Opinions et Mémoires extrajudiciaires*, t. iii. pp. 391, 392.

Nothing can be clearer or more conclusive as to the light in which Joan was regarded both by the king and by the University of Poitiers. The evidence of her divine mission was insufficient; there was nothing but her own bare assertion; a sign in attestation had been asked, and Joan had not only not shown one, but had declared,—and that on the ground of an alleged command from God,—that no other sign was to be given until she came to Orleans. Her assertion was admitted so far, as to cause the experiment of sending her to Orleans, agreeably to her wish, to be made; not, however, on the ground of her being acknowledged as God's messenger, but on these two grounds: first, that no evil was found in her, or, as one of the witnesses expresses it, nothing contrary to the Catholic faith and to common sense; and, secondly, that in the desperate condition in which Charles' affairs then were, her services were not to be refused without giving her the trial she asked for.

That a marvellous tale about some secret revealed to the king by Joan, got abroad soon after, is indeed evident, and appears in the depositions of several of the witnesses; but the evidence of the only competent witness, if such a fact had actually existed, that of the king himself, is wanting. All the rest is mere hearsay evidence, and is the less to be relied upon, as it is given by persons who not only were impressed with a belief in the reality of the divine mission of Joan, and predisposed to give credence to any miraculous story respecting her, but who felt an interest—and that an interest of the very strongest kind—in establishing her character as a divine messenger; the only alternative which presented itself to their minds, for the reversal of the sentence which had branded her as a heretic and a witch. Such evidence as this cannot for a moment come into competition with the depositions respecting the examination of Joan at Poitiers, and with the official document, in which the opinion of the University was delivered to the king; from which it clearly appears, that not only the king had not had any sign,—such as the revelation of a secret known only to God and to his own heart,—but that desiring a sign, he had been disappointed of it; that, in fact, Joan herself declared, and for several weeks continued to declare, that *she had, by God's command, no other sign to show, in attestation of her divine mission, but the success which she expected to have at Orleans.*

For that success, and the other military successes which followed, it is not difficult to account; nor does the fact, that Joan

announced them beforehand, give her the least claim to the character of a prophetess. The anticipation of these successes was part and parcel of the enthusiastic loyalty for her king, and zeal for the cause of the Armagnac party, which prompted her whole enterprise; and the successes themselves were the natural consequence of the enthusiasm which she felt, and with which the popular belief in her divine mission inspired the king's troops, while the Burgundian and English troops were panic-struck by her extraordinary appearance on the scene of action. Nor must the military tact and good generalship be lost sight of, which Joan appears to have possessed in a striking degree, and of which the depositions of the military leaders make repeated mention, even as the witnesses who depose to the circumstances of her trial, speak of the extraordinary quickness and discretion with which she replied to the perplexing questions addressed to her by her iniquitous judges; the concurrent testimony of both proving, that, independently of her religious exaltation, Joan was a woman of strong mind and great natural ability.

Upon these grounds it is demonstrable, that not only up to the time of her starting from Chinon, on her career of victory, but further on to the time of her capture, her case presents nothing whatever that renders it necessary to suppose the intervention of a supernatural agency. On the contrary, there is a strong presumption against such a supposition: for, after a solemn examination of her case, it was distinctly declared that it was deficient in those attestations by which a miraculous interposition of God is generally, not to say invariably, accompanied; Joan herself admitting her inability to adduce such attestations as were required of her; and that which was afterwards taken as a proof of her divine mission,—viz. the success which attended her,—was so obviously the result of the effects which her own enthusiastic belief in her divine mission produced upon both armies, that it is of no weight whatever, as an evidence of the reality of her alleged mission.

So far, then, the question whether she was, as she professed to be, an inspired messenger of heaven, or else, which is the only other alternative in the supposition of supernatural agency, an emissary of hell, is decidedly an open question; the ultimate solution of which depends upon the circumstances which transpired subsequently to her capture. Against the last-named alternative it is scarcely necessary to argue; as for various other reasons, so especially because of the unaffected piety evinced by Joan throughout her career and during her trials, and of the constancy of faith exhibited by her in suffering a death, which, if it is not entitled to be accounted as martyrdom, is the nearest conceivable

approach to it. It is impossible to watch the tone which her mind maintained all through the oppressive and captious proceedings to which she was subjected, and to peruse the abundant testimony borne by many witnesses to her edifying conduct under the agony of her last sufferings, without arriving at the conclusion that she was, however mistaken and self-deceived she might be in some respects, at heart a sincere Christian.

This being a settled point, the only question that remains to be considered is, what reasons there may be for admitting, or else rejecting, the idea that she was the delegate of heaven. The reasons which, in our opinion, render that idea inadmissible, are chiefly of two kinds.

In the first place, her accounts of the supernatural visitations of which she believed herself the object, are so completely cast in the mould of Romish superstition, that the belief in the reality of her visions involves the admission of the whole system of Mariolatry and Hagiolatry of the Romish Church. Without entering into the speculative question, as to the credibility of a visible intervention of angels and departed saints in the affairs of this world, during the progress of the present dispensation, it is quite certain that according to one of the canons for the trial of pretensions to a divine mission, laid down in Holy Scripture⁵, even the fulfilment of any prediction, or other miraculous sign, is not to be received as evidence of a divine mission, if the person professing to be an inspired messenger be chargeable with idolatrous doctrines or practices. Forasmuch, then, as the intercession and protection of other mediators, than the "one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus," is the fundamental idea upon which the whole fabric of the alleged visions of Joan is built, we hold, that whatever other explanation may be given of those visions, and whatever allowances made for Joan's education in the superstitions of Rome, in estimating her personal character, the idea of her being in reality the bearer of a divine commission, must, upon this ground alone, be altogether repudiated.

The other reason for which such a notion is untenable, is the failure of her predictions, and the disappointment of her expectations in a variety of instances. At the very outset of her career she expected, from what her "voices" told her, a very dif-

⁵ "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul."—Deut. xiii. 1—3.

ferent reception at the hands of Robert de Baudricour, than the sedative of boxing her ears, which the said knight somewhat ungallantly recommended her uncle to administer to her. Still more contrary to her expectations was the delay to which she had to submit at Chinon, before the king consented to give her audience, and afterwards when he remanded her before the University of Poitiers. The disappointment which she felt, and the impatience which she exhibited under it, are altogether at variance with the foreknowledge which she professed to have of the course to be pursued by her. Of her capture before Compiègne she said she had warning, though she knew not the day nor the hour; and her leap from the tower of Beaurevoir she stated afterwards to have been an act of disobedience to her "voices." But although she adopted that conclusion while labouring under the ill effects of her fall, it is evident from her own statement that the object of her leap was not, as her judges endeavoured to make it out, to commit suicide, but that she hoped thereby to effect her own escape, and afterwards to rescue Compiègne from the English. She cast herself down, "recommending herself to God and the Virgin," in the confident expectation that the supernatural protection of which she had no doubt that she was the object, would carry her safely through it.

The most signal failure, however, of her prophetic anticipations, connected with her own personal history, is the fact of her condemnation and death. For this she was evidently quite unprepared; on the contrary, she asserted repeatedly during the course of her trial, that she knew from her "voices" that she would be liberated. In her sixth examination, on the 3rd of March, being asked whether her "voices" had made any communication to her as to her escape from prison, she at first evaded the question, but afterwards said:

"Yes, verily; they told me that I should be delivered, but I know not the day nor the hour; and that I should boldly put on a cheerful countenance."—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. p. 94.

Again, on the 14th of March, being asked respecting certain menaces which she had uttered against the Bishop of Beauvais, telling him that he was incurring great danger by the proceedings he took against her, she replied, that

"St. Catherine told her she should have help; but she does not know whether it will be by her being liberated from prison, or by some disturbance arising when she shall be brought forth to judgment, by means of which she may be delivered. And she reckons that it must be the one or the other."—*Ibid.* p. 155.

And three days after, when it was intimated to her what fate she was likely to meet with, if she persisted in her refusal to recant and submit herself to the Church, she answered—

“She would rather die than recant what she did at God’s bidding ; and she believes firmly that God will not suffer it to come to pass that she should be brought so low, but that she shall speedily have help from God, and that by miracle.”—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. p. 176.

It is not, however, in matters connected with her own person only, that her prophetic character is at fault ; there are two of the facts which, according to the deposition of Dean Séguin (see above, pp. 237, 238), she predicted as early as her examination at Poitiers, which cannot be considered as having been fulfilled in the manner in which she predicted them ; viz. the liberation of the Duke of Orleans, then a prisoner in England, and the evacuation of France by the English. As regards the former, he was liberated, it is true, not quite ten years after her death ; but only on the payment of a large ransom ; whereas the prediction of Joan pointed to a deliverance by the victorious power of the French arms under her command. The style of deliverance which she contemplated, appears clearly in her examination on the 12th of March :—

“Being asked how she would have delivered the Duke of Orleans, she answered, that she would have taken a sufficient number of English prisoners on this side the sea to get him back ; and if she had not taken a sufficient number on this side, she would have crossed the sea, to go into England and bring him away with power.

“Being asked whether St. Catherine and St. Margaret had told her absolutely and unconditionally, that she should either take sufficient prisoners to get back the Duke of Orleans, then in England, or else cross the sea, to go and bring him away, she answered, yes, and that she told the king so, and that he should let her treat about the English lords who were then prisoners. She says further, that if she had continued for three years without hindrance, she would herself have delivered the said duke. Also she says, that the time appointed for doing this was less than three years and more than one ; but of this she has no recollection.”—*Ibid.* t. i. pp. 133, 134.

If we compare with this the actual facts of the case as they fell out, it is impossible to agree with the opinion of Séguin and others, who consider the fulfilment of her prediction respecting the liberation of the Duke of Orleans, as one of the evidences of her divine mission. Still less will her predictions touching the evacuation of France by the English bear investigation. On this subject, also, she prophesied, as has been seen, during her exami-

nation at Poitiers ; and though we have no record of the particulars of that prediction, further than that she predicted the destruction of the English, the expectations which she entertained, may be gathered distinctly enough from the letter of summons and defiance which she addressed to the King of England and the Duke of Bedford, and of which M. Quicherat's collection contains a fuller and more authentic copy than that which is generally contained in the histories. It is to the following effect :—

“ + Jhesus Maria. +

“ King of England, and you, Duke of Bedford, who call yourself the regent of the kingdom of France ; you, William de la Poule, count of Sulford ; John Lord of Talebot ; and you, Thomas Lord of Escalles, who call yourselves lieutenants of the said Duke of Bedford, render account to the King of heaven. Surrender to the Maid⁶, who is sent hither from God, the King of heaven, the keys of all the good towns which ye have taken and violated in France. She is come hither from God to reclaim the blood royal. She is all ready to make peace, if you will render her an account, on these terms, that you renounce France and pay for your holding of it. And as for you, archers, companions of war, nobles, and others, who are before the town of Orléans, go away to your own country, by God's command ; and if you do not do so, expect news from the Maid, who will soon come to visit you to your very great hurt. King of England, if you do not do so, I am chief of the war⁶, and in whatever place I shall overtake your people in France, I shall make them go away, whether they will or no ; and if they will not obey, I shall cause them all to be slain. I am sent hither from God, the King of heaven, body for body⁶, to drive you out of all France. And if they will obey, I shall show them mercy. And do not hold by your opinion, for you shall not obtain the kingdom of France from God, the King of heaven, Son of St. Mary ; but King Charles, the true heir, shall obtain it ; for God, the King of heaven, wills it, and it is revealed to him by the Maid ; who shall enter into Paris with goodly company. If ye will not believe the news from God and the Maid, in whatever place we find you, we shall break into it, and raise such a mighty halloo, that for a thousand years past the like has not been heard in France, if you do not render an account. And believe firmly, that the King of heaven will send more strength to the Maid, than you will be able to bring against her, at every onset,

⁶ The letter as here given was acknowledged by Joan herself on her trial, with the exception of the three expressions above noted. Instead of “surrender to the maid,” she said she dictated “surrender to the king :” she also denied having taken the title “chief of the war ;” and she repudiated the obscure expression “body for body” (*corps pour corps*). M. Quicherat, however, says that these expressions occur in all the most authentic copies of the letter ; and supposes that either Joan's memory must have misled her, or else that the person to whom she dictated the letter must have inserted them, to make the document more forcible. See note 2, t. i. p. 55.

against her and against her good men of arms; and by the blows it will be seen who shall have the better right from the King of heaven. You, Duke of Bedford, the Maid prays and requires you, that you cause not yourself to be destroyed. If you render her an account, you may even yet come into her company, when the French will do the fairest deed that ever was done for Christianity. And make answer if you will make peace in the city of Orléans; and if you do not do so, of your very great hurt be you briefly reminded. Written this Tuesday in Holy Week."—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. pp. 240, 241.

Not only did Joan in her examination acknowledge this letter as her own, disclaiming the suggestion of its having been dictated by some of the French lords, and maintaining that it was, with the exceptions noted, indited by her; but she further explained the sense in which she understood its contents; for she added,

"Before seven years the English shall lose a greater stake than they did before Orléans, and they shall lose all in France. She also says, that the aforesaid English shall suffer a greater loss than they ever suffered in France; and that will be by a great victory which God shall send to the French. Being asked how she knows this, she answered: 'I know this well by the revelation which was given to me; and that it will happen before seven years; and I should be very wroth if it should be delayed so long.' She also said that she knew this by revelation, just as well as she knew that we were there before her. Being asked when this should happen, she answered, she did not know the day, nor the hour. Being asked in what year it should happen, she answered: 'You shall not have it yet; but I should like it very much to happen before the feast of St. John.' Being asked whether she had said that this should happen before the feast of St. Martin, in the winter, she answered, that she had said, that before the feast of St. Martin, in the winter, many things would be seen; and that it was possible there might be Englishmen who should be laid low on the ground. Being asked what she said to John Gris, her guard, concerning the said feast of St. Martin, she answered: 'I have told you.' Being asked from whence she knew that this would come to pass, she answered, she knew it from St. Catherine and St. Margaret."—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. pp. 84, 85.

That the events of history do not correspond with these anticipations, it is needless to observe: five years elapsed before Charles recovered possession of Paris, thirteen years before even a truce was agreed to; after a few years hostilities were resumed, and it was not till twenty years after the death of Joan that a peace was concluded, which still left the English masters of Calais, and they maintained their footing there for more than a century after. But not only do the events themselves not correspond with the predictions of Joan, but from the manner in which

she expressed them, it is moreover evident that she expected to bear a principal part in all the achievements to which she so confidently looked forward.

It is, no doubt, to these inconsistencies between her prophetic announcements, and the course which events afterwards took, that we must attribute the fact that the Roman Church carried her case no further than the reversal of the sentence pronounced against her. It was felt, that however unjustly she might have been dealt with⁷, there was something unsatisfactory in the abrupt termination of a career commenced with such high promise, and in the evident failure of some of her predictions; otherwise her death must have secured her a place among the martyrs, if her life did not entitle her to a place among the saints, of the Roman calendar. Of either she was certainly far more worthy than John Guignard, or Henry Garnett; nor was there in her visions any thing to render them suspicious to Romish theologians; their whole character being infinitely superior every way to the ridiculous and profane legends with which the acts of canonization usually abound.

On the whole, then, the result of the documents now published, tends to strengthen the conclusion arrived at before by the best informed among those who have investigated her marvellous story, that the idea of a supernatural agency, and of a real commission from heaven, supported by extraordinary visions, is altogether inadmissible; and that, as the notion of imposture is equally untenable, there remains no other explanation to be given of the whole phenomenon but this, that her visions were the effect of the excitement produced in her mind by the extraordinary character of the times in which her lot was cast, and probably by some of the prophecies then current respecting the liberation of France by a maid; one of which, as we have already seen, she referred to at the outset of her career. There is one very curious circumstance, and which, it must be admitted, carries with it a certain degree of suspicion as to the perfect good faith of Joan; and that is, her frequent refusal to reply to questions which related either to the Dauphin or to her apparitions. Possibly this may be accounted for by the great

⁷ We have no room to enter into the particulars of the scandalous malpractices which marked the whole course of the judicial proceeding against Joan, and of which the *Procès de Réhabilitation* contains abundant evidence; but we cannot forbear mentioning the affecting statement of Manchon, one of the priest notaries employed in taking down the depositions, who at the close of his testimony respecting the manner in which the proceedings were conducted, and the edifying fortitude with which Joan suffered death, adds, that "with the money paid him for his trouble and labour in the process he bought a missal, that he might remember her, and pray to God for her."—*Procès de Réhabilitation*, t. iii. p. 150.

reverence which she felt for the latter, and by her devoted loyalty to her rightful sovereign, touching whose affairs she might not feel herself at liberty to make any statements to his declared enemies. The following extract will give our readers an idea of the manner in which she kept her judges at bay by a reference to her "voices :"—

"She said that last night she heard a voice telling her to answer boldly. Being asked whether the voice prohibited her from stating all that was asked of her, she said : 'I shall not answer you on this point. And I have revelations touching the king, which I shall not tell you.' Being asked if the voice had prohibited her from telling these revelations, she answered : 'I have no instruction about it. Give me a fortnight, and I will answer you on this point.' And having asked a further delay, she said : 'If the voice prohibits me, what will you say to that?' Being again asked if it was forbidden her, she answered : 'You may believe that men have not forbidden it me.' She also said, that she would not answer the question that day, and that she did not know whether she should answer it or not, till it should be revealed to her. She also said, she firmly believed—as firmly as she believed the Christian faith, and that God has redeemed us from the pains of hell—that that voice comes from God, and by his appointment. Being asked whether that voice, which she said appeared to her, was an angel, or whether it came immediately from God, or whether it was the voice of any saint, male or female, she answered : 'That voice comes from God ; and I believe that I am not telling you quite all I know ; and I am more afraid of doing wrong by saying any thing that may be displeasing to these voices, than I am about answering you.'"
—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. p. 63.

Whatever might be the impression left on the mind by the former part of this examination, the latter part strongly tends to re-establish one's confidence in the sincerity of her belief ; the more so as she repeatedly expressed the conviction which she felt, that she was acting under the immediate command and guidance of God, in the strongest possible terms, yet without the least presumption. We select the following passages by way of example :—

"If you were rightly informed concerning me, you ought to wish that I was out of your hands. I have done nothing but by revelation."
Ibid. p. 51.

"She would rather be torn asunder by horses, than to have come into France without God's permission."—*Ibid.* p. 74.

"Being asked if she always did and fulfilled what the voices bid her, she answered, that to the best of her ability she fulfilled God's commandment given her by her voices, as far as she understood it. And the voices give her no commandment without the will of God."—*Ibid.* p. 168.

When the articles of the indictment were read over to her, she observed upon the 15th article, which charged her with obduracy and disobedience to the Church, because she would not obey the directions of her judges in opposition to those of her voices :—

“She would rather die, than recall that which she had done by the commandment of our Lord.”—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. p. 227.

And on the 50th article being read, in which she was accused of frequently and daily invoking evil spirits, to which, as was charged against her, she gave the names of saints and angels, she answered :

“‘I have already made answer concerning them,’ and that she would call these voices to her aid so long as she lived. Being asked in what way she asked for them, she answered ; ‘I call upon God and our Lady to send me counsel and comfort, and then they send it me.’ Being asked in what words she asked, she answered, that she asked in this way, in French : ‘Most sweet God, in honour of thy holy passion, I pray Thee, if Thou lovest me, to reveal to me how I am to answer those Church folks. I know well, as to the clothes⁸, the commandment, how I¹ came to put them on ; but I know not by what means I shall leave them off. Therefore may it please Thee to teach it me.’ ”—*Ibid.* t. iii. p. 279.

This firmness of conviction did not forsake her even at the sight of the instruments of torture, which being shown her, she replied :

“Verily, if you should cause me to be torn limb from limb, and cause my soul to depart from my body, I will not tell you any thing else ; and if I should tell you any thing else, I shall ever after say that you drew it from me by force.”—*Ibid.* p. 400.

This bold declaration saved her from the rack, the majority of the court being averse to the infliction of barbarities so evidently unavailing against a resolution so bold and so constant.

Another point in her examination, which is not quite satisfactory, are certain statements made by her, touching an attendance of angels at her interview with Charles, and the conveyance to him by a messenger from heaven of a crown, richer than any

⁸ This has reference to the male apparel, which she said she put on by direction of her voices when she went to the war. Being required to resume female apparel, and refused permission to hear mass unless she did so, she was much troubled in conscience how she should act. She was ultimately prevailed on to comply at the time of her recantation ; but immediately after she resumed her male attire, it does not clearly appear for what reason, the evidence being contradictory ; and this fact was the principal allegation against her for procuring her execution as a relapsed heretic.

earthly crown ; statements which are not only at variance with historical fact, but in themselves so strange, that it is difficult to avoid the suspicion of intentional mystification of her judges, in the vague hope that the perplexity and delay occasioned thereby, might in some way or other serve her cause. Her own subsequent explanation, adopted by Theodorus de Læliis, auditor of the Rota, in his opinion on the process, that she spoke these things “in a figure,” is hardly satisfactory ; nor will it account for the whole of the statements in question. Possibly they may in part have arisen from the visions of her excited imagination, and have been made by her in all sincerity ; a supposition which is supported by one of her answers, in which she says, that “angels often come among Christians without being seen, and that she has often seen them among Christians.”

At all events it is perfectly clear from the general tenor of her depositions, and especially from the constancy of her affirmations immediately before her death, coupled with the pious resignation and heroic fortitude of that death, that she was herself firmly impressed with the reality of the visions she saw, and the voices she heard. A few passages taken here and there from the different examinations in support of this view of her case, and in illustration of the tone of her mind, and of her general character, is all that our limits will permit us to add on this part of our subject.

As regards her voices, the most remarkable of her statements are the following :—

“When she was thirteen years old, she had a voice from God, to assist her in directing her conduct ; and on the first occasion she was in great fear. The voice came about mid-day in the summer, in her father’s garden : she, Joan, had fasted on the day before” ; and she heard the voice on her right hand towards the Church, and she rarely hears it without a brightness. This brightness is on the same side on which the voice is heard ; but on that side there generally is a great brightness. And when she, Joan, came into France, she often heard that voice.”—*Procès de Condamnation*, 2nd sess. t. i. p. 52.

“Being asked whether it was the voice of an angel which spoke to her, or of a saint, male or female, or the voice of God immediately, she answered, that the voice was that of St. Catherine and of St. Margaret. And their figures were crowned with beautiful crowns, very rich and very precious. ‘And of this,’ she said, ‘I have licence from the Lord to

⁹ The connexion between her visions and previous fasting appears again ; for instance, in the third session she was asked what was the last time of her taking nourishment. She answered that she had neither eaten nor drank any thing since noon the day before, and added that she had “heard her voices both yesterday and to-day.”—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. p. 61.

tell; but if you doubt about it, you may send to Poitiers where I was questioned formerly.'"—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. p. 71.

"Being asked whether she had seen St. Michael and those angels" (whose appearance was before mentioned by her) "bodily and really, she answered: 'I saw them with my bodily eyes, as well as I see you; and when they departed from me, I wept, and wished they had taken me away with them.'"—*Ibid.* p. 73.

"She said also, that she was wounded in the neck by an arrow, at the storming of the bastille of Pont; but she received great comfort from St. Catherine, and was healed within a fortnight; nor did she on account of her wound cease to ride and to transact business."—*Ibid.* p. 79.

"She said also, that she would have died, if it were not for the revelation which daily comforts her."—*Ibid.* p. 88.

"She says that she feels great joy when she sees St. Michael; and she thinks she cannot be in mortal sin, since she sees him. She also says that St. Catherine and St. Margaret gladly hear her confession, occasionally, and in turns."—*Ibid.* p. 89.

"Being asked whether the angel did not fail her in regard to success, seeing she was taken prisoner, she answered, 'that she believes, since it so pleased God, that it is for the best she should have been taken.' Being asked whether the angel did not fail her in regard to gifts of grace, she answered, 'How should he fail me, since he daily comforts me?' And she understands him to say, that that comfort comes from St. Catherine and St. Margaret. Being asked whether she called those saints, or whether they came to her without being called, she answered, that they often came without being called; and at other times, if they did not come, she would speedily ask God to send them. Being asked whether those saints had ever failed to come when she called for them, she answered, she never wanted them, but she had them."—*Ibid.* pp. 126, 127.

Occasionally the questions put to her respecting her visions are impertinent to the last degree, especially when it is remembered that they were put by ecclesiastics of a Church, with whose legends the visions of Joan were perfectly consonant. But she generally replied to them with great propriety, and in a manner consistent with her belief in the reality of her visions. A few examples may suffice.

"Being asked how she knows whether what appears to her is a man or a woman, she answered, that she knew and distinguished them by their voices, and that they revealed themselves to her."—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. p. 85.

"Being asked if their hair (of St. Catherine and St. Margaret) was long and flowing, she answered, 'I do not know.' She also says she does not know if they had arms or any other definite members. Also she said that they spoke excellently and beautifully, and she per-

fectly understood them. Being asked how they spoke, if they had no members, she answered, 'I leave that to God.' She also said the voice was beautiful, sweet, and gentle, and spoke French. Being asked if St. Margaret spoke English, she answered, 'How should she speak English, seeing she does not side with the English?'—*Ibid.* p. 86.

"Being asked in what form St. Michael appeared to her, she answered, 'she saw no crown on him; and of his garments she knows nothing.' Being asked if he was naked, she answered, 'Do you think that God has not wherewith to clothe him?' Being asked whether he wore hair, she replied, 'Why should it have been cut off?'"—*Ibid.* 5th sess. p. 89.

"Being asked whether she believes that St. Michael and St. Gabriel have natural heads, she answered, 'I saw them with my own eyes, and I believe that they were those angels themselves, as firmly as I believe that there is a God.'"—*Ibid.* p. 93.

"Being asked in what part of her person she touched St. Catherine, she answered, 'You will get no more on this head.' Being asked whether she had ever kissed or embraced St. Catherine or St. Margaret, she answered that she had embraced them both. Being asked whether they had a nice smell, she answered, 'It is a good thing to know; they had a nice smell.' Being asked whether in embracing them she felt heat or any thing else, she answered, that she could not embrace them without feeling and touching them. Being asked in what part of their bodies she embraced them, the upper or lower, she answered, that it was more fitting to embrace them in the lower than in the upper part."—*Ibid.* pp. 185, 186.

While she thus skilfully parried the attempts of her judges to turn her apparitions into ridicule, or to involve her in some absurdity, she showed no less acuteness of mind in the replies which she made to a variety of difficult theological questions proposed to her, with the evident intention of entangling her in some constructive heresy. Some of these are very striking, and manifest great ability and a strong and sincere religious conviction.

"Being asked whether she knew herself to be in a state of grace, she answered: 'If I am not, may God bring me into it; and if I am, may God preserve me in it. There is nothing in the world I should be more sorry for than to know that I was not in a state of grace.' She said, moreover, that if she were in a state of sin, she believes the voices would not come to her."—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. p. 65.

"Being asked whether it was for any merit of her own that God sent his angel to her, she answered, that the angel came for a great purpose; and that she was in hopes her king would have believed that sign, and that men would cease to argue with her; and also that the angel came to give succour to the good people in the town of Orléans, and also for the merits of her king and of the good Duke of Orléans. Being asked why she had this mission more than any other, she

answered, that it pleased God to do this through a simple girl, in order to drive back the king's enemies."—*Ibid.* pp. 144, 145.

"Being asked, if, after her voices told her that she should finally go into Paradise, she holds herself assured that she shall be saved, and that she shall not be damned in hell, she answered that she firmly believes what those voices told her, namely, that she shall be saved, as firmly as if she were in Paradise already.—Being asked, if, after this revelation, she believes it impossible for her to sin mortally, she answered, 'I do not know, but leave it all to God.' And when she was told that this answer was of great weight, she answered, that she also accounts this a great treasure."—*Ibid.* p. 156.

"Being asked whether she knew that St. Catherine and St. Margaret hate the English, she answered, 'They love what God loves, and hate what God hates.'—Being asked whether God hated the English, she answered, that touching either the love or the hatred which God had towards the English, or how He would deal with them as to their souls, she knows nothing; but this she well knows, that they will be driven out of France, except those who shall remain and die there, and that God will send victory to the French against the English.'—Being asked whether God was for the English, when they had good success in France, she answered, that she did not know whether God hated the French; but she believes that it was his will to let them be punished for their sins, if they were in any."—*Ibid.* p. 178.

"Being asked whether her banner derived more power from her than she from her banner, or the contrary, she answered, that, as touching the victory of her, Joan, or of her banner, it rested all with God.—Being asked whether the hope of obtaining the victory rested on her banner or on herself, she answered, that it rested on God, and no where else.—Being asked whether, if any other person had carried the same banner, he would have had the same good success as Joan herself, she answered: 'I know not; I leave that to God.'—Being asked if any one of her own party had given her his banner to carry, whether she would have had the same confidence in it as in her own banner, which was appointed her from God; and being specially asked this question, in regard to the banner of her king, she answered: 'I preferred carrying that which was appointed me from God. And yet I leave it all to God.'"—*Ibid.* pp. 182, 183.

On the ticklish question of submission to the decision of the Church, which was again and again pressed upon her, by argument, as well as by the denial of the Holy Eucharist—a privation which she felt deeply—and by the fear of the horrible punishment which awaited her, she framed her replies with a degree of good sense and good feeling, which, considering her age, her sex, her education, and condition, and the nature of the tribunal before which she was arraigned, is truly astonishing.

"First, she was asked whether she will refer herself to the judgment

of the Church on earth, touching all that was said and done by her, whether good or evil ; especially touching the falls, crimes, and transgressions laid to her charge, and touching all that relates to her trial ; she answered, that touching what is so demanded of her, she refers herself to the Church militant, provided it do not prescribe to her any thing impossible. And she states what she considers impossible ; namely, that she should revoke the things which she has said and done, and which she has declared in the said process that she did, by visions and revelations from God ; and these she will not revoke on any account. And that which God has caused her to do, and has commanded her, and hereafter shall command her, she will not cease to do, for any man living ; and it is impossible for her to revoke any of it. And in case the Church should require her to do aught else, contrary to the commandment which she said she had received from God, she would not do it on any account.

“ And being asked, whether, if the Church militant were to tell her that her revelations are delusions, or diabolical devices, she will refer herself to the Church, she answered, that on this point she will always refer herself to God, whose commandment she will always do ; and that she well knows that what is contained in her process came to pass by the commandment of God, and whatever she affirms in the said process that she did by God’s commandment, it would be impossible for her to do the contrary ; and in case the Church should command her to do the contrary, she will refer herself as to this not to any man in the world, but only to God, if she did not always obey his good commandment.—Being asked, whether she believes herself to be subject to the Church of God which is on earth, namely, to our Lord the pope, the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the Church, she answered : ‘ Yes ; God being first served.’—Being asked whether she had a commandment from her voices not to submit herself to the Church militant on earth, and to its judgment, she answered, that she does not make any answer of her own head, but that whatever answer she makes, is by commandment of her voices, and they do not command her otherwise than to obey the Church, God being first served.”—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. pp. 324—326.

The same firmness of tone she maintained in what the holy office termed the *exhortatio caritativa*, and in the subsequent public admonition addressed to her as a preliminary to her execution. At the close of the latter she exclaimed :—

“ ‘ I leave it all in the hands of God, my Creator ; Him I love with all my heart ;’ and being asked if she wished to make any further answer to the said general admonition, she replied : ‘ I leave it in the hands of my Judge ; He is the King of heaven and earth.’ ”—*Ibid.* pp. 385, 386.

For a moment, and only for a moment, at the sight of the fearful preparations for her execution, her fortitude forsook her,

and she was prevailed upon to declare that she submitted herself to the judgment of the Church, and to affix her signature to a form of recantation. But the triumph which her enemies thus obtained was of short duration; the strength of her conviction soon returned in the solitude of the prison, and she revoked, with a full knowledge of the terrible death which awaited her, the recantation which had been extorted from her a few days before, on the express ground that her "voices" required it of her.

"Being asked what her voices told her, she answered, that God sent to tell her by St. Catherine and St. Margaret how great a pity it was for her to have consented to such great treason in making an abjuration and revocation to save her life, and that by saving her life she was damning herself. She also said, that before Thursday (the day of recantation) her voices told her what she was going to do that day, and what she then actually did. She says, moreover, that her voices told her when she stood upon the scaffold, before the people, that she should boldly reply to the preacher, whom she called a false preacher, because he said she had done several things which she had not done. She also said, that if she were to say that God had not sent her, she would damn herself; and that, in truth, God had sent her. Also, she said, that her voices told her after Thursday, that she had done a great wickedness, in confessing that she had not done right in what she had done. Also, she said, that whatever she said and recanted on that same Thursday, she did so merely through fear of the fire. Being asked whether she believed that those voices which appeared to her were St. Catherine and St. Margaret, she answered, yes, and that they were from God."—*Procès de Condamnation*, t. i. pp. 456, 457.

With such fortitude, and with the unaffected piety which, by the unanimous testimony of many eye-witnesses of her execution, she displayed to the very last, the supposition of imposture is wholly incompatible; and as we have shown the hypothesis of divine inspiration to be equally inadmissible, the case was clearly one of high mental and nervous excitement, by which not the imagination only, but the very senses were deluded. And having arrived at this conclusion, we shall, mindful of the adage, "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*," leave the case in the hands of the physiologists, and proceed to analyze a far less difficult and less mysterious subject, viz. the *Trilogie Nationale* of M. ALEX. SOUMET.

As its title indicates, it consists of three parts, yclept severally, *l'Idylle, ou Jeanne D'Arc Bergère, l'Epopée, ou Jeanne D'Arc Guerrière*, and *la Tragédie, ou Jeanne D'Arc Martyre*. The last-named title would be equally suitable to the whole "*Trilogie*," at least, if departed heroes and heroines have any sense of the treatment to which they are subjected at the hands of those who undertake to celebrate their deeds. As for the epithet

"*nationale*," M. Soumet's performance has a twofold claim to it; first, because it treats of a national subject, and secondly, because it is gorged with that "keen hatred and round abuse" of England and the English, which, with a certain, and we fear a very numerous, school of French literati and politicians, is deemed eminently national. Of this we have a rich specimen at once in the "*prologue*," where the "soul of the world" is represented as cut in halves, the British Channel heaving its uneasy tide between the two moieties. Let not our readers suppose that we are playing upon their credulity, for thus runs M. Soumet's *ἐννεπε μοῦσα* :

*"L'Angleterre stérile et la France féconde
Ont en deux larges parts scindé l'âme du monde."*

And then follows a portraiture of the two nations, exhibiting "that to this," as "Hyperion to a satyr;" and thereupon M. Soumet, with truly national self-complacency, bids us "look upon this picture, and on this, the counterfeit presentment" of the two halves of the world's soul. We have no hope of being able to render into plain English prose the inflation of M. Soumet's French rhymes, but we will do our best. France, then, or the half-soul which falls to the share of France,—we are not clear which, but it does not matter,—

"From the cradle raised herself to grasp dominion : the flower of devotion grows in the air she breathes ; her lip either pouts in war or is curled in derision ; her heart is always warmed by her brilliant sky ; under a radiating forehead she always carries a soul open to tears in an amazon bosom."

We confess ourselves somewhat puzzled by this topography of the inner soul of France. But we proceed :—

"Affixing her crown to every virtue, consoling with her compassion the prostrate nations ; or to re-establish them in calmer destinies, offering to their misfortune the alms-gift of her palms ; making of her thought, at all times and every where, a solemn round of the ladder of heaven."

We cannot venture to send forth this last trope without showing cause for the nonsense we have penned :

*"Faisant de sa pensée, en tout temps, en tout lieu,
Un degré solennel de l'échelle de Dieu,"*

and having done so, we resume :—

"And when doubt spreads its dominion far and wide, finding human certainty again in honour, she is great, and proud, and even in her mis-

fortunes a reflexion of her name suffices to gild the universe. Heroism is always her second nature."

We hope our readers will let us off with this specimen. It is the hardest thing we ever did in the way of "rendering," and we really despair of some three or four score lines of this glorious rhodomontade, in which we learn by the way that France is very much annoyed at the Congress of Vienna for not allowing her to wear the Rhine for a girdle all the way, an annoyance which she expresses by the significant exclamation, "*Regardons l'eau couler.*" Furthermore, we learn that Malebranche is another Plato, and France the sphinx of all the *énigmes suprêmes*; that the latter keeps, "like all the great prophets," a fiery chariot—not a Brougham, we apprehend, but a Joinville;—that the Celts have thrown a great many *mots Adamiques* into the *flots académiques* of the French language; and that, what no one conversant with the modern history of France could have suspected, "noble France bequeaths to the earth the true laws of the *code humanitaire.*"

Such is M. Soumet's "Hyperion;" let our readers guess what his "Satyr" may be. The sketch opens like an Old Bailey indictment, with the serious charge that England is

"Criminelle toujours de lèse-humanité;"

and then comes a long list of "felonies and treasons." We are charged with "extinguishing Moses with the breath of Locke;" with pursuing a system of wholesale aggrandizement which never takes less than "a segment of the globe;" and with being unreasonably indignant at the Czar for breaking our heads with his lumps of ice; and after a broad hint or two that nothing English can ever find admission into heaven, the whole is wound up with a piece of rare and bold imagery, in which "perfidious Albion" is likened to a gigantic polypus, which feeds upon whales. And so ends the prologue, as it began, with

*"L'Angleterre stérile et la France féconde
Ont en deux larges parts scindé l'âme du monde."*

To pass on from the prologue to the body of the poem, the "*Idylle*," in six cantos, brings the history of Joan down to the period of her starting from Chinon for Orleans. In the first canto, after a brief introduction setting forth the state of things upon earth, the scene is transferred to heaven, where the angel of history, among whose occupations M. Soumet enumerates that of extracting, "as an algebraist deeply engaged in calculation, the unknown quantity from every event," is on the point of

“ casting the ashes of France forth to the winds,” when St. Genoveva interposes her all-powerful intercession. The irreverent, we had almost said the impious, tone in which this part of the subject is handled, is one of those exceedingly painful evidences which every now and then meet the eye, of the pravity of religious sentiment engendered in the national mind of France, by a mixture of the unbelief and profaneness of the revolutionary school, with the scarcely less objectionable legends of popular Romanism. St. Genoveva addresses the Supreme Being in the following terms :—

“ Were I upon earth, I should this day sacrifice my life for France ; but I am near Thee, and in Paradise no one but thy Son can immolate himself.”

And after a vast deal of expostulation in the style of that which in the “ *Æneid* ” Juno and Venus address to Jove, and which we cannot better describe than by calling it simply blasphemous, she says,

“ I shall not take for my guard (on her expedition for the protection of France) thy grand chariots, with their six-eyed wings, sending forth azure lightnings ; but if, to drink from my chalice, if to follow my flight, thy holy soldiery should leave heaven deserted . . . Thou wilt pardon me.”

Lastly, she winds up the whole of her pleadings with the grave complaint :

“ My soul is less powerful here, than my bier in St. Peter’s chapel ;”

a proposition which contains more truth within a few words, upon the subject of saint-worship, than we have often met with, and more, probably, than M. Soumet himself was quite aware of. But the plea of St. Genoveva is not the most objectionable part of the scene in question :

“ The great Voice replies : ‘ Between thy people and me let a victim as pure as thyself be lifted up ¹. Let her offer herself for thy people in a divine mystery, even as my Son offered Himself to redeem the earth ; and thy people shall live for ever.’ ”

The latter part of the first canto exhibits Charles in the company of Agnes Sorel, under the walls of Chinon, in the soft

¹ The original contains, through the double sense of the word “ *hostie*,” an allusion to the elevation of the host, which is untranslatable : the words are,

“ *Entre ton peuple et moi
Qu’il s’élève une hostie aussi pure que toi.*”

dalliance of troubadour life, in which they are interrupted, first, by the arrival of a white deer, which takes refuge from the hunt at the feet of Agnes, and is by her protected against its pursuers; and shortly after by that of a knight mangled in battle,

“ Having neither helmet nor shield left, his harness slit, and his breast laid open, the ruin of a man, escaped from St. Euverte, who painfully drags his stiffened foot over the ground, his hair all glued with clotted blood, and with his only remaining arm holding back his entrails.”

He lays himself down to die before the loving couple, but first he breaks forth into a philippic against the inaction of Charles, which has in it more of the vehemence of life, than of the faintness of death, and more of prosy prolixity than belongs to either; and at the close of it he releases his gushing entrails, and “ three spots of blood mark the white skin of the deer.” This fact M. Soumet places in stronger relief than naturally belongs to it, by adding at the end of the line three signs of exclamation; a method invariably resorted to by him, when, as is often the case, the actual sense of his words falls short of the would-be emphasis of his intention.

Small as is the promise of poetic excellence in this exordium, the performance which follows, falls, if possible, below it. In the second Canto the arrival of Joan of Arc is announced to Charles, and a debate ensues, in which various objections are raised against her reception. The first comes from La Hire, who thinks it not impossible that Joan may be suborned by the English:—

“ Their crooked paths are well known, and for the accomplishment of her gloomy designs England delights to walk in the ways of darkness. Perhaps she herself, skilful in deceiving us, and burning to smite us with the rod of shame, wishes that our immovable army should, instead of the great Dunois, choose a sibyl for its commander.”

Another objector rises up in the person of the inquisitor Hermangard, whose business it is to “ extract death from the catholic crucible,” and who is in his own proper person described as “ an expiring world concentrated into a monk.” He sees in the story of the marvellous Maid at once the devices of “ the impure goat concealed under the iron mitre,” and breaks forth into a general lamentation on the spread of the black art, for which he suggests as a remedy that the whole ocean should be turned into a basin of holy water. The excitement produced in the royal council by his harangue, M. Soumet, who is any thing but happy in the choice of his tropes, compares to the noise of a pegtop whipped along by a little boy; it is, however, fortunately allayed by the intervention

of St. François de Paule, who suggests that this may be a sign from heaven :—

“Perhaps the triumph of France is written in heaven, in order to preserve Europe to Jesus Christ, in order that the weight of England may not hereafter drag the whole earth down into some immense error.”

His advice prevails; and Hermangard retires in disgust, but not before M. Soumet has done him the honour of comparing him, in another of his unhappy tropes, to a vulture in the *Jardin des plantes*, who seeing a fair swan rising into the air, would fain be at him, if the bars of his cage did not forbid it. Meanwhile, in the third Canto Joan is brought into the royal presence; Charles denies himself, and points out one of his courtiers as the Dauphin, to which Joan replies in unequivocal prose, only that the rhyme *notre* follows in the next line :—

“Eh! mon Dieu! c'est vous, non pas un autre.”

After unfolding her mission, she proceeds, at Charles's request, in this and the three following Cantos, to detail her history, in which M. Soumet follows the general legend, with an occasional enlargement of his own invention. Thus he makes her tell the king, that she was in the constant habit of reciting the story of Judith and Holofernes, her Bible being always open at that place, covered with a veil; M. Soumet forgetting that in the previous Canto he made her say :—

“L'alphabet est un livre à mes yeux inconnu.”

Passing over sundry incidents, we hasten on to the conclusion of the fifth Canto, when a magnificent diadem, borne by seraph's hand, descends upon the head of Charles, which Joan tells him, is “a present from her guardian angel.” The sixth Canto, which is a continuation of Joan's narrative, bears the extraordinary title, “*Apparition de MONSEIGNEUR l'Archange Saint Michel*,” an event which M. Soumet, less discreet than Joan herself in her examination at Rouen, describes with vast particularity, asserting, *inter alia*, that he came to her “in an azure mantle, through an old wall,” and that the sound of the beating of his wings was—could M. Soumet find no apter image in the wide creation?—“like the noises which proceed from swallows' nests.” The prayer which Joan offers up after his departure, corresponds with the fundamental idea of the whole poem, already disclosed by the intercession of St. Genoveva :—

“Lord, have mercy on us! See our kings proscribed, our towns alarmed. Art Thou no longer the God that rules the hosts? If our

faults draw down the wrath of heaven, PUNISH ME ALONE, FOR I OFFER MYSELF FOR ALL²! Restore, restore to France her former glory!"

This prayer is answered by St. Genoveva, who appears to her; a vision of paradise, where, as M. Soumet specially mentions, "the young sparrows never tumble out of their nests," closes the day and the scene. A conversation between Joan and her mother, in which the latter endeavours to prevail on her to abandon her project, and which is written in a strain of inimitable prose, drowning the very rhymes in its dulness, follows; then comes the history of her application to Robert de Baudricour, and of her progress to Chinon. The conclusion of the Canto contains an account of the preparations made for her expedition, in which is inserted a rhymed paraphrase of Joan's letter to the English leaders, which ends with the following climax:—

*"Donc ne résistez plus; vous vous tromperiez fort,
Si vous pensiez que Dieu craint le duc de Bedford!"*

Having given our readers this taste of M. Soumet's quality, we shall not weary them by following our poet through all the strange and often repulsive scenery of the "*épopée*," which contains, only in rhyme, all that apparatus of external horrors, and of strange fantastic situations, and all those exhibitions of human nature depraved by the vilest, the bloodiest, the most lustful passions, which unhappily characterize the popular literature of France in the present day, and which testify to the deep injury inflicted by the revolution upon the moral sense of that people; an injury which is not to be effaced in the first nor in the second generation. The conceptions of wickedness are sensual and devilish to an unnatural degree, possible only in the mind of a people which has thrown down all the barriers which instinct, human civilization, and the ordinance of God, oppose to the full development of man's natural corruption; the attempts to paint virtue and purity are equally unnatural, wanting both in freedom and in depth; they display a total absence of the finer and deeper feelings, the nobler and loftier principles, whose growth is possible only in an atmosphere of social morality and of pious reverence; the dashes of religious sentiment which are introduced here and there, are coarse, carnal, and distorted, like the rudely carved idols of a demi-savage people. The poet deals exclusively with outward nature, with its wild elements, with the ferocious powers of the brute creation, with the carnal man, and his animal mind; there is a nauseating savour of flesh and

² This passage is put in capitals by M. Soumet.

blood, like the atmosphere of a slaughter-house, pervading the whole; and heaven itself is, like the Walhalla of our barbarous ancestors, nothing more than a counterpart of the grossness of the earth.

To a conception so essentially unearthly, as is the Maid of Orleans, nothing could be more uncongenial than the inspirations of such a muse; and this the "*épopée*" of "*Jeanne d'Arc Guerrière*" abundantly proves. The heavenly inspiration of "the missioned Maid," the lofty bearing with which she accomplished her high career, the virgin purity and the commanding enthusiasm of her character, will not bear the defiling association of an Arab slave with a half-tamed lion, now lying in wait to take away her life, and then under the influence of a half voluptuous fascination watching over her, and making use of poison, of the dagger, and of the savage strength of his companion brute for her defence; or the offensive contrast of a boastful infidel from whose giant force the blood shed by an iron crucifix cannot protect her, because the miscreant sets his foot upon it, and she owes her safety to the timely operation of the poison administered by the provident treachery of her Arab admirer and slave. Through such scenes as these, indifferently relieved by her being made to deliver, in the Cathedral of Rheims, a prophetic lecture in rhyme on the future destinies of France, not forgetting Napoleon, that "phoenix-king," whom

"Hideous England, that colossal spider which crushes its victims with its long maritime arms, seizes, tortures, strangles, and gnaws,"

the Maid is brought down to the close of her martial career. During the coronation ceremony she feels herself unaccountably forsaken by the spirit which animated her; in consequence of which she desires to retire to her former home; but the king insists on retaining her in his service against her will. It is in this state, dispirited, and irritated moreover by the growing jealousies of the leaders of the French army, that she one day meets a "*fille de joie*" in the camp. In virtuous indignation she strikes her with the sword of Charles Martel, with which all her victories had been won, and that blow finally seals her fate. The unhallowed contact breaks the sword; the presence of the archangel, from whom she had received it, is henceforth withheld from her; her supernatural power forsakes her; she sinks back to the level of common mortals; her high courage is turned to brooding despair; and abandoned by all the leaders of the French host, cared for by none but the Arab and his lion, who both perish in the attempt to save her, she falls at last into the hands of the English, whose cry, "*Prisonnière*," with the emphatic accompaniment

of three signs of exclamation, closes the twelfth Canto, and the "*épopée*."

The last piece of the *Trilogie*, entitled the "*tragédie*," hardly deserves that name; being nothing more than a continuation of the subject in the form of a dramatic dialogue, subdivided into five parts. The scene opens with Joan asleep in prison; she is visited by St. François de Paule, who after an altercation with Hermangard, determines to make interest in her favour with the Duke of Bedford; while on his way to do so, he discovers that Hermangard has, by holding out to him the prospect of its being of service to his daughter, procured from the father of Joan a statement in which she is declared insane, and guilty of intermeddling with magic arts. The base fraud which has been practised upon the feelings of the old man, is however exposed during the trial of her case, at which the Duke of Bedford presides, Hermangard pleading against her, and St. François de Paule for her; when Hermangard being foiled in his purpose, seeks the co-operation of the Duke of Burgundy for effecting the destruction of Joan. The duke visits her in prison, and at first seeks to gain her over to his side; instead of which he is induced, by the eloquence of the Maid, to renounce the English, and henceforth becomes her champion. The Inquisition, acting under the direction of Hermangard, having condemned her to death, Burgundy appears to plead for her, and challenges the Duke of Bedford to a single combat, upon the issue of which the life or death of Joan is to depend. Burgundy being conquered, the execution is proceeded with, and Joan of Arc is seen on the pile, waving her banner, which the Inquisitor Hermangard has been so obliging as to restore to her for the occasion. The whole is crowned by an epilogue, in which M. Soumet, pursuing the subject still further, exhibits the Maid of Orleans, with scientific precision, as "*squelette calciné*," and then passes on to the unseen world, where Isabel, who had died about the same time, is doomed to eternal death, while Joan of Arc is welcomed to heaven by the Virgin Mary, St. Genoveva, the archangel St. Michael, and others. But even here M. Soumet cannot leave the subject; his ruling passion is strong in death, and before he brings his effusion to a close, he takes care to intimate that the pile of the Maid,

"That monument of triumph and of blame, raises a separation wall of fire between London and Paris."

For the sake of both nations, we hope that no more serious misunderstandings may arise between them, than this grievance of M. Soumet; a grievance which, we may observe by the way, is wholly destitute of foundation; for contrary to the popular

notion, which attributes the disgraceful legal murder of Joan to the English, the documents published by M. Quicherat clearly prove, that the French were themselves the chief actors in this barbarous persecution. Whatever share the English had in setting the proceeding against her on foot, it is an undeniable fact, that the University of Paris, which took the lead in requiring her to be arraigned, and would gladly have got the process into its own hands, pronounced its solemn decision against her; and that all the judges before whom she was arraigned, and by whose perversion of justice her condemnation was mainly procured, were Frenchmen; the leading person among them, the Bishop of Beauvais, acting his part as judicial persecutor with an alacrity and vehemence of zeal which must have rendered any thing like compulsion on the part of the English quite superfluous. Of the disgrace, therefore, which undoubtedly attaches to Joan's death, by far the largest and heaviest share belongs of right to France; and while England has done at least poetic justice to her memory, France has not as yet discharged even that debt, nor is likely to do so, unless a poet should arise of a very different spirit and calibre from that of M. Alex. Soumet.

After all that has been written by poets of different countries on this highly poetic subject, the drama of Schiller, notwithstanding its faults, especially in the *dénouement* of the story, still stands unrivalled; and we cannot but hail the idea of transplanting into the field of English literature a performance which justly ranks among the masterpieces of the great German bard. Two attempts which have recently been made to effect this are now lying before us, and we shall endeavour, before we bring our article to a close, to give our readers some idea both of the drama of Schiller, and of the merit of the two translations quoted at the head of this article.

One of these, that of Miss Swanwick, is unfortunately incomplete, the authoress having selected for translation those portions of the drama only, which are immediately connected with the Maid of Orleans herself. This is to be regretted, because the knowledge of the original, and the facility for rendering its sense with tolerable accuracy and faithfulness into flowing English verse, displayed in these fragments, prove her to be equal to the task which she has undertaken. In saying this, we do not mean to convey an unqualified approval of her translation; we think, and we shall presently show, that a closer adherence to the original might in some instances have been observed, without deteriorating the English either in point of cadence or of expression. But we desire not to forget how great a command of both languages a really good translation requires, one which shall not merely render

the average sense in words of somewhat similar import, but which shall transfer the more recondite beauties of the original, nay, to a certain extent even its faults, if they be characteristic of the genius of the author, into another idiom.

Such a command of the German it does not appear to us that Miss Swanwick possesses, and her translations are not therefore likely to take rank among those master-works of genius, by which, in some few rare instances, the productions of the human mind have been not only transplanted into, but, if such an expression may be allowed, rendered indigenous in a foreign soil. But although we cannot place her in the first line of translators, we feel it but due to her to acknowledge, that she does possess the ordinary qualifications required in a translator of poetry, namely, 1, a competent knowledge of the grammatical construction of the language from which the translation is made; 2, a sufficient acquaintance with that language to appreciate not only the general, but the idiomatic beauties of the work translated; 3, a correct ear and a cultivated taste for poetic expression in the language into which the translation is made.

Having enumerated these three qualifications, without possessing which no one should, in our opinion, intermeddle with the business of translating any thing, but especially masterpieces of literature, we may as well state at once that the author of the other translation of the Maid of Orleans, quoted at the head of this article, is woefully deficient in all the three. We make this statement with considerable reluctance, because the author in question is, we believe, a respectable writer in that field of literature which is his own proper province; but there are offences in the literary world to which no mercy can be extended; and we take the mangling of a great masterpiece of genius to be of that number.

Mr. Thompson himself deprecates criticism, and makes some sort of apology for the imperfections of his performance in his preface, by informing the reader that it was "written at scraps of time,—leisure *moments* of laborious days." This would be a valid excuse, indeed, if there had been any necessity, any very strong call of duty, for the author to publish a translation of the Maid of Orleans; but it does not excuse a performance swarming with imperfections, being thrust upon the public, without any call or necessity, professedly as a cast taken from one of the finest specimens of German poetic art. Having deprived Mr. Thompson of the excuse which he alleges, we feel bound to provide him with another. He tells us, in his preface, that "all men must have *some* sleep;" and we charitably conjecture, that to this undeniable necessity of nature our author generally yielded

while he was employed upon this work of art. Indeed, to be quite candid, we do not think that even if he had been always wide awake, and had had plenty of leisure at his command, Mr. Thompson would have been qualified for such an undertaking, on account of his deficiency in the three pre-requisites before-mentioned. That he is wanting both in correctness of ear and in poetical taste, constantly diluting the sense of the original, and swelling its bulk with unmeaning and often inappropriate epithets, we shall not stop to demonstrate; a cursory glance over the specimens which we shall have occasion to quote, will abundantly illustrate his unnecessary and unpoetic prolixity; and a comparison with the German text will prove, to any one moderately acquainted with that language, the inadequacy of his translation for rendering the beauties of the original. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with adducing a few proofs how utterly insufficient is even his grammatical knowledge of the language from which he has ventured to translate. None but the veriest *tyro* in German could have fallen into such palpable mistakes as meet the eye at every turn in the translation before us. For instance, in the passage :

“*Dass Räuber in das königliche Frankreich
Sich theilen mit dem Schwert, die edeln Städte,
Die mit der Monarchie gealtert sind,
Dem Feind die rost’gen Schlüssel überliefern,*”

Mr. Thompson, ignorant apparently of the phrase, “*Sich in etwas theilen*,” “to share, to divide a thing,” translates as if the original read, “*in dem königlichen Frankreich*,” and mistakes “*die edeln Städte*,” which is the nominative to “*überliefern*,” for the accusative governed by “*theilen*,” rendering the lines :

“That spoilers in our fair imperial France
Should parcel with the sword the noble cities
That have grown ancient with the monarchy;
Hand over to the foe their rusty keys,”

where it appears as if the spoilers handed over the keys.

In the speech of Dunois, where he encourages Charles by the reflection that the war is not of his kindling,

“*Du hast ihn nicht leichtsinnig selbst entflammt,*”

Mr. Thompson contrives to say just the reverse, only alleging that he had good cause for kindling it, thus :

“Thyself, for no light cause, hast kindled it.”

The expression, “*dem Schicksal unterliegen*,” which signifies “to succumb to fate,” he renders, “to lie *beneath* the hand of

fate;" "*Machtwort*," i.e. word of command, he renders "war-cry;" "*das Schwert ist drunter, das mir dienen soll*," i.e. "the sword which is to serve me is *among* them," among the other weapons, he renders, "*beneath* them all." "*Ihr Herzoge, die das Reich verwesen*," i.e. "ye dukes who *administer* the realm, ye *regents* of the realm," he renders, and we perceive Miss Swanwick too, who is not usually found tripping, "ye dukes who *desolate* this realm;" so the word "*Reichsverweser*," in a passage where the context ought to have drawn attention to the mistake, "the *destroyer* of our realm," instead of the "*Regent*." "*Entgegnet man mir so?*" i.e. "am I *treated* thus?" he renders, "must I be thus *encountered*?" "*den ersten Kampf*," i.e. "the *severe* fight," he renders, "the *first* encounter," as if it were *ersten*; "*fünfzig*," i.e. "fifty," he renders "fifteen;" "*streng*," i.e. "severe," he renders "strong;" "*Schon vor des Eisens blanker Scheide schaudert mir*," i.e. "even the polished *sheath* of the sword alarms me," he renders, "I shudder at the blaze of *naked* steel." Those beautiful lines, in which Burgundy betrays his secret conviction of the innocence of Joan, and of the heavenly spirit by which she is animated:

"Verstrickend ist der Lüge trüglich Wort,
Doch ihre Rede ist wie eines Kindes.
Wenn böse Geister ihr die Worte leihn,
So ahmen sie die Unschuld siegreich nach;"

bear in Mr. Thompson's translation a sense precisely the reverse of the original, from sheer ignorance of the language. He renders them thus:—

"The treacherous voice of falsehood lays its snare
Deep in the artless language of the child.
When evil spirits would conquer souls by words,
They wear the form of innocence."

Miss Swanwick renders correctly:

"Falsehood's fallacious words are full of guile,
But hers are pure and child-like. If indeed
Spirits of evil borrow this disguise,
They copy innocence triumphantly."

Again, in the passage—

"Fürchtet die Gottheit
Des Schwerts, eh' ihr's der Scheid' entreisst. Loslassen
Kann der Gewaltige das Schwert;"

Mr. Thompson refers DER *Gewaltige*, which is masculine, to *die Gottheit des Schwerts*, which is feminine, and so translates,

“ Dread, ere ye unsheathe it,
The godhead of the sword ! *that power* sets free
The war-fiend ;”

whereas the meaning of the original is, that “ *the powerful* may easily let loose the sword ;” but they cannot, as the poet goes on to say, recall it as easily. “ *Meine Schäfertrift*,” Miss Swanwick correctly, “ my shepherd *walks*,” Mr. Thompson renders, “ my pastoral *toil*.” On the death of Talbot, Lionel takes leave of him with these words :

“ *Kurz ist der Abschied für die lange Freundschaft*,”

which means obviously,

“ Short is the parting for so long a friendship ;”

yet Mr. Thompson contrives to escape the sense, and puts,

“ Short is the absence
That interrupts an everlasting friendship.”

These examples, taken here and there, as we noted them in looking over his performance, are more than enough to demonstrate Mr. Thompson's utter incompetency to translate Schiller ; but in order to give our readers an idea how thickly strewn these mistranslations are, we will take them in order as they occur, at the first place that opens before us ; marking not only those instances in which the sense of the original has been grossly mistaken by our author, but the numerous other cases also in which the expressions chosen by him are, though not absolutely erroneous, yet so unsuitable, that no moderately read German scholar would have thought of selecting them ; while a little attention to the context would for the most part have been sufficient to have prevented their adoption. The passage from which we shall quote, is in the second scene of the prologue, part of the dialogue between Joanna, her father, and her lover. Thibaut d'Arc urging upon his daughter the suit of Raimond, describes him as “ *dieser wackre Jüngling*,” which means simply, “ this brave youth ;” or as Miss Swanwick renders it, “ this noble youth ;” but Mr. Thompson, misled apparently by the termination *ling*, translates, “ this bold *stripling*.” A little farther on Thibaut, in allusion to Joanna's age and beauty, says—

“ *Ich sehe dich in Jugendfülle prangen*,”

which Miss Swanwick very properly renders,

“ I see thee blooming in thy youthful prime ;”

but Mr. Thompson, misled by his dictionary, where, at the word “ *prangen*,” he finds, *inter alia*, “ to boast,” altogether misses the sense, and writes,

“ I see thee *boast* in *haughtiness* of youth.”

Presently again, where Raimond interposes, to stop Thibaut’s torrent of reproach against his daughter, he begins his speech with the words,

“ *Lasst’s gut seyn, Vater Arc !*”

the meaning of which is, as again Miss Swanwick correctly gives it,

“ Forbear, good father,”

i. e. “ say no more,”—“ trouble not the girl ;” instead of which, Mr. Thompson, evidently unacquainted with the German phraseology, infelicitously renders :

“ *Let well alone*, good father.”

Again, where Raimond describes Joan,

“ Standing erect, surrounded by her flock,
With noble port, casting her thoughtful look
Down on the petty kingdoms of the earth ;”

it is evident that in the words,

“ *und den ernsten Blick
Herabsenkt auf der Erde kleine Länder,*”

the poet means to convey the idea of Joan’s moral elevation, and of her commanding position, appointed to rule the destinies of kingdoms, without being moved by their petty interests. Of this exquisitely beautiful allusion there is no trace whatever in Miss Swanwick’s version, who only says,

“ with noble form
And earnest gaze bent on the world beneath.”

But Mr. Thompson, though he suffers not the words thus to escape him, altogether misses the sense, making that which is a matter of moral elevation, a trite question of perspective :

“ With noble port, and fixed and steady eye,
Gazing on *the diminished fields* below.”

We say nothing of the dilution of the "thoughtful look" into a "fixed and steady eye;" but what means Mr. Thompson by the two lines following?

"Then seems she somewhat loftier to *betide*,
And oft I deem her *maid of other days*."

With the author's leave, this is not English sense, much less the sense of the German; "to *betide*," if there is any truth in Johnson, means "to happen to, to befall, to bechance;" never "to signify," which is the sense in which Mr. Thompson uses the word, being suspended, as it would seem, between sleep and waking, between German and English, and misled by the analogy of sound in the German word "*bedeuten*." As for the "*maid of other days*," if any idea can attach to it at all, it is what the vulgar call "an old maid," which Joan certainly was not. Much more appropriate again is Miss Swanwick's version:

"Looking, methought, as if from other times
She came, foreboding things of import high;"

which, though not literally accurate, is perhaps the best way of giving the sense of Schiller's,

"*Da scheint sie mir was Höh'res zu bedeuten,*
Und dünkt mir's oft, sie stamm' aus andern Zeiten."

Occasionally Mr. Thompson splits upon that rock of all bad poets, bombast; as in the following lines:

"*Schleicht sie, gleich dem einsiedlerischen Vogel,*
Heraus ins graulich düstre Geisterreich
Der Nacht, tritt auf den Kreuzweg hin" . . .

Miss Swanwick faithfully and simply:

"She, like the solitary bird, creeps forth,
And in the fearful spirit-realm of night
To yon crossway repairs" . . .

Mr. Thompson:

"Glides, like *the midnight fowl of solitude*,
Into night's *grim and grisly realm of ghosts*,
And speeds her to the cross-road" . . .

In matters of emphasis, too, he is not unfrequently at fault; thus:

"*Warum erwähnt sie immer diesen Ort?*"

which means,

"Why *this spot* always does she choose?"

he renders,

“ Why should she *ever* choose this gloomy spot ? ”

A little further on we have the unfortunate “ *betide* ” again :

“ *O das bedeutet einen tiefen Fall,* ”

Miss Swanwick, quite satisfactorily,

“ Oh, ’tis the prelude to some fearful fall ! ”

but Mr. Thompson,

“ Oh, surely it *betides* some fearful fall ! ”

This badge of sciolisms, grammatical, philological, and poetical, crowded together within the narrow compass of two pages, will, we think, suffice to convince our readers that if they wish to have an idea of Schiller, they must not commit themselves to the guidance of Mr. Thompson ; and that we have not exceeded the boundaries of fair criticism by pronouncing him, without circumlocution, wholly disqualified for the task of transplanting the master-works of German literature upon the soil of England.

And now for the drama of Schiller. The outline of the story, as he gives it, keeps pretty closely to the historical legend in the earlier part of her career, but departs widely from it towards the close, principally with regard to the cause of Joan’s captivity and the manner of her death. The drama itself is preceded by a prologue, which opens the story ;—Thibaut d’Arc, in recounting the calamities of the times, bestows his two elder daughters in marriage upon their suitors, that they may not be without protection in such dangerous times ; he then turns to Joan, whose lover, Raimond, has in vain sought to win her heart. This gives the old man occasion to animadvert upon her solitary habits, and her mysterious communion with the unseen world, which he suspects to be “ of evil.” During these discourses, Bertrand, one of their neighbours, arrives with news from the seat of war, and with a helmet which, by his account, a gipsy forced upon him, and then disappeared. Joanna considers this as a sign from heaven, and seizes the helmet ; and as Bertrand continues to enumerate the mischances of the French army, and the successes of the enemy, she who hitherto had stood silent, grows more and more animated, and in a prophetic strain proclaims the approaching deliverance of the kingdom. This is followed by the scene in which Joanna bids farewell to her home, in those stanzas of exquisite beauty, which more than any thing else that has been written in prose or in verse, image forth her inner mind.

The drama itself opens with a scene in the camp of Charles, in which all the perplexities of his position are successively introduced; and Agnes Sorel, whose character is largely indebted to Schiller for the high poetry with which he has veiled its defects, sacrifices her jewels to relieve the Dauphin from the most pressing of his necessities. While despair thus reigns among the followers of Charles, a knight arrives, bringing intelligence of a wondrous maiden, who had suddenly appeared on the scene of war, and had turned its tide; an anticipation of the military exploits of Joan before her presentation to the king, which needlessly deviates from historic truth, and is scarcely in keeping with the character of her mission, while it serves no other purpose in the plot of the drama than to bring her on the stage with greater *éclat*. The announcement is followed by the immediate arrival of Joan herself; but, before her entrance, the Dauphin bids Dunois take his place and personate him. Instead of M. Soumet's

"Eh! mon Dieu! c'est vous, non pas un autre,"

Schiller makes her say,—

"Bastard of Orléans, thou wilt tempt thy God!
This place abandon, which becomes thee not!
To this more mighty one the maid is sent."

as Miss Swanwick renders; or, as Mr. Thompson has managed to pervert and dilute the passage:—

"Stay,
Bastard of Orléans! thou wouldst tempt thy ruin!
Vacate that place *at once* that ill becomes thee!
My mission is to this *thy master here.*"

Joan then declares to Charles the purport of three prayers which he had addressed to heaven the night before. Moved by this sign, Charles proclaims his belief in her divine mission; and then the Archbishop of Rheims asks her of her birth and parentage: Schiller thus avoiding, by a reversal of the legendary order of events, the unpoetic episode of a theological commission of inquiry. Joanna thus replies³:—

"Most reverend lord, Joanna is my name:
I am but a poor shepherd's lowly daughter,
Born in the royal hamlet Dom Remi,

³ We give this passage, one of the most beautiful and important in the whole drama, in a version of our own, as neither of the two before us is quite satis-

Which lies within the diocese of Toul* :
 There, from a child, I kept my father's sheep.
 And much and often did I hear them tell
 Of the strange island people, who had cross'd
 The sea to make us slaves, and force upon us
 An alien lord who does not love the nation ;
 That they had seized the mighty town of Paris

factory. For the benefit of those of our readers who are learned in German, we subjoin the original.

MISS SWANWICK.

Most reverend father, I am call'd Johanna ;
 I am a shepherd's lowly daughter, born
 In Domremy, a village of my king,
 Included in the diocese of Tulle* ,
 And from a child I kept my father's
 sheep.
 Oft of the foreign islanders I heard,
 Who o'er the sea had come to make us
 slaves,
 And force us to obey a foreign king
 Who cared not for the people. I was
 told
 That they had enter'd Paris, and usurp'd

MR. THOMPSON.

Most reverend lord, Joanna is my
 name.
 I am but the poor daughter of a hind
 Of my king's village, Dom Remi, which
 lies
 Within the precinct of the church of
 Toul* ;
 And from a child I kept my father's
 sheep.
 And much and oft I heard my neigh-
 bours tell
 Of island strangers, who had crossed the
 sea
 To enslave our country, and subject our
 people
 To lords of foreign race, unloved, un-
 known ;
 And how already they, with wrongful
 might,
 Had seized the city Paris, and pre-
 sumed

*"Ehrrwürd'ger Herr, Johanna nennt man mich.
 Ich bin nur eines Hirten niedre Tochter
 Aus meines Königs Flecken Dom Remi,
 Der in dem Kirchensprengel liegt von Toul,
 Und hütete die Schafz meines Vaters
 Von Kind auf. Und ich hörte viel und oft
 Erzählen von dem fremden Inselvolk,
 Das über Meer gekommen, uns zu Knechten
 Zu machen, und den fremdgebornen Herrn
 Uns aufzuzwingen, der das Volk nicht liebt ;
 Und dass sie schon die grosse Stadt Paris*

* Both Miss Swanwick and Mr. Thompson are mistaken as to the sense of this verse. The diocese of Tulle is in the Limosin, and Dom Remi in Lorraine, at the opposite end of France. But neither could Dom Remi be described as "within the precincts of the church of Toul," from which it is more than twenty miles distant. The truth is, that Dom Remi belonged to the ancient diocese of Toul, which now forms part of the united diocese of Nancy and Toul. The German *Kirchensprengel* means diocese.

Already, and the kingdom made their own.
 Then I God's Mother suppliant implored
 To turn from us the shame of foreign bondage,
 And to preserve to us our native king.
 Outside the hamlet of my birth an image
 Most ancient stands of Holy Mother : crowds
 Of pious pilgrims at its shrine were wont
 To meet ; and by its side a holy oak,
 Far famed, for by some blessed power there
 Were countless wonders wrought. Beneath its shade
 I lov'd to sit, tending the flock ; my heart
 Was thither drawn. And if perchance a lamb
 Amid the mountain wilds was lost, in dream
 'Twas shown me, when beneath that oak I slept.

MISS SWANWICK.

Possession of the kingdom. Then I
 cried
 Imploring earnestly the Queen of heaven
 To save us from the shame of foreign
 chains,
 And still preserve to us our native king.
 Not distant from the spot where I was
 born
 An ancient image of the Virgin stands,
 To which the holy pilgrims oft repair ;
 And near it is a consecrated oak,
 Famed for the healing power of miracle.
 Oft 'neath the shadow of this oak I sat,
 Tending my flock,—my heart still drew
 me there ;
 And if by chance among the desert hills
 A lambkin stray'd, 'twas shown me in
 a dream
 When in the shadow of that oak I slept.

MR. THOMPSON.

To claim the sovereign mastery of the
 realm :
 Then did I to the mother of my God
 Make urgent supplication, that her power
 Would save us from the stranger's
 shameful yoke,
 And shield our lawful native prince
 from harm.
 Now, at the entrance of my native village
 There stands, revered from dark anti-
 quity,
 The Virgin Mother's holy effigy,
 To which full many a pious pilgrimage
 Was customed to be made ; and, hard
 thereby,
 A consecrated oak, of power, renowned
 Through countless wonders, blessings to
 impart.
 Well loved I in the oak's broad shade to sit
 Tending my flocks : some instinct drew
 me thither ;
 And oft as lambs strayed on the upland
 wolds,
 Did I but sleep in shadow of that oak,
 Dreams taught me where to seek them,
 and I found.

*Inn hütten und des Reiches sich ermächtigt.
 Da rief ich flehend Gottes Mutter an,
 Von uns zu wenden fremder Ketten Schmach,
 Uns den einheim'schen König zu bewahren.
 Und vor dem Dorf wo ich geboren, steht
 Ein uralte Muttergottes-Bild, zu dem
 Der frommen Pilgerfahrten viel geschah'n,
 Und eine heil'ge Eiche steht daneben,
 Durch vieler Wunder Segenskraft berühmt.
 Und in der Eiche Schatten sass ich gern,
 Die Herde weidend, denn mich zog das Herz,
 Und ging ein Lamm mir in den wüsten Bergen
 Verloren, immer zeigte mirs der Traum,
 Wenn ich im Schatten dieser Eiche schlief.*

And once upon a time, when I in pray'r
 Devout beneath that tree the long night through
 Had sat, my eyes from sleep defending,—lo!
 The Holy Virgin came to me, a sword
 And banner bearing, else clad like myself
 In garb of shepherdess, and thus she spake:
 'Tis I: Arise, Joanna! leave the flock,
 The Lord doth call thee to another work.
 This banner take, and gird thee with this sword!
 Therewith extirpate thou my people's foes,
 The son of thy liege lord lead into Rheims,
 And crown him with the royal diadem!
 And I to her made answer: 'How should I
 On such deeds venture, I, a maiden soft,
 And all unskill'd in man-destroying war!'

MISS SWANWICK.

And once, when through the night, be-
 neath this tree
 In pious adoration I had sat,
 Resisting sleep, the holy one appear'd
 Bearing a sword and banner, otherwise
 Clad like a shepherd maid, and thus ad-
 dress'd me:
 "'Tis I; stand up Johanna! leave thy
 flock;
 The Lord appoints thee to another task!
 Receive this banner! gird thee with this
 sword!
 And with it slay my people's enemies,
 Conduct thy lord's appointed son to
 Rheims,
 And on his forehead place the kingly
 crown!"
 To which I answered, "How dare I
 presume
 To work such wonders,—I, a timid maid,
 Unpractised in the dreadful art of war?"

MR. THOMPSON.

And once, when I had sat the livelong
 night
 In orison devout beneath that tree,
 And battled with invading sleep—behold!
 The holy Maid herself approached me,
 bearing
 A sword and banner; for the rest ar-
 rayed
 In pastoral weeds, like me; and thus
 bespake:
 "'Tis I. Arise, Joanna! leave thy flocks;
 Heaven calls thee to another charge!
 arise!
 Receive this banner! gird thee with this
 sword!
 With this exterminate thy people's foes,
 And lead to Rheims thy lord's imperial son,
 And set the royal crown upon his head."
 Then I replied: "How should a tender
 maid,
 Unskilled in murderous war, presume to
 guide
 So great and perilous emprise?" But she

*Und einmals, als ich eine lange Nacht
 In frommer Andacht unter diesem Baum
 Gesessen, und dem Schlafe widerstand,
 Da trat die Heilige zu mir, ein Schwert
 Und Fahne tragend, aber sonst, wie ich,
 Als Schäferinn gekleidet, und sie sprach zu mir:
 'Ich bin's. Steh' auf, Johanna. Lass die Herde,
 Dich ruft der Herr zu einem anderen Geschäft!
 Nimm diese Fahne! Dieses Schwert umgürte dir!
 Damit vertilge meines Volkes Feinde,
 Und führe deines Herren Sohn nach Rheims,
 Und krön' ihn mit der königlichen Krone!'
 Ich aber sprach: 'Wie kann ich solcher That
 Mich unterwinden, eine zarte Magd,
 Unkundig des verderblichen Gefechts!'*

But she replied : ' No deed so glorious
Which may not be achieved by virgin pure,
Whose heart against all earthly love is steel'd.
Behold myself ! like thou a maiden chaste,
I to the Lord gave birth, the Lord divine,
And am myself divine.' With that she touched
Mine eyelids, and as I did upwards cast
My look, the heaven fill'd with angel-boys
I saw, bearing white lilies in their hands,
While music sweet was floating through the air.
And thus on three successive nights appeared
The holy One and said : ' Arise, Joanna !
The Lord doth call thee to another work.'
But on the third night, lo, her countenance

MISS SWANWICK.

And she replied, " Whate'er is good on
earth
Can be accomplished by a virgin pure,
If she doth never yield to earthly love.
Gaze upon me,—a maiden like thyself !
I to the Lord, the holy One, gave birth,
And am myself divine !" Mine eyelids
then
She touch'd, and gazing upwards I per-
ceived
That all the heaven was fill'd with angel
forms,
Who bore white lilies in their hands,
while tones
Of sweetest music hover'd in the air.
On three successive nights the holy One
Appear'd to me, and cried, " Arise, Jo-
hanna !
The Lord appoints thee to another task."
And when the third time she reveal'd
herself

MR. THOMPSON.

Instant rejoined : " A pure and stainless
virgin
Accomplishes the mightiest deeds on
earth,
Where she resists the lures of earthly
passion.
Look upon me: like thee, a maiden chaste,
I had the grace to bear a birth divine,
And am divine myself." And then she
touched
My drooping lids ; and, as I upward
gazed,
All heaven was full of quiring cheru-
bim,
Bearing white lilies in their gentle hands,
While notes celestial floated in the air.
And thus on three successive nights ap-
peared
The holy maid, and cried, " Arise, Jo-
hanna !
Heaven calls thee to another charge !
arise !" And when in the third night she came
to me,

*Und sie versetzte : ' Eine reine Jungfrau
Vollbringt jedwedes Herrliche auf Erden,
Wenn sie der ird'schen Liebe widersteht.
Sieh mich an ! Eine keusche Magd, wie du,
Hab' ich den Herrn, den göttlichen geboren,
Und göttlich bin ich selbst !'—Und sie berührte
Mein Augenlid, und als ich aufwärts sah,
Da war der Himmel voll von Engelknaben,
Die trugen weisse Lilien in der Hand,
Und süsßer Ton verschwebte in den Lüften.
Und so drey Nächte nacheinander liess
Die Heilige sich sehn, und rief : ' Steh' auf, Johanna !
Dich ruft der Herr zu einem anderen Geschäft.'
Und als sie in der dritten Nacht erschien,*

Was wroth, and sharp rebuking thus she spake :
 'Obedience is on earth the woman's duty,
 And hard endurance her oppressive lot ;
 By service stern she must be purified ;
 And great above is she, who served below.'
 Thus speaking she her shepherdly attire
 Let fall, and in her royal robes, as Queen
 Of heaven radiant like the sun she stood.
 And thence uplifted to the realms of bliss
 She slowly vanished, borne on clouds of gold."

This narrative of Joanna is followed by a long pause, which the archbishop interrupts by declaring the divine attestation of her mission sufficient to put to silence all doubts of earthly prudence; she is then invested by Charles with the command of his army, and on the arrival of a herald from the enemy she sends a message of summons and defiance, which is a versified rendering, though in very different taste from that of M. Soumet, of the letter to the king and the Duke of Bedford, before quoted among the historical documents.

With this the first act is brought to a close, and the second act introduces us to the British camp. Discussions and disputes between the English generals, Talbot and Lionel, the Duke of

MISS SWANWICK.

She seem'd displeased, and chiding
 spoke these words :
 "Obedience is the woman's duty here,
 Endurance is her destiny on earth.
 She must be purified through discipline;
 Who serveth here is glorified above."
 While thus she spoke she let her shepherd's garb
 Fall from her, and as Queen of heaven
 stood forth,
 Enshrined in radiant light, while golden
 clouds
 Upbore her slowly to the land of joy."

MR. THOMPSON.

With wrathful chiding thus did she
 rebuke me :
 "Obedience is the woman's part on earth,
 And patient suffering her appointed
 state ;
 By service hard must she approve her
 worth :
 Who serves below, shall there above be
 great."
 And therewith from her fell the pastoral
 garb,
 And in the splendour of the sunlight
 there
 She stood, the queenly majesty of heaven;
 And golden clouds enwrapped her, and
 she vanished,
 Gradual ascending to the land of bliss."

*Da zürnte sie, und scheltend sprach sie dieses Wort :
 'Gehorsam ist des Weibes Pflicht auf Erden,
 Das harte Dulden ist ihr schweres Loos ;
 Durch strengen Dienst muss sie geläutert werden ;
 Die hier gedienet, ist dort oben gross.'
 Und also sprechend liess sie das Gewand
 Der Hirtinn fallen, und als Königin
 Der Himmel stand sie da im Glanz der Sonnen,
 Und goldne Wolken trugen sie hinauf
 Langsam verschwindend in das Land der Wonnen."*

Burgundy and Isabel of Bavaria, which disclose both the internal state of their league, and the effect produced upon the confederate army by the appearance of Joanna, take up the former half of the act; the latter part consists of battle scenes, in which Joanna appears, first, by her refusal to give quarter to the Welshman, Montgomery, who sues hard to her for his life, in the character of the merciless championess of heaven, in whom to show compassion would be sin; and, secondly, in the character of peace-maker, by her persuading the Duke of Burgundy to withdraw from the English alliance, and to be reconciled to France; an event which, it is well known, did not, as a matter of history, take place till long after the death of Joanna, but which is admirably suited to the purpose of the drama, and therefore introduced into it by an allowable poetic licence.

The third act is taken up chiefly with the meeting between Charles and the Duke of Burgundy, at which Joanna also is present: after the settlement of the high affairs of state the discourse is skilfully turned upon the Maid, whom the king ennobles, and for whose hand two competitors start up in the persons of Dunois and La Hire, which affords an opportunity of eliciting in the fullest manner the incompatibility of any thought of earthly love with Joanna's mission, and so prepares the way for the catastrophe which follows. The passage in which Joanna abjures all the softer emotions of her sex, is thus rendered by Miss Swanwick:

“ Art weary, Dauphin, of the heavenly vision,
That thou its vessel wouldst annihilate?
The holy maiden sent to thee by God
Degrade, reducing her to common dust?
Ye blind of heart! O ye of little faith!
God's glory shines around you; to your gaze
He doth reveal his wonders; and ye see
Nought but a woman in me. Dare a woman
Invest her tender frame in polish'd steel,
And boldly mingle in the rush of war?
Woe, woe is me, if bearing in my hand
God's sword of vengeance, I in my vain heart
Cherish'd affection to a mortal man!
'Twere better for me I had ne'er been born.
I do conjure you, speak no more of this,
If thou wouldst not provoke the Spirit's wrath
Who in me dwells. The eye desiring me
To me is horror and profanity.”

At the close of this scene the action of the drama returns to the battle-field, when after the short but highly tragic episode of Talbot's death, Joanna is engaged in combat, first with a phantom

of hell, which appears to her in the shape of a black knight, and gives her an oracular intimation that the tide of her power and greatness will turn at the coronation at Rheims; and afterwards with the English leader Lionel, whom she defeats, and is on the point of slaying, when, suddenly struck by the beauty of his countenance, as she tears down his helmet, she feels the weakness of earthly affection rising in her breast. This is the point on which, in the arrangement of Schiller's drama, the whole destiny of Joanna turns. She proceeds with the army to Rheims, but her heart is distracted by love and remorse. Feeling that she has proved faithless to her vow, and to the stern duty of her high mission, conscious, moreover, that he whom she loves, is the enemy of the cause for which she is sent to fight, she accuses herself of impiety to her God, and of base treason to her king and country. The pitiless slaughter which she has committed in the hour of her strength, rises up against her like the guilt of murder. She dares not to hold communion with her own heart, nor to meet the eye of those who surround her with every mark of love and reverence, and above all she has lost her confidence in the heavenly support in which she had hitherto felt so strong and so secure; the remembrance of her connexion with the invisible world fills her with a fearful anticipation of coming vengeance. It is in this mood that we find her at the opening of the fourth act, plunged into a state of deep melancholy, amid the festive preparations for the approaching coronation. The lyrics in which she pours forth her meditations and her grief, are replete with exquisite beauty and touches of deepest feeling, rendered but feebly even in Miss Swanwick's translation; but on this we have not room to dwell. Joanna is forced to take her place in the coronation procession, among the spectators of which her family and her neighbours appear. In the middle of the ceremony, Joanna, overpowered by her feelings, rushes forth from the cathedral, and being received in the arms of her sisters, the recollection which this meeting calls up, increases the agitation of her mind till it is raised to a state bordering on delirium. Meanwhile the ceremony being concluded, the procession returns from the cathedral; all eyes are now turned upon Joan, and at the moment when, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, the king addresses her in the language of worship rather than of human gratitude, she utters a piercing cry, having recognized her father in the crowd. The old man, who had always been suspicious of the character of her supernatural power, and whose misgivings have been confirmed by the agitation in which he has seen her hurrying from the house of God, now openly accuses her of being the confederate of hell. Joanna herself is silent;

neither to the challenges of her father, nor to the entreaties of her friends, nor to the adjuration of the archbishop, does she answer one word; and the scene, the stage effect of which is heightened by a succession of thunderclaps, closes with the announcement made to Joanna, on the part of the king, that she is at liberty to depart unmolested.

The multitude has been dispersed, Joanna is left alone, with but one companion, who does not doubt, and will not forsake her, Raimond, the lover of her youth. She allows herself to be conducted by him, an excommunicated outcast, shunned wherever she flies; but in the solitude of the Ardennes her fortitude and her faith return, and she, who was speechless before her accusers, gives assurance to her humble and faithful companion that her disgrace was but a trial imposed upon her by heaven, from which He who sent it will provide an escape for her. During her flight she falls into the hands of Isabel, who carries her to the English camp as her prisoner, while Raimond makes his escape to the French army, where a reaction in her favour has taken place, and where the earnest protestations and the simple narrative of the shepherd youth, speedily avail to arouse the leaders of the host, and foremost among them Dunois, to hasten to her rescue.

Meanwhile Joanna in captivity atones for the momentary weakness of her feelings. Lionel, in whose mind likewise a strong interest for her had been excited by the scene in which she refused to take his life, offers her freedom and his hand; but she is deaf to all his entreaties, and answers him only in the character of a heavenly messenger, bidding him repair the injuries inflicted on France by the English invaders. The fierce attack of the French, who have collected their forces under Dunois for her deliverance, compels Lionel to take the field, and Joanna remains in the custody of Isabel, in chains, and under a strong guard. A soldier from the top of the tower in which she is confined, informs the queen of the progress of the battle; and when Joanna hears that the French are routed, that Dunois is wounded, and the king himself in imminent danger, she sinks upon her knees, in fervent prayer, for a miraculous interposition of heaven. At this moment a shout of triumph resounds in the English camp; Charles is taken prisoner; when Joanna, with giant strength, bursts her fetters, and escaping through the midst of her astonished guards, once more rushes forth to the battle, and on the instant brings back victory to the host of France. But Joanna is mortally wounded, and expires on the field, in the arms of the king and the Duke of Burgundy.

We cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the closing lines

in a version of our own, as neither of the versions before us is quite to our mind.

“And is it true, then? Am I with my people?
And am no more rejected and despised?
They curse me not; kindly they look upon me!
Yes, now I clearly recognize it all.—
This is my king! the banners these of France;
But mine is not among them.—Where is that?
Without my banner I may not appear.
My Lord committed it to me, and I
Before his throne must render it. I may
Freely present it, for I bore it truly. . . .

She receives her flag, and continues:

See you the rainbow yonder in the air?
Its golden portals heaven does unfold;
There in th’ angelic choir she radiant stands,
The Son Eternal to her bosom clasped;
Her arms to me in love she stretches forth.—
How do I feel!—Light clouds are lifting me;—
A winged robe the ponderous armour grows.
Aloft—aloft—back flies the reeling earth—
Brief is the pang, eternal is the joy!”

Whether Schiller was justified in departing as completely as he has done from the historical truth of this remarkable episode in the annals of the world, is a question into which we will not enter further than to express our conviction that, in the hands of such a poet as he, the heroine of Orleans would have lost none of the interest attaching to her career, if the crown of Christian martyrdom had been superadded to her well-earned laurels. Certain it is that no one has ever seized her character as completely as Schiller; nor does any part of his splendid poem contain a more graphic picture of the state of her mind, as it appears on the face of the historical documents now for the first time published,—reluctant to enter upon her career of greatness, and yet full of holy enthusiasm and of pious resolution,—than the stanzas at the conclusion of the prologue, in which she takes leave of the scenes of her youth, to go forth on her high errand; and which will form the most appropriate conclusion to this tribute of our pen to the memory of Joan of Arc⁴:—

⁴ We are again obliged to have recourse to a version of our own. Mr. Thompson’s rendering of these stanzas is altogether a failure. Instead of imitating the appropriate lyric stanzas of Schiller, he has lengthened them out, *more suo*, into epic Spenserian stanzas; and the translation, if translation it can be called, is throughout so full of affectation, and so unfaithful to the original, that we do not

“ Farewell ye mountains, and ye pastures lov’d ;
 Ye vallies lone and tranquil, fare ye well !
 Through you Joanna will no longer roam,
 Joanna now for aye bids you farewell.
 Ye meads which I have water’d oft, ye trees
 Which I have planted, be ye verdant still !
 Farewell, ye caves, ye fountains cool, farewell !
 And thou sweet echo, too, voice of the dale,
 Which ever wast responsive to my strain,
 Joanna parts, and ne’er returns again.

“ Ye haunts of mine, where I my heart did yield
 To silent joy, for aye from you I wend.
 Ye lambs, all o’er the heath now stray a-field,
 I may no longer guide you, nor defend.
 For far away, upon the bloody field
 Of danger, I another flock must tend.
 The Spirit’s call of me this service claims,
 No vain, no earthly ardour me inflames.

think it worth while to reproduce it. Miss Swanwick has preserved the metre, but taken a liberty, in our opinion unwarrantable, with the arrangement of the rhymes ; her version is, as usual, simpler, closer to the original, and altogether superior ; yet it does not satisfy us. We subjoin it, together with the original :

*Lebt wohl, ihr Berge, ihr geliebten Triften,
 Ihr traulich stillen Thäler, lebet wohl !
 Johanna wird nun nicht mehr auf euch
 wandeln,
 Johanna sagt euch ewig Lebewohl.
 Ihr Wiesen, die ich wässerte ! Ihr Bäume,
 Die ich gepflanzt ! Grünet fröhlich fort !
 Lebt wohl, ihr Grotten und ihr kühlen
 Brunnen !
 Du Echo, holde Stimme dieses Thals,
 Die oft mir Antwort gab auf meine Lieder,
 Johanna geht, und nimmer kehrt sie wieder.*

*Ihr Plätze alle meiner stillen Freuden,
 Euch lass ich hinter mir auf immerdar !
 Zerstreuet euch, ihr Lämmer, auf der
 Heiden !
 Ihr seid jetzt eine hirtlosen Schaar,
 Denn eine andre Herde muss ich weiden,
 Dort auf dem blut’gen Felde der Gefahr.
 So ist des Geistes Ruf an mich ergangen ;
 Mich treibt nicht eitles, irdisches Verlangen.*

Farewell ye mountains, ye beloved
 glades,
 Ye silent peaceful valleys, fare ye well !
 Through you Johanna never more may
 stray,
 Johanna bids you all a long farewell.
 Ye meads in which I wander’d ! and ye
 trees,
 Which I have planted, bloom in beauty
 still !
 Farewell ye grottos and ye crystal
 springs !
 And thou, sweet vocal spirit of the vale,
 Who sang’st responsive to my simple
 strain,
 Johanna goes and ne’er returns again !

Ye scenes of all my peaceful heartfelt
 joys,
 For ever now I leave you far behind !
 My gentle lambs, poor flock without a
 fold,
 O’er the wide heath now wander un-
 confined ;
 For I am call’d another flock to tend,
 Where armies on the field of battle
 blend.
 This hath the holy Spirit’s voice made
 known ;
 No earthly motive drives me forth alone.

“ For He, who did descend on Horeb’s height
 To Moses once, in flaming fire enshrin’d,
 And bade him stand before proud Egypt’s might ;
 Who Jesse’s son of old, the pious hind,
 His champion chose and headman of the fight,
 Who aye to shepherds has been wondrous kind ;
 He from these spreading branches spake to me,
 ‘ Go forth ! thou shalt on earth my witness be.

“ ‘ Round thy soft limbs rude armour thou must bear ⁵,
 Thy gentle bosom all in steel encase ;
 No man must e’er thy heart with visions fair
 Of love beguile and earthly happiness ;
 No bridal wreath thou in thy locks shalt wear,
 Nor to thy breast a smiling infant press.
 In martial gear triumphant shalt thou ride,
 Above all earth-born maidens glorified.

*Denn der zu Mosen auf des Horebs Höhen
 Im feu’gen Busch sich flammend nieder-
 liess,
 Und ihm befahl, vor Pharao zu stehen,
 Der einst den frommen Knaben Isai’s,
 Den Hirten, sich zum Streiter ausersehen,
 Der stets den Hirten gnädig sich bewies,
 Er sprach zu mir aus dieses Baumes
 Zweigen :
 ‘ Geh hin ! du sollst auf Erden für mich
 zeugen.*

For He who once on Horeb’s sacred’
 height
 Appear’d to Moses in the bush of
 flame,
 And bade him go and stand in Pharaoh’s
 sight,—
 He who to Israel’s pious shepherd
 came,
 And sent him forth his champion in the
 fight,—
 He who hath ever loved the shepherd
 train,
 Thus whisper’d from the branches of
 this tree,
 “Go forth ! thou shalt on earth my wit-
 ness be.

*‘ In rauhes Erz sollst du die Glieder schnü-
 ren,
 Mit Stahl bedecken deine zarte Brust ;
 Nicht Männerliebe darf dein Herz berüh-
 ren,
 Mit sünd’gen Flammen eitler Erdenlust.
 Nie wird der Brautkranz deine Locken
 zieren,
 Dir blüht kein lieblich Kind an deiner
 Brust ;
 Doch werd’ ich dich mit kriegerischen
 Ehren,
 Vor allen Erdenfrauen dich verklären.*

“ Rude armour now must clothe thy ten-
 der frame,
 Thy bosom heave beneath a plate of
 steel.
 No mortal there may kindle earthly
 flame,
 Thy heart the glow of passion ne’er
 may feel,
 For thee no hand the bridal wreath shall
 twine,
 No smiling infant on thy knee be
 nursed,
 But war’s triumphant glory shall be
 thine,
 And thou of women shalt be deem’d the
 first.

⁵ M. Soumet has imitated this stanza in the following lines :—

*“ Il faut d’un dur acier que mon front s’environne :
 L’hymen, pour mes cheveux, n’aura point de couronne.*

“ ‘For when weak fear the stoutest shalt dismay,
 And fast approach the doom of France renown’d,
 Then high shalt thou my oriflamme display,
 And, as the reap’ress swift mows to the ground
 The corn, shalt low the haughty victor lay ;
 His fortune’s prosperous wheel shalt thou turn round,
 To the heroic sons of France shalt bring
 Salvation, rescue Rheims and crown thy king.’

“ He who thus spake, bade me expect a sign ;
 And here it is : the helmet⁶ comes from Him ;
 Its iron touch fills me with strength divine,
 With ardour bold of flaming cherubim ;
 I’m carried onward in the fray to join,
 As if by tempest or impetuous stream ;
 The war-whoop wild all other thoughts confounds,
 High rears the charger, and the trumpet sounds.”

‘Denn wenn im Kampf die Muthigsten
 verzagen,
 Wenn Frankreichs letztes Schicksal nun
 sich naht,
 Dann wirst du meine Oriflamme tragen,
 Und, wie die rasche Schnitterinn die Saat,
 Den stolzen Ueberwinder niederschlagen ;
 Umwälzen wirst du seines Glückes Rad,
 Errettung bringen Frankreich’s Helden-
 söhnen,
 Und Rheims befreyn und deinen König
 krönen !’

Ein Zeichen hat der Himmel mir ver-
 heissen ;
 Er sendet mir den Helm, er kommt von
 ihm,
 Mit Götterkraft berührt mich sein Eisen,
 Und mich durchflammt der Muth der
 Cherubim ;
 Ins Kriegsgewühl hinein will es mich
 reißen,
 Es treibt mich fort mit Sturmes Unge-
 stüm ;
 Den Feldruf hör’ ich mächtig zu mir
 dringen,
 Das Schlachtross steigt, und die Trompeten
 klingen.

“ For when the most courageous hearts
 despair,
 When humbled France is just about
 to yield,
 Then thou my conquering oriflamme
 shalt bare,
 And, like a reaper in the harvest field,
 Mow down the haughty victors to the
 ground ;
 Thou soon shalt turn the wheel of
 fortune round,
 To Gaul’s heroic sons deliverance bring,
 Relieve beleaguer’d Rheims, and crown
 the king.”

The holy Spirit promised me a sign ;
 He sends the helmet,—it hath come
 from Him ;
 Its touch endues me as with strength
 divine ;
 I feel the courage of the cherubim !
 It drives me forth the din of war to find,
 Its power impels me like the rushing
 wind ;
 I hear the charger’s neigh, the trumpet’s
 sound,
 And the loud war-cry echo shrilly
 round.

*Je ne serai point mère ; offert à mon baiser,
 Nul enfant sur mon sein ne viendra reposer.
 Mon cœur doit ignorer l’amour ; mais, en partage,
 Du laurier des combats je ceindrai l’héritage !
 Dieu me parle . . . sa voix retentit aujourd’hui.”*

⁶ The helmet brought to Dom Remi by Bertrand. See above, p. 271.

- ART. II.—1. *English Churchwomen of the Seventeenth Century. Second Edition.* Derby: H. Mozley and Sons. London: James Burns.
2. *The Women of England, &c. By MRS. ELLIS. Twentieth Edition.* London: Fisher and Co.
3. *The Daughters of England. By MRS. ELLIS.*
4. *The Wives of England. By MRS. ELLIS. A Marriage-day Edition, in white morocco.*
5. *The Mothers of England. By MRS. ELLIS.*
6. *Strictures on the Modern System of Education. By HANNAH MORE.* London: Cadell.
7. *Woman in her Social and Domestic Character. By MRS. JOHN SANDFORD. Sixth Edition.* London: Longman and Co.

ENGLISH gentlewomen of the present day are little likely to err for want of advice. Counsel, such as it is, abounds; it can be had by the pound, by the hundredweight, or the ton; by duodecimo, octavo, or quarto, as it may be required. "Hints," "Strictures," "Letters," "Remarks," "Essays," on female education or female character have been perpetually bubbling forth from the press for the last few voluminous generations. Hannah More, Mrs. Sandford, Miss Edgeworth, Miss Hamilton, Mrs. Ellis, these are but a few of the governesses of the sex. Mrs. Ellis alone has given birth to a complete library for women. Advice is ever trickling—nay, streaming from her pen. "Women of England," "Mothers of England," "Daughters of England," have each their respective volumes of advice; while "coming" volumes "cast their shadows before," and to complete the set, we are threatened with some special lecturings of governesses and old maids. By that time she will have gone round all the points of the compass, N., N.E., N.N.E., and so on. She will have circumnavigated the female world; every variety of female condition will have had its separate book; the Ellis-ium will be complete; and even the ingenuity of the most inveterate bookmaker will fail to find another peg to hang any further advice upon. By that time, too, we doubt not, her powers, like her subjects, will be exhausted, and her strength spent; for we con-

fess that we already discern a strong disposition to "water in the brain."

Now among the more direct preceptors of women we must notice a decided tendency to *prose*, to vapour, to linger on through pointless pages of ponderous sentimentality, smacking the whip of instruction through the long stages of their tedious Diligence, dawdling over their precepts, and drawing them out until, like some tall, overgrown boy, their strength has evaporated in their length. There is much attempt at what is called "fine writing" and fine sentiment, and we have to wade through a series of bombastic passages, in style a cross between poetry and prose, which after all yield us no better matter than a few turgid truisms swollen into an apparent importance.

Of the most popular works, Mrs. Sandford's "Woman in her Social and Domestic Character" takes a prominent place; it has reached the sixth edition; and yet a more unsatisfactory production we cannot conceive. It is a marvel that it contrives to live; it can be but the life of a living skeleton; it has neither strength, nor sinew, nor blood, nor warmth; the ideas "to water run;" it is a somniferous book, written with laudanum, not with ink. We can imagine the well-intended authoress nodding as she wrote, dragging her drowsy pen from page to page, till she had reached the appointed bulk; it is without order, method, or fixed principle; it is not ridiculous; it is not wise; sometimes it speaks about "elegance," sometimes about religion, sometimes about "romance." Her religious views are shapeless and indistinct; we seem to be reading through gauze, or to be walking in a fog; we see nothing definitely; we get no precise ideas, no details; there are vague outlines around us; like a mass of stone fresh from the quarry, designed for the statue of a man, without form or feature or proportion, capable of being chiselled into the likeness of a man, but not yet a likeness; so is Mrs. Sandford's view of religion: there is much sentimentalizing on the subject, but no instruction in positive duties, no mention of the means of grace. How we become Christians, how we are kept in the faith, are matters left wholly in the dark. With the exception of a few incidental remarks, there is nothing said of prayer, of the sacraments, of the Church as a Divine institution, of self-examination, of devout meditation, of any course of active charity. With such subjects left out, and yet much mention of the Christian religion, what sort of book must it be? something swinging between the world and the Church, too dull and moralizing for the one, too vague and lifeless for the other.

Hannah More's "Strictures on Female Education" is an infinitely better work; indeed we must candidly confess it is the

best book as yet upon the subject. Strange to say, she is somewhat too heathenish and classical in her illustrations, and reminds us of our early "themes" at school, in which it was always necessary to give an "example," as it was called; whereupon, Aristides, Pericles, Brutus, or Epaminondas, were marched out, as they seemed to fit the subject, the stale and hacknied samples that were handed down from one race of theme-manufacturers to another. So is it with Hannah More. Her style, too, is sententious and diffuse; her work wants compression; her ideas are hooped out with over many words, a common fault among female writers. We need not say that her religious views are defective. But still, amid much that is defective, we do get some positive ideas of women's duties as members of Christ; we do get a clear and distinct notion of "the world," that there is such a thing, that it must be renounced, with its pomps and vanities. She writes in a higher and more decided strain. She speaks of holy baptism; she speaks of it as a sacrament binding us to a strict life, as that which must be kept in view in every true system of education. She has chapters "on Prayer," "on the Influence of the Spirit," "on the Doctrines of Christianity," "on a Worldly Spirit," "on Dissipation," "on the Necessity of Holiness," "on the Existence of our Spiritual Enemy." Though we may not agree with every remark on these topics, yet these are the topics that ought to be discussed in such a work; here is something higher and better than the cold meanderings of Mrs. Sandford.

But Hannah More's is an old book; her popularity has waned; and we must therefore hasten to speak of the great modern writer upon women, who has hold of the present attention of the sex, the incomprehensibly popular Mrs. Ellis. About fifty years have passed since the publication of the "Strictures on Female Education." We might have expected improvement by this time; but, instead of rising, we have sunk; instead of advancing, we recede; we descend to Mrs. Ellis. She doses us with weak dilutions of Hannah More. She has shaken Hannah More's thoughts in her own sieve, and given us the bran; the best part is left out; there is more bulk, but less matter. Hannah More was somewhat defective, and Mrs. Sandford vague, but Mrs. Ellis is vaguer and more defective still; we can get no notions from her what "the world" is; the condemnation of the world is faint. Godliness and worldliness are patched together, now a stratum of the one, now a stratum of the other; or rather the world is stuccoed over with a sort of sentimental religion in front. There is a sort of Christianity, which is the very essence of vagueness. As if afraid of what is called "a sectarian bias," as if she would not be classified with any body of Christians,

as if she believed there was no such thing as schism, and no such thing as a Church, she keeps with the utmost wariness on the broad road of unmeaning and unpractical generalities. We accordingly grasp no certain notions of duty, no definite view of the truth; she asserts no doctrines; she suggests no system of action; we hear a constant buzzing in our ears, but we cannot catch any articulate sounds. A young person would not know what to do, or where to begin, or how to obtain help in a religious course, if Mrs. Ellis were her only guide. "Go, be good!" "Go, be Christian women!" "How beautiful is religion!" This is the strain of her exhortations: no tangible view of Christianity is presented to the mind; she does not commit herself to any single definite principle; hers are books for the million; they will form no character, nor give any decisive shape to character; they will not satisfy warm, earnest spirits, thirsting for a complete devotion of themselves to the law of Christ; they will spread a sort of loose, easy, indefinite religion over the multitude; they will please that large mass of persons who do not want any thing strict and positive, who do not want quite to give up the world, nor yet quite to live without God. There are no chapters on prayer, on the sacraments, on the doctrines of Christianity, on daily self-denial, on visiting the sick and poor, on almsgiving. And yet those who would lead spiritual lives must live by rule; they must have details of duty; they must have definite plans of life pointed out; they must set themselves particular tasks, in order to form habits either of devotion or of holiness. Mrs. Ellis gives no helps where helps are wanted; she goes murmuring on about religion; but her mouth is closed when we ask for details, when we want to discover what she means.

And yet, with a strange perversity, as she leaves out details where details are wanted, so, where they are not wanted, she puts them in; she has chapters on "Love," "Courtship," and "Flirtation." Think of a chapter on "Flirtation," in what is said to be a Christian work! Surely we ought rather to form general principles of seriousness, sobriety, earnestness in the soul, and then leave these principles to operate, instead of wasting time in discussing these results of frivolity and light-mindedness. Teach women to be holy as members of Christ; supply them with all helps for the formation of a serious character, and we may then trust them to comport themselves in all circumstances as those who have to give account for every idle word. A section on "Flirtation" is both monstrous and absurd. By the devout it will not be wanted; by the frivolous it will not be read.

As a specimen of the looseness and laxity of Mrs. Ellis's views,

her inclination to please all readers, her fears of over-much strictness, her ignorance of the true doctrine of the Cross, she speaks thus :—

“A Christian woman has made her decision not to live for herself, so much as for others ; but, above all, not to live for this world, so much as for eternity. The question then arises,—What means are to be adopted in the pursuit of this most desirable end ? Some of my young readers will be disposed to exclaim, ‘Why, this is but the old story of giving up the world and all its pleasures!’ But let them not be too hasty in their conclusions. It is not a system of giving up, which I am about to recommend to them, so much as one of attaining.”

And this is a great, self-appointed teacher of women, a Christian teacher ! Thus does she speak of the words of Holy Scripture as “*the old story* ;” thus does she tell her young readers, that though our Saviour charges us to give up the world, *hers is not a system of giving up*. She does not, perhaps, herself realize the force of her own expressions, or mean exactly what she says ; but surely she is unfitted for a preceptress who can, over and over again, print and stereotype such language.

Of the Church she has not the shadow of a notion, nor of any spiritual society or spiritual brotherhood : this would involve some definite statements ; and so, as a Universalist, as a popular writer, she makes no mention of spiritual membership one of another, or fellowship. She cannot, indeed, make her women isolated beings ; she must, in bidding them to “live for others,” make them members of some sort of body or society, that their sympathies may be exercised ; and so she chooses the State, the Body Politic, as being more universal than the Body Christian. “In the first place, you are not alone,” she says ; “you are one of a family—of a social circle—of a community—of a nation.” Mark the expansion of her sympathies, the widening of the circle. The family sympathy enlarges into social sympathy ; social sympathy into community sympathy ; and the climax of all is the sympathy of the patriot, the sense of being fellow-Englishwomen, members of the same State ! We hear nothing of fellow-citizenship of the saints, or of the household of faith, or of the Body of Christ, “which is the Church.”

What she is we know not ; we know what she is not,—not a member of the Church ; though we judge, of course, only by her writings, being wholly ignorant of her personal history ; nay, she may be a fabulous personage altogether, like Peter Plymley ; and so we mean her no personal disrespect. Her “Universalism” will be evident from the following passage :—

“Much may be done by a judicious mother, where subjects of sect-

arian interest are under discussion, to ward off the attention of the young from the extreme importance attached by persons generally to different forms of government or modes of worship. Much may also be done by a mother, to impress upon the minds of her children that the religious sect to which their parents belong is preferred by them, not because it is perfect in itself, or more owned by God, as regards the tokens of His especial favour, but because the views and principles upon which it is founded are most in accordance with their own, and consequently afford them more support and satisfaction than any other."

Once, indeed, she allows herself to praise a particular body; and on this occasion she sets those worldly and almost most unscriptural religionists, the Quakers, as models to Christian mothers!

"If it were possible for the world in general to be made acquainted with their (the Quakeresses') hidden virtues—perhaps more virtuous because they are hidden—I believe there would be found much among them that would encourage the mothers of England to educate their daughters upon a system, which, while it detracts nothing from the loveliness and gentleness of female character, places it upon a firmer foundation, as regards strong principle and moral feeling."

It is, as we have said, the fatal fault of this writer that she intends to be popular. We can only account for the voracity of the female world in devouring as many as twenty editions of one of her works, and requiring a "*Marriage-day edition, in white Morocco*," of another, from the fact, that a certain number of women, sincerely seeking to improve themselves, purchase every work especially addressed to them; and that a still larger number are ever ready to deceive themselves with that mixed sort of life, partly religious and partly worldly, which Mrs. Ellis decidedly encourages. Never, however, will she raise her readers above a cold respectability; no true spiritualizing of her sex will follow her labours: there is nothing more fatal to spiritual growth, to spiritual knowledge, or to earnest practice, than this indefiniteness in works of instruction.

To go any further into these writings would be unprofitable; nay, it would be difficult to proceed, for this authoress so jolts us from one line of thought to another that the mind goes through a series of rapid dislocations. In one chapter, we are considering "Moral Courage and Worldly-mindedness;" in the next, we have lectures about physic, children's digestions, riding, and "the habits of the horse." We must content ourselves with a few words upon the style of her compositions. She seems unable to write in a plain, natural way,—to put her thoughts into simple and unaffected language; the rhythm of her sentences has the

uneasy motion of a horse that is cantering with his fore legs and trotting with his hind: this is always the case with the high-flown style. To use her own poetry against herself, originally designed as a condemnation of Dr. Johnson, she is guilty of

“Taxing the ear with endless pomp of sound.”

Her style, however, is her least defect: if the matter of her works was worthy of the subject, and tended to produce sound and decided piety in the gentlewomen of the age, we would greet her compositions with a profound pleasure, whatever her style might be.

It would be needless to speak of any less celebrated works of a kindred character. They are chiefly written by women; and we doubt much whether women are the best direct preceptors of women. Those not of their own body, external to themselves, are most likely to write such works with success. We are yet in want of a plain, grave, earnest work; taking a high standard; of a strong and practical character; free from twaddling; helping rightly to mould the souls of women, and to strengthen their understandings. Such a work would be seized upon with eagerness; for, among a great multitude of readers, Mrs. Ellis only floats by sufferance. We should like to see something after the style of “*Theophilus Anglicanus*,” or, rather, a work divided into two parts,—the one doctrinal, the other practical. We are sure that a strong-minded book of the kind would be now received with thankfulness, and would work an infinity of good; for we believe that there is a considerable body of women among the higher classes, thirsting for guidance in the right way, not to be satisfied with the mawkish generalities of the Sandford and Ellis school.

In indirect teaching, however, our women have fared better; and here, we must observe, the powers of literary women can be more profitably exercised. We cannot speak too highly of the admirable fictions of “*Amy Herbert*,” “*Gertrude*,” and “*Laneton Parsonage*.” We should like to have “*Gertrude*” read, once every year, throughout the female world. And not only in fiction, but in biography, female writers have been successfully at work for their own sex. Such a volume as “*English Churchwomen of the Seventeenth Century*” has told and must tell; there is always something singularly attractive in seeing, as it were, the embodiment of precepts; in seeing theories worked out in actual character. To mould oneself after a book is a hard and often disheartening attempt; but to mould oneself after an actual person, a being of like flesh and blood and passions with ourselves, not a cold abstraction, is a more hopeful task; there is something

chilling in mere rules, and precepts, and theories, unless we have some real person before our minds' eye who has actually fulfilled "these fair-sounding rules." We, therefore, recommend such of our female readers as desire to have some helps for their own better conversation, to study the women of former times: and we shall make no apology for endeavouring to whet their appetite for such a task by laying before them a series of extracts from the biographical work we have just mentioned; not as furnishing a complete view of the women of the seventeenth century, which the volume itself alone can do, but as showing some important features in their character.

Of Lady Falkland, the first in the list, we read thus:—

"That she set out early in the ways of God, in the dawn and morning of her age. . . . While she was very young she paid an exact obedience to her parents . . . that her time might not be misspent nor her employments tedious to her, the several hours of the day had a variety of employments assigned to them; intermixing of prayers, reading, writing, working and walking, brought a pleasure to each of them.

"Whilst she was very young, she worked a purse to hold her own alms, and would beg for money from her mother to fill it, as eagerly emptying it again for the poor who came to her father's house, and who seldom left it without alms from the young daughter, as well as from her parents. She was at this time constant in her private prayers; and when strangers occupied her own room to which she commonly retired, she would ask the steward for the key of some other room for that purpose, at her hour of prayer.

"Nothing could hinder her from holy assemblies; every Lord's day constantly, forenoon and afternoon, she would be there among the earliest; and when she had no other means of going, she would walk cheerfully three or four miles a day, young and tender as she then was; and at night, she reckoned the joy and refreshment of which her soul had been partaker a sufficient recompense for the extreme weariness of her body."

After her marriage with Sir Lucius Carey, afterwards Lord Falkland,

"When possession was given her of stately palaces, pleasantly situated, and most curiously and fully furnished, and of revenues answerable, her friends could never perceive that her heart was exalted by any of them, while she acknowledged God's great goodness towards her in giving them. Thus some years passed, during which time she was most constant at prayers and sermons, and frequently received the blessed Sacrament; and though now and then she did not feel her usual spiritual comforts, but instead of them had some anguish and bitterness of spirit, yet, by the advice of good divines, and by her ordinary help of prayer, she soon recovered her peace and joy."

Upon her husband's death, in 1643, who fell fighting valiantly at the battle of Newbury in the king's cause,

"She received the blow as a loud call from heaven to further advancement in holiness. She then addressed herself to a divine of great eminence for piety and learning, and from him she took directions for a more strict course of life in this her widowhood, than she had hitherto pursued. Though the greatest part of her Christian work was locked up close within herself, and some of it carefully concealed for fear of vain-glory, yet much of it appeared by the effects, and so came abroad for the good of others.

"Her first and great employment was to read and understand, and then, to the utmost of her strength, to practise, our blessed Saviour's 'Sermon on the Mount' . . . beginning with those virtues to which the Beatitudes are annexed. Her mercifulness was one of those virtues which she could not conceal from observation; much of her estate went yearly to such of her relations as were in need of her assistance; some of her near neighbours, who were too old or too young for work, were wholly maintained by her; to other poor children she contributed much, both for their spiritual and temporal well-being, by building a school, where they were taught to read and work. It was her great care in the management of her estate that no man, woman, or child should want employment, and to this she had more regard than to her own profit, as by such constant work, she kept them both from want and idleness.

"She would also send plentiful relief to prisoners and needy persons at London and Oxford, with a strict charge that it should not be known from whence it came, and it was not till after her death that these charities came to light. Nor was her mercifulness bounded within the limits of friends, but extended to her enemies; for when many of them were taken prisoners by the king's soldiers, she consulted how she might send relief.

"Her mercifulness was constantly exercised towards the sick; she spent large sums of money every year in providing antidotes against infection, cordials, and various sorts of medicines, which she distributed among her neighbours, attending herself to their wants with skill and care, hiring nurses when they were required, frequently visiting the poorest cottagers, waiting on their sick beds, and carrying books of spiritual exhortations which she read to them with words of holy counsel.

"Her maids came into her chamber early every morning, and usually passed an hour with her, when she prayed, catechized, and instructed. To this were daily added the Morning and Evening Prayers of the Church, before dinner and supper, together with reading the Scriptures and singing Psalms, before bed-time. She charged her servants to be present at all these hours of prayer, if their business allowed of it, but never suffered any one to be absent from all the services; if she observed any such, she sent for them into her chamber and prayed

with them privately, making it a rule that at least every morning or evening, every servant in her house should offer the sacrifice of prayer and praises to God.

"On the Lord's day she rose earlier than on other days, but often found the day too short for her private duties and instructions of her children and servants. . . . In order also to prepare herself for the Sunday's duty beforehand, she sequestered herself on the Saturday from company and worldly business. . . . She punctually observed the other Holy-days of the Church, and after the public service, she released her servants to their recreations, and the care of their own concerns. . . . On these days of rest, she went with her books to her unlearned neighbours, who were at leisure to hear her read, whilst their plough and their wheel stood still.

"She strictly observed the fasts of the Church. . . . She was very careful in preparing herself to receive the Lord's Supper; often at such times fears and scruples arose within her, tending to keep her back from that heavenly banquet; but having cause on examination, and after advising with her minister, to consider them temptations from the devil, she put them by, and presented herself with an humbling and trembling heart at that blessed Sacrament. . . . She exhorted all her servants to accompany her to the Sacrament, and those who were prevailed upon, gave in their names two or three days before, that she might instruct them herself, and obtain the help of her chaplains to examine them and instruct them further."

In an interesting letter addressed to her friend and chaplain Duncan,

"Now I miss," she says, "those opportunities I had at court and at the cathedral—nay, it is not here so well with me as it was when you and I lived together in that country village, where the good parson had morning and evening prayer in the parish church twice a day continually: where I now live, we have this advantage of public prayer only on the Lord's day and its eve, and on Holy-days and their eves, and on Wednesdays and Fridays, our wonted Litany days."

Darkened as her spirit was by occasional clouds of constitutional melancholy, the death of a hopeful son added to her heaviness; but this affliction also she looked upon as a call to greater godliness: and when her sorrow seemed inclined to be somewhat too severe, she many times opened out the state of her soul to the excellent divine who had advised her after her husband's death. Sometimes this melancholy, increased by her affliction, almost overcame her, especially as her bodily health, always weak, began to fail. She increased her mortifications, dispensed with all pomp, and was more than ever careful of her words and actions:—

"That which more astonished the inmates of her house, was to see

this noble lady begging forgiveness from her inferiors and servants, for her angry words or chiding frowns towards them ; and sometimes asking their pardon when she had expressed no anger outwardly, because, said she, 'somewhat I felt within myself too like anger towards you, though I suppressed it as soon as I could.' More than once or twice she was in her closet upon her knees ready for her prayers, when she remembered that her 'brother' might have possibly somewhat against her, for a word, or a look, or a negligent silence a little while before, and then she arose and went to ask pardon before she proceeded with her prayers.

"As she drew near to her end, so did her deadness to the world increase. When her last sickness seized her, she strengthened herself by continual prayer and frequent reception of the Lord's Supper ; her fits of extreme depression, which she looked upon as great temptations of Satan, left her, and though 'she was wont to fear his most violent assaults on her death-bed,' she then enjoyed great tranquillity. 'This quiet,' says her good chaplain Duncan, in describing her death, 'gave her leave, though now very weak and faint, to be most vigorous and most instant at prayers ; she calls for other help very faintly ; but for prayers, most heartily and often ; and after the office of the morning was performed, she gave strict charge that every one of her family, who could be spared from her, should go to church and pray for her ; and then in a word of exhortation to them who stayed by her, saying, "Fear God, fear God," she most sweetly spent her last breath ; and so most comfortably yielded up her spirit to Him who made it. . . . In which moment of her death there seemed as little outward pain as inward conflict ; none could perceive either twitch, or groan, or gasp, or sigh, only her spirit failed ; and so she vanished from us. . . . Thus in her youth she was soon perfected, and in the short time of five-and-thirty years she fulfilled a long time.' "

From this deeply interesting character let us turn to Lady Capel, whose husband, praised in parliament by Cromwell, and yet condemned, suffered on the scaffold with so much Christian heroism.

"It was in March, 1649, that Lord Capel was beheaded, and his wife survived him the eleven following years of Cromwell's usurpation. In her widowhood she occupied herself in the care of her children and household, in works of devotion and charity, spending money in alms, even beyond the advice of the clergyman whom she employed as her almoner, obeying and assisting the ministers of the Church during the times of trouble, and devoting part of every day to the exercise of prayer, meditation, study of the Scriptures, and reading, from which she never suffered herself to be diverted by business or company.

"About four years before her death she lost her second son, Charles, then grown up to be a gallant and hopeful young gentleman, when

she sent for her spiritual adviser, Mr. Barker, as she habitually did on any occasion of grief, and addressed him in these words, 'Sir, I pray be free and plain with me, and tell me seriously what sin or vice did you ever take notice of in my practice and conversation? for I am sure something is amiss, and something God would have amended in me, that He does thus continually ply me with crosses.'

"As she was patient in her afflictions, and careful to improve them, so she was diligent in fulfilling her duties, and received strength to go through all that was required of her, notwithstanding the delicacy of her education and tenderness of her constitution. In her family devotions she required the attendance of all her servants, on which point only she showed herself a strict mistress, and would tell Mr. Barker that she never pleased herself in her family duties, nor thought that she served God acceptably, unless she had all her family about her.

"Towards the latter part of her last sickness, she twice received the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and both times with expressions of devotion and reverence; on the first of these two occasions, especially, when though her strength was much decayed, and her pain sharp, she would receive upon her knees, saying to Mr. Barker, that as long as God lent her the use of her knees, she resolved to use them in that solemn service, as a testimony of her unfeigned humility, and reverence of the majesty of those sacred mysteries.

"On January 26th, she sent for him four several times to pray with her, thrice in the morning, and once in the afternoon, at which last time all her children, except one who was not then in town, were present, and joined in the prayers. Soon after he was summoned again, to perform his last ministerial office, the recommendation of her soul into the hands of Almighty God, and then her senses beginning to fail, she drew her last breath a few minutes afterwards in much peace and sweetness."

After this brief notice we will turn next to Lady Mary Wharton,

"Who began without delay to perform her baptismal vow, finding those vanities in which her equals often took delight, only a burden and grievance. . . . She was never tainted with novel opinions, but well acquainted with and tenacious of the form of sound words contained in Holy Scripture, and as they are taught in the Church of England, whereof she was a true and dutiful child, and was never moved by any arguments with which members of the Church of Rome endeavoured to make an impression upon her.

"She studied the Scriptures, and copied largely from them for her own use, increasing her knowledge by the writings of the best divines. . . . Besides her diligent and unwearied reading, . . . she constantly observed her designed and stated time of secret prayer. In which, if she were at any time hindered by entertainment of friends, &c., yet would she redeem time, even from her sleep, rather than shorten her accustomed devotions.

"She was so much affected by the thought of God's loving-kindness to her, that she could not forbear to speak of it in her private discourses with her friends. She would often do this in conversing with Mr. Watkinson, who came to the rectory of Edlington in Yorkshire, whilst she was living there. Upon her first acquaintance, when he was but newly settled in the rectory, she said one day, whilst alone with him, 'Sir, God hath sent you hither to take care of our souls; therefore I entreat you, that you would not spare faithfully to reprove whatever you shall see amiss in me.' He resolved, upon this encouragement, to deal freely with her, if occasion offered; but he observed such a uniform regard to duty and care of her deportment at all times, and towards all persons, that during the rest of her life, he could find nothing in her worthy of reproof.

"Mr. Watkinson, in describing her character, goes through all the parts of it in relation to her duty towards God and man. . . . Sincerity, modesty, simplicity in dress, temperance in food, hospitality, diligence, charity, evenness of temper, willingness to ask pardon, attendance at public worship, attention to sermons, reverence to the ministers of God, and to his holy Sacraments, so that whenever an infant was baptized, she rejoiced in seeing its admission to Christ's Church, and joining in prayer with the congregation; nor would she lose one opportunity of receiving the Lord's Supper, when (at the feast of Easter) it was more frequently administered.

"The last time she ever received this holy Sacrament was on June 9, 1672, on which occasion she came out of the house, after being long confined to it by want of strength, and from this time she never left the house again. She had once received the Communion in private, during her confinement, but had a longing desire to receive it in the public congregation. That morning she rose two hours earlier than for a long time she had done before; the day was rugged, and the air cold, so that she probably increased her disorder. Her husband having conducted her to the church, after the sermon she received the Sacrament with more than ordinary devotion; on her return home she retired to her chamber, which she never left again, but died ten days after."

We will next proceed to give a few extracts from the life of Lady Halket, who, together with her sister, had the advantage of a religious education, for—

"Their mother's chiefest care was to instruct her children in the principles and practice of religion, teaching them to begin and end every day with prayer and reading a portion of Scripture in order, and daily to attend the church as often as there was occasion to meet there, either for prayers or preaching."

"She began the second period of her life, her youth, with a personal dedication of herself to God, renewing and confirming her baptismal vows; this she frequently repeated, but more solemnly every year on her birthday, when she reviewed her former life, confessed her sins,

returned thanks for the mercies she had received, and made resolutions for living more strictly, asking for help to keep them. She now read the Scriptures, which in childhood had been her task, as her own choice and delight. She went regularly through them every year.

"Her charitable disposition led her early to apply herself to the study of physic and preparing medicines, which might be useful in common cases of illness and of accidents, especially for the benefit of the poor."

During the public disturbances of that unhappy period, previous to Charles' death—

"She was instant in her private humiliations, fastings, and prayers, making the Psalms the subject of her meditation, as they afforded most suitable directions for regulating her thoughts and prayers."

After the king's death, she stayed at Fife near two years in great content.

"Here she applied herself to the delightful exercise of meditation; and it was also a pleasant diversion to her to prepare things useful for the sick and wounded persons, of whom a great many came to her."

Her marriage with Sir James Halket seems to have been a most happy one:

"That which was the firm bond of their concord and mutual comfort in one another, was sincere religious disposition, which they mutually cherished and increased in one another."

Troubles, however, soon came upon her; she lost all her children but one, and then her husband:

"The first time she went to bed after his death, she awakened out of sleep with these words in her mouth, 'A widow indeed!' which made such impression upon her, that she could not be satisfied till she found the place where it was wrote. She fixed her thoughts on the characters there given of a widow indeed, resolving to make them her example. . . As a Christian, she resolved to learn that first lesson, to be meek and lowly in heart. As a mother, she pitched on the examples of Lois and Eunice. As a widow, she fixed on that fore-mentioned passage (1 Tim. v. 2. 5. 10). . . She considered with herself that God was pleased in a peculiar manner to show his regard and compassion to the sad and solitary condition of widows. . . . She thought, therefore, that in gratitude they ought to be singular in their devotion to God, and in zeal for his 'honour and glory;' and she felt that 'the virtues proper to holy widows are, perfect modesty, renouncing all honours and all sorts of vanities, serving the poor and sick, comforting the afflicted, instructing young maids in devotion, and making themselves a pattern of all virtue to young women.'

"She set apart every Saturday, being the day of her husband's

death, for retirement, devotion, and abstinence . . . and to be employed in examining and reviewing the past week in acts of charity and mercy." She resolved "that if she recovered her patrimony, she would dedicate a tenth of all to charity . . . She never ate her morsel alone, the fatherless and indigent widow shared with her; her kitchen and table sustained many poor families; her still-house was an expensive business, and the apothecaries' accounts were considerable every year. . . She greatly delighted in frequent Communion; and not having in Scotland that desirable occasion every month, as in England, she endeavoured to make up that want by laying hold of all opportunities which offered yearly, not only in her own parish, but in all the churches round about, within three or four miles . . . Her piety had nothing of moroseness or affectation, but was free and ingenuous, full of sweetness and gentleness, which made it amiable and impressive . . . She much delighted in God's house and the public worship, and was a conscientious observer of the Lord's day; and hath made this remark, that, according to her frame and temper that day, such was her disposition the week following. She was careful that all her family served the Lord; and when she wanted a chaplain, performed the offices of morning and evening prayer herself, enjoining them private devotion. She was very moderate in her sentiments about disputable points, sadly regretting the divisions and animosities occasioned among Christians by them. Though she heartily approved the doctrine and worship of the Church of England, . . . yet she complied with all the forms of the country where God had cast her lot, finding the essentials of religion the same in both. Being deprived of all her regular opportunities of communicating, by the deprivation of the Scotch clergy in 1690, she communicated spiritually on those days on which she had been accustomed to receive the Communion in church. She did heartily pity and pray for those who did separate and cause divisions; and though she was much displeased with their courses, as offensive to God, . . . yet in all offices of charity and mercy she made no difference, but as she had opportunity did good unto all, especially to them of the household of faith.

"She divided the twenty-four hours into three parts, allotting five for devotion, ten for necessary refreshment, nine for business; . . . yet she did not confine her devotion to these stated hours, but all the day long, however employed, she endeavoured to keep up a spiritual frame; and in the night-time, when she did awake, she was still with God, had then her meditations, her songs and prayers. She ministered cordials and medicines every Wednesday to a multitude of poor infirm persons.

"Notwithstanding her many difficulties, she was generally of a cheerful temper, pleasant countenance, and always of an obliging behaviour . . . ever projecting to make others better by her converse, yet managing it in such an humble manner, as if she designed rather to receive than give instruction. She had a singular dexterity to divert and shuffle out unprofitable talking, and introduce serious discourse;

which if she could not effect, she would then pleasantly converse with God and her own soul in the midst of company, without discovering herself or disturbing them. She was equally eminent both for the contemplative, active, or practical part of Christianity; contemplation had so spiritualized her mind, that almost every object suggested pious thoughts to her."

She prepared herself for death in her seventy-eighth year with great patience and resignation, and finished her warfare with unshaken faith.

Of the celebrated Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, we have some interesting particulars. She

"Rendered all the assistance in her power to the ejected clergy . . . she persevered in her fidelity to the Church, refusing to communicate in any other manner than that appointed by the Prayer-book. . . . The parish church at Skipton had suffered during the long siege of the castle, and was repaired by the countess. She rebuilt also the church at Bongate, the chapels of Brougham, Ninekirk, and Mellerslang, besides founding and endowing schools and other charities. She repaired and restored an almshouse at Bethmesley, which had been built and endowed by her mother.

"As to her servants domestic, she well knew that they were *pars domus*; and how necessary a part of the house servants, and therefore to be kept tight, sustained and carefully held up; if in decay to be repaired; and therefore this part of her house she was always building or repairing by the hand of her bounty, as well as by good religious order in her family . . . *building them up in the most holy faith*, and also *giving them their meat in due season*, that meat which our Saviour told his disciples would not perish. This spiritual meat this lady wisely took care that it might be provided for all her household in due season; that is, at the three seasons in the year that the Church requires it, and once more in the year at least; besides those three great festivals, she made one festival more. And that all might be fitted and prepared, she took care that several books of devotion and piety might be provided four times in the year, that every one might take their choice of such book as they had not before, by which means, those who had lived in her house long (and she seldom turned away) might be furnished with books of religion and devotion of every kind.

"Whilst treating her neighbours and dependants with generosity, she was sparing, even to frugality, in her personal expenses. She was simple and abstemious in her food, and accustomed 'pleasantly to boast that she had never tasted wine or physic.' She took especial delight in the almshouse which she founded near Appleby for thirteen poor women, to be called a mother and twelve sisters, for which she provided an endowment, and the Service of the Church to be performed daily. With these sisters she would sit down and dine in their almshouse, and invite them to dine and converse with her as freely as her

greatest guests. This institution continued more than twenty-three years under her care. . . . She was not satisfied with her children and grandchildren, when they came to visit her, if they did not pay their salutations at her almshouse; and she commonly admonished them, when they came from far to pay their duty to her, that before they came to her for a blessing, they should take a blessing of the poor, the almswoman's blessing, by the way.

"She had not a chaplain living in her family; but at each of her six houses, the minister of the parish was accustomed to officiate in her family. When age had deprived her in some measure of the use of her limbs and hearing, she used her chamber as an oratory, there offering up her private devotions. She either read the Psalms of the day to herself, or, when hindered by ill health, they were read to her by her attendants, and she took especial delight in the Psalms. She also usually heard a large portion of Scripture read every day, as much as one of the Gospels in the course of a week.

"As her death drew near, . . . her passions were mortified and dead before her; so that for three or four days of her last sickness (for she endured no more) she lay as if she endured nothing. She called for her Psalms, read herself, and caused them to be read unto her. But that cordial (in which she had always taken particular delight) kept, in Rom. viii., and in her heart, this her memory held to the last, this she soon repeated; no doubt to secure her soul against all fear of condemnation, being wholly Christ's . . . and so to strengthen her hope by other comfortable arguments, contained in that chapter, being the last words of continuance which this dying lady spoke. The rest of the time she lay quiet, as if ruminating, digesting, and speaking inwardly to her soul what she had uttered in broken words, and so breathed her last without disturbance on March 22, 1675-6, in the eighty-seventh year of her age."

We will now notice a few particulars concerning the life of Lady Elizabeth Hastings, of whom we read that,—

"When she became, at the age of twenty-two, the mistress of a large fortune, her character was necessarily more known to the world, and she was observed to be somewhat more than a lady of great beauty and fine accomplishments, of condescension and good-nature, and regular observance of religious duties. In order to increase that stock of wisdom and knowledge which she had lain in by her own endeavours, and by the assistance from the appointed ministers under whom she lived, she cultivated the friendship of such learned men as Archbishop Sharpe, Mr. Nelson, Dr. Lucas, and others. She obediently followed the counsels which she received from them, doing every thing which the rules of the Gospel require.

"Her beauty and other attractions of person were such as without her large fortune might easily inspire affection; but she refused the offers of several among the nobility, and chose to continue in a single life; either, it is supposed, that she might make a wise and religious use of her

great estate, or accounting that a single life naturally led to a higher perfection. . . . She studied the Word of God daily, that by it she might amend her life ; other books that she used were wisely chosen for soundness of doctrine and sentiment. . . . Four times a day all her family, who were not necessarily engaged, assembled to attend prayers, and chiefly the Holy Service of the Church, read for the most part by the established minister, or some other, or else by one of the upper servants. She delighted in public worship, and constantly attended it, with a grave and awful demeanour, free from affectation.

"She watched strictly over her own heart to keep clear of all evil mixtures, and the taint of self-love, continually purifying her heart by acts of faith in the blood of her Redeemer. . . . She was careful and tender of her servants and even of her cattle ; and besides providing for the temporal wants of those who lived in her house, causing every artificer employed in her house to take care of their comfort and seeking gently to lead them into the way of goodness and religion, she kept her house with great elegance, that her poor neighbours might not want employment. She practised charity both by alms-giving, visiting and consoling the sick and afflicted, receiving the poor at her house, and sending sums of money to a distance.

"Her still larger applications were fixed pensions upon reduced families, exhibitions to scholars at the Universities, the maintenance of her own charity school, her contributions to others, disbursements to the religious Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and Promoting Christian Knowledge at home, for the erection, decoration, and augmentation of churches : add to these, frequent remission of debt, in cases of straitness or insolvency. Her rule was to give the first place to justice, the second to charity, the third to generosity.

"For several months before her death she was unable to attend public worship, from which she had never been kept by any trifling hindrance ; indeed, after her illness, she continued to go when wanting sleep, and apt to suffer cold ; but when it became impossible for her to reach the church, she had the Service read at home daily, and the Holy Sacrament administered to her every Sunday. . . . About six hours before her death, she summoned, for the sake of her household, those especially who had seldom seen her in the time of her long illness, to strengthen and enforce every thing that she had done, or shown them before, by her dying counsels. She had wished in like manner to take leave of the whole village, but was restrained by her physician ; and being anxious to have the last offices of the Church administered to her in the most solemn and regular manner, she set aside the services of two or more excellent clergymen, then in the house, and sent for the vicar of the parish, whom she had held in honour for twenty years.

"When this last service was performed, her soul seemed to receive some of the happiness of heaven ; her eyes, though languishing under years and sickness, shone bright as diamonds (as one said, who was present) ; and all who looked on were amazed at the transport now

granted to her spirit. She broke out with a raised accent into words such as these: 'Lord! what is it that I see? Oh the greatness of the glory that is revealed in me—that is before me.' And some time after she had so said, she fell asleep."

We have been somewhat lengthy in our extracts, and yet extracts, however long, fail to give more than rough sketches of character, to make a few points prominent; and, in this instance, we trust, to create an appetite for the closer study of the finished full-length lives of these English saints. Our object has been to select such portions of their history as would bring into relief a few of the stronger and more striking features of their character, and upon them to concentrate the attention of our readers. And what an antipodes is such biography to the library of Mrs. Ellis! After having been muddled with bewildering volumes of vague advice, we are here refreshed by some "great facts." We have not theories, nor precepts, nor sentimentalizings; we escape from a foggy "Ideal" into excellent realities; we behold forms, real and well-defined; we have actual Christian women before our minds' eye; we have at least something to grasp; something tangible and distinct. Christian faith is, as it were, embodied before us in real shapes; and with these models of fair proportions, in the natural and comely attitude of genuine piety, we have something positive to set before the women of these times. Here we have, not tinsel, but true gold, the genuine development of true, decided, consistent Christianity. After puzzling ourselves with a multitude of recipes for the formation of female character, here we have the thing itself, the female character as we desire it to be.

And, what adds to the value of the survey of these faithful women, we know that we have the genuine exhibition of their real character; we have the advantage of being taken behind the scenes; it is not their stage action, their public life, that we behold; we are admitted into their every-day and domestic life; they are not sitting stiffly for their portraits, in their best gowns, with their best looks, nor whispering set speeches, nor playing the oracles; they were wholly unconscious that their descendants of the nineteenth century would know any thing about them; they did not act with any idea that they would appear in a book; but their likeness was caught and sketched at casual times by their intimates, as they chanced to find them, sometimes in their country walks, sometimes in out of the way cottages of the poor, or among their servants, or in their closets or oratories, where nobody seemed to be looking on, or in the humble village church filled with a smockfroaked congregation, or on their sick-bed. We see them, so to speak, in their working-dress on a working-

day, just as they were ; and at the hastiest glance of this their private, and, as they thought, unobserved life, we are led at once to exclaim that these are the sort of mothers and daughters of England which one would wish to see revived and repeated in their posterity.

Now, in considering the impression which these Churchwomen make upon us, we think that what must first strike the reader is, a certain strong resemblance between them all. Even our extracts are enough, we imagine, to give that impression. A painter is said to be always painting the same face, to be unable to create a real variety, however he may try ; and there is much truth in the remark, though of course the strength of the likeness that runs through the works of the same master is of various degrees. Maclise, for instance, in our day, has but one creation, one face in all his faces. So in all these portraits of Churchwomen we see a general likeness, a certain common tone of mind, running through them all, as though one hand had drawn them all ; and yet from many hands we get their characters. We seem to have got into an old gallery of family pictures, and as we walk down its pictured length, notwithstanding the varieties of complexion, age, costume, attitude, all the faces that look down upon us have a family look. We seem to be reading accounts of the same person over and over again, with but slight varieties of incident. And yet we do see variety in the midst of resemblance ; individuality is not lost in the general similarity. Thus, as in Lady Falkland we see a melancholy temperament, so in Lady Halket we see a cheerful and sunny disposition. As among sisters there is a variety and yet sameness, so in this devout sisterhood we behold at once oneness and yet diversity. This we consider to be a striking point of view much to be dwelt upon ; for we are led thereby to have a distinct idea of spiritual fellowship, and to discern the working of one and the self-same Spirit in their souls, which, notwithstanding the variety of their temperament and natural gifts, blended them altogether into one, and marked them with the common image and superscription of the Spirit. So in music, the notes are many and different, and the master of music makes them all contribute their sounds towards one general effect, to the greater perfection of but one air, which is thus filled up with harmonies, and made the richer by the very varieties of tone. There is a difference between one great monotony and one great unity.

The fact is, that all these characters, which are here brought before us, were formed in the same mould, trained in the same system, nourished with the same food, and fed by the same mother's hand. That mould, that system, that mother, was the

Church. The family resemblance is accounted for ; they were members one of another,—daughters of the Church. They did not strike out a way of religion for themselves, nor follow their own humours ; they did not go a multitude of ways, apart from one another, in self-trusting isolation, as lovers of novelty. They felt their need of help and guidance ; they knew not what to set about, nor where to begin, of themselves ; and so they teachably threw themselves into the divine system of the Church ; they humbly put themselves under the Church's rule ; they lived by rule ; they did not content themselves with general, undefined, dreamy notions of Christianity, nor with sitting in easy chairs, thinking about religion ; they desired to be formed and shaped into some consistent discipleship, and to have the details of discipleship set before them. And from them we see the advantage, the superiority of *system* ; it prevents waste of power, the evaporation of zeal ; it directs energies, good feelings, and impulses. Want of system, of acting by rule, of having an appointed course of action, is an evil readily admitted in worldly matters ; the loose, ungirded mind, that acts by fits and starts, that has no more than a general notion that something must be done, and that there is a great deal to do, rambles on without design, and loses itself amid a thousand unfinished works. Now these Churchwomen, by casting themselves into the Church form of Christian life, had a given course before them, and accordingly they set themselves to the course marked out.

We may remark, by the way, on the *beauty* of this mould,—we mean the mould of the English Church, as reformed ; for while it is the unfair fashion of the Romanists of the day, in speaking of saints, to contrast the whole continent of Europe, from the sixth century to the present day, with this single island, from the period of the Reformation, and then to appeal to the multitude of saints under the one system, and their paucity under the other, as though the contrast were made on equitable terms, it is a great comfort to us to bear in mind that these female saints were formed in the Reformed Church of England ; and we are bold to say, that such a number of such women as lived in the English Church the century after the Reformation, cannot be found in the century preceding it.

Now, in analyzing the elements of these Churchwomen's characters, we observe not only a resemblance, but we are also struck by the union of devotionality and activity, of the contemplative with the practical, of a course of praying, meditating, reading, Church-going, with a course of active charity, kindness, and self-denial. They prayed, they read the Scriptures, they kept the feasts and fasts of the Church, they frequently commu-

nicated, they were daily, if possible, in the Lord's house, and in their private oratories, they had spiritual converse with holy chaplains and parish priests; but they also visited the sick, attended to the wants of the poor, gave medicines, trained their servants and dependants into a religious course. Their life ran upon two wheels, devotion and action; theirs was a two-edged sword; on one side of their hearts the text was written, "Pray without ceasing," on the other, "Be careful to maintain good works." They did not content themselves with what have been called the "luxuries of religion," the devotional and contemplative part; neither in forming a high estimate of the value of works and labours of love, of the practical part of faith, did they neglect the means of grace: they did not neglect "work" for prayer, nor prayer for "work."

This continued and consistent union of devotion and action involved great domesticity; such a round of prayer and active charity could not be run except by those who were "keepers at home:" this was their praise, and this their necessity, as long as they sought to fulfil thoroughly the requirements of the Church. The excitements of what is called "society" must have been given up, and any great mixing in the pleasures and gaieties which their means and station tempted them to pursue; there was no time for such things. A certain degree of retirement was necessary for the fulfilment of all their duties. Though they had their friends and intimates, and were far from leading an isolated and lonely life, yet it was a *home life*. And as they withdrew from worldly "society" they did not form "a religious world;" there was no cliqueism or partyism; they could get on without the excitement of popular religionism, without "meetings" and speechifyings; there was no bustling about with subscription cards, no "Ladies' Associations," no vagrant "Deputations," no idolizing of preachers, no working of grotesque pin-cushions for "Charity Bazaars." Theirs was a deeper view of spiritual fellowship; they shunned the publicity of the turbid religion which prevails so widely now.

And look at the advantages of the domestic character of their lives. Instead of spending their time amidst a mass of frivolous associates, or spending their wealth in entertaining a wide circle of mere acquaintances, they had time to visit the poor; they had the means to relieve them. They mixed with the poor; they knew them in their own cottages; and it was from this actual knowledge and personal inspection of their wants, from an unceasing round of visiting, that they learnt truly to love them and to be merciful; their sympathies were not only excited, but soberly sustained by facing constantly the realities of want, and

distress, and patience. This is the only sort of love for the poor which is real: sham love and sham interest are often apt to become popular; it sometimes becomes a fashion to talk about the poor; like any other fashion, this pity passes away; perhaps it lasts as long as to give birth to a few ephemeral "Societies," or to make a few "Charity Balls," as for the "poor Poles," where selfish gaiety, having given a guinea for its own amusement, dances, waltzes, polks, and makes merry, because of the sufferings, and distresses, and tears of the poor.

The poor are sometimes looked upon as excellent subjects of declamation; and persons will go to meetings and speak about them in an excited way, and others will go and be melted at these speeches; and yet both parties would shrink from penetrating into the squalid homes, or soiling themselves with actual contact with those whom they think they pity. There is a philanthropy which will listen to descriptions of poverty; but when it comes to handling it and touching it, to brushing against the coarse clothes, or scenting the close hut, or sitting among the dirty children, or reading by the mean bed, then it recoils. And yet, as we have said, if sympathy is to be true, or sober, or continuous, it must be learnt from constant and continuous intercourse with the poor. Thus did the Churchwomen we are speaking of know and love them.

Another characteristic worthy of notice is the sort of light in which they viewed their servants, and the treatment which they bestowed upon them. They started with the texts of Scripture upon this matter as their guide; they considered their responsibilities as mistresses; they looked upon their servants as "*pars domûs*," as a real part of their family, as bound up with them, as having a certain membership with them. They did not consider the subject as a mere worldly covenant, so much wages and so much work, as though their duty were over in giving them enough to eat and drink, and paying them honestly their due. There was a heartier feeling; they did not want such a loose kind of connexion, but a real sympathy between both parties, warmth and interest on both sides. Their home-life heightened these domestic sympathies; their home being so much a home, every member of the household was not simply a servant in the house, but a member of the house. Hence, not coldly regarding them as a living apparatus or machinery by which their tables were served and their house kept in order, they had at once a sincere regard for their temporal comfort; and above all, as the extracts we have given so clearly tell us, a deep interest in their spiritual state and progress. Without forgetting their own station, they manifested towards their dependants that high-

principled friendliness which obtained as its recompense willing services, and something infinitely warmer than the unhearty, prim respect of the mass of modern servants. In fact, the mistresses and the servants did not hang loosely together, but were, so to speak, parts of one another. As the domestic habits of the mistresses gave them more opportunities of seeing and knowing their servants, so they created a stronger interest. Their quiet regularity of life must have been of infinite benefit to the household; for as the spirit of dissipation spreads downwards, and the gay living of the heads of the house is developed in coarser forms in the imitative world downstairs, so the staid, holy manners of these good Churchwomen were doubtless somewhat reflected in their dependants, to say nothing of the direct instruction given them by their mistresses, and of such other opportunities as they enjoyed in the constant round of prayer.

As another point of interest we must not fail to notice the sort of intercourse which they maintained with their clergy, whether chaplains or parish priests; it was essentially a *religious* intercourse, and so grave, earnest, and sober of its kind, that even Michelet could have found no fault. They did not look upon the clergy simply as well-informed and well-bred *gentlemen*, agreeable in society, and suitable companions from their tastes and cultivation, but as *priests and pastors*, as their ghostly counsellors, as the physicians of their souls, from whom they should seek guidance in their manner of life, to whom they should reveal the more marked symptoms of their spiritual state. And it is pleasing to observe this high view of the pastor's office was not damped and chilled by the secular deportment of the clergy: it is pleasing to observe the seriousness of those of whom counsel was asked, and whose office it was to give it; there was well-governed sympathy between the counsellor and the counselled; the one were serious in seeking, the other in giving.

In thus bringing before our readers a few of the stronger points of character, we must not forget to remark that these Churchwomen were mostly of noble birth, of that very rank where the world is the richest in powers of temptation, and where we least look for deadness to the world or any high degree of spirituality. And if we find such a body of devout persons amongst the nobles of the land, we may reasonably infer that a still larger body existed among the gentry. As the writer of "the Lives" observes, they are but "specimens of a class, representatives of a period, samples of a much larger number like themselves." We do not see all the stars of that "milky way."

Now having shown our readers somewhat of the mode of life, the real and interior life, of these ancient Englishwomen, as

moulded by the Church, by means of the excellent volume of biography, which has been our telescope on the occasion, and revealed some stars deep in the firmament of the past, we are tempted to wheel round and see what is going on immediately before our eyes; in short, to whisk from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Now the moment we touch the very edge and rim of a comparison, we are at once struck by the *undomestic tendencies* of the upper classes in these times, as compared with the highly domestic character of the same classes in the seventeenth century. We purposely use the word "tendencies," for the love of domesticity has not as yet so far decayed as to require a stronger word; while we thankfully discern some counteracting tendencies already at work, a counter-current setting in with some power. But still, so it is, there are strong undomestic or anti-domestic tendencies in the age. We do not mean that women have yet their "clubs," that the dust gathers upon the drawing-room chairs, or that grass grows between the boards; but we mean that women are inclining to choose a wrong sphere, to live in a wrong atmosphere, to move in a false mode of life, to cast themselves too much out of home-life into what is called "society," to make this the chief sphere of action, the object of their care, the stage of their energies and exertion, the occupation and business of life. Instead of home, with its cheerful and solid friendships, its reasonable pleasures, its sober occupations, its opportunities of usefulness, there has been an increasing devotion to "society," with its artificialities, its heartlessness, its false excitement, its worldliness and show and expensiveness, its unprofitableness, its rivalries, its luxuriousness and self-indulgence. This great "sham," this hollow substitute for true communion and intercourse, this apparent union of uncemented units, this seeming corporate life of a multitude of self-weary selfs, this show of fellowship under the garb of an intense self-ism, this heart-separating system by means of an apparent comingling, has been making the whole of life "a sham;" has turned it into a dramatic scene, a constant artificiality and piece of acting, binding up natural feelings and naturalness of character, as the Chinese women compress their feet, with the bands and restraints of a thousand stiff conventionalities, till all the movements of the mind are regulated by a technical courtliness instead of free-born courtesy. The little circles in which women once were content to move, with room enough for friendship but not for a host of mere acquaintances, has been widening and widening more and more, that acquaintances might come in instead of friends. To "enter into society," to live in "society," to cast themselves into wide but shallow floods of humanity, to

generalize themselves by spreading their intercourse through an infinite number of persons, to dilute their sympathies that they may know the outsides of a multitude instead of the hearts of a few, and of course to receive diluted sympathies in return, has been too much the aim and the life of the women of these later times. The "keepers at home" have been constant "goers out." Much going out, party after party, ball after ball, dinner after dinner;—this is the undomesticating course in which so many run.

There is too much publicity, of living in the presence of others, in this society-life; reality fades before publicity; the mind and feelings have to be dressed up, as well as the body; it is difficult to be natural and genuine, not to put on a manner, where there is much mixing with others, without reaching intimacy; and the habit of being so constantly with a dressed mind remains, where the mind might unbend; naturalness is lost, the parade attitude remains: just as Mrs. Siddons is said to have been always acting at home and conversing to her friends in blank verse. The power of sympathizing is chilled and weakened by the constant exposure to the cold atmosphere of society-life; the interest in others being constantly excited, without opportunities of deepening inwardly, or of fastening itself upon objects, the objects for ever changing and flitting by, at last evaporates into the mere affectation of interest; mind grazes mind, but this is all; mutual amusement is sought, not membership one of another. As Hannah More observes, with much truth, though we should widen the view of the losses suffered through "society,"—

"Perhaps the interests of true friendship, elegant conversation, mental improvement, social pleasure, maternal duty, and conjugal comfort, never received such a shock as when Fashion issued out that arbitrary and universal decree, that *every body must be acquainted with every body*; together with that consequent, authoritative, but rather inconvenient, clause, that *every body must also go every where every night*. . . . As the circle of acquaintance expands, and it will be continually expanding, the affections will be beaten out into such thin laminæ as to leave little solidity remaining. The heart which is continually exhausting itself with professions grows cold and hard. The feelings of kindness diminish, in proportion as the expression of it becomes more diffuse and indiscriminate. The very traces of 'simplicity and godly sincerity,' in a delicate female, wear away imperceptibly by constant collision with the world at large. And, perhaps, no woman takes so little interest in the happiness of her real friends as she whose affections are unceasingly evaporating in universal civilities; as she who is saying fond and flattering things at random to a circle of five hundred people every night."

We cannot be conversant with the habits of the higher classes in London, or in any of our large towns, without seeing the short and awful space of human life frittered away by this passion for "society," with all its frivolities and all its varieties of evil; while the real and solemn duties of women are either utterly neglected or but partially fulfilled, because of the sacrifice of time, and strength, and worldly substance, which their idol imperatively demands. Where once this passion is suffered to take root, "*crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops*;" when once the wheel begins to whirl, it must be whirled on; when once this living upon excitement, upon the pastry of life, has been indulged, the diseased appetite sickens at the sight of better food; the power of repose is lost; home and home duties and home pleasures become dull, and wearisome, and flat; and even though the excitement of society has lost its first relish, "going out" is continued as a habit.

And this society-life, so much indulged, infects the very beginning of female life; it begins with exercising its influence on female education. First, it shortens it; it creates a wrong idea of what education is; it erects a "terminus" at the eighteenth mile of life: then the steam is turned off, the engine stops, and the young passenger's course of instruction is at an end. The space from ten to eighteen is not looked upon as the mere grammar-time of education, but as the beginning and the end, the whole. Whatever has to be learnt must be compressed into that short space; the stock must be laid in; as much knowledge packed into the brain as the time will allow; then the pupil is "finished:" and in order to appear in any light finished, to avoid the exposure of gross ignorance on any common point, to be able to pass through society with a certain appearance of commonplace information, a hundred things must be learnt at once, or, rather, the mind must skim the surface of a thousand things. Where education is itself condensed and abridged, recourse must be had to that wretched race of "*Abridgments*," "*Compendiums*," "*Treasures*," which Mrs. Ellis and Hannah More so justly inveigh against. The day must be split into little pieces, and the brain too. We know of a school where there are no less than eleven professors at work! Conceive what a tesselating of the mind must take place! A school-boy's pocket, a village shop, where cheese and calico, boots and treacle, lard and letter paper, are crowded into one little dingy space, give but faint representations of the variety and confusedness of the educational articles. An old coach dinner, where fish, meat, pastry, and cheese had all to be eaten "in hot haste," in a short half

hour, were more easy of digestion than the rapid dishes of the eleven professors.

But the insufficiency of the education is a slight evil compared with others which the love of "society" inflicts upon woman's early life. Think of the prospect which is presented to the girl at the end of the dull avenue of lesson-life ! Is not her whole mind, with an eager longing natural to youth, bent upon the door at the end which in a moment will open out into a dazzling course of ease and pleasure. Parties, parties are the things of which she hears, and of which, therefore, she thinks and dreams. Infinitely hurtful must it be to the unformed and buoyant mind to see the importance attached to "coming out," to see it by the fact that a given time is fixed upon for so sudden and so great a change in life when she is to burst into the gaieties of the world ; a wrong idea must be running through her brain, a false notion of human life. It will be strange if this wrong idea does not influence her in her studies, by leading her to place a wrong motive for improvement before her eyes, to pursue it with a view of appearing to advantage and shining in society, in short, to regard education as a mere preparation for society. Consider, also, the undue prominence which the coming out into the world necessarily gives to the mere fringes, and trimmings, and ornaments of education, the lesser but the more showy parts, we mean "accomplishments." Music, dancing, drawing, &c., no longer hold a subordinate place, nor fill up the chinks and corners of the day. "Accomplishments" strike and tell in society, carry admiration by storm, and therefore are studied for their quick effectiveness ; and even the modern languages are learnt in a shallow way, rather with regard to conversation, than as opening out stores of wisdom to be mastered and digested. "Manner," elegance of motion, and address, become subjects almost of study. Strange stories are told of what has been done in schools on this matter, of the lessons in "manner ;" and the use of pasteboard carriages to teach the pupils the art of stepping in with easy elegance, though, of course, fabulous, is after all a fable framed upon an "over true tale," the exaggerated and swollen features of a real face. Home education is of course less open to excesses in the formation of manner.

And when the great epoch is reached, when the girl is "out" fairly in the world, think of the reaction ! Eleven professors one week and none the next ! All her course changed ; and all her hours upon her own hands. To dance, to dine out, to make morning calls, to receive visits, these are the beginnings of full-grown life. The school-room opens into the ball-room. It is

but one bound from French exercises and dreary strummings on the piano, to fêtes and gaieties. What young head can bear all this freedom after all that restraint, all this self-indulgence after all that discipline? And what shall we say of the effect of late hours, frivolous conversation, questionable amusements, or at best excess of amusement, of the care for dress, the habits of self-indulgent expense, of flatteries and compliments, of the surrounding idolatry of fashion, and rank, and riches upon an unformed character, a mere girl? We might well speak of the nature of one of the amusements in vogue, of the indecency of the most popular dance, the immodest waltz; a thing not of English growth, at first opposed, scarcely tolerated, long resisted, now corrupting a wider circle every year, for which the fine and precious edge of natural delicacy has to be turned, from which the guileless and unhacknied girl shrinks at first with blushes at her heart, if not in her cheek; till seeing all around yielding to the dance without compunction, she tries to distrust her own sense of what is strictly modest, accuses herself of over-bashfulness, at last yields the sacred waist to the hand of a stranger, who is allowed to do that in public which he would not dare to repeat at home.

Now, when a few years of society-life are past, what is the fruit? That she has done nothing for God or for man, is the society-seeker's best defence. To have dined out so many times, to have paid and received so many calls, to have danced at so many balls, to have known so many people, what a melancholy inventory of the acts of life! Though nothing gross, nothing startling, no great iniquity stands out to blacken the character, yet this round of life, this doing nothing, this trifling with time, is a manifest serving of the world and a following of "the pomps and vanities of this wicked world." How different was the life of the Churchwomen of the seventeenth century!

And, even if we were to let such a false idea pass, that youth is a season for society, a fit season for what amounts to dissipation, we do not see that the passion or the habit dies when youth is past. The habit of living in the world, the love of going out, remains; as "the boy is father to the man," so the girl is mother of the woman; the tone of mind, the tastes, the character of the girl, somewhat modified of course, continue in the woman. And what is the result? The mother sees little of her children. What the Spectator says of the society-seeker of that day is not out of date now.

"She thinks life lost in her own family, and fancies herself out of the world, when she is not in the ring, the playhouse, or the drawing-room. She lives in a perpetual motion of body and restlessness of thought,

and is never easy in one place, when she thinks there is more company in another. She pities all the valuable part of her own sex, and calls every woman of a prudent, modest, and retired life, a poor-spirited and unpolished creature."

If education is conducted at home it is resigned to governesses; the mother looks in to see that all is going on well; this is all: she takes little or no part in it; children are in the way; there is no time for teaching them; devotion to society destroys devotion to children; the mother's conscience is satisfied, if she finds a trustworthy person, who becomes, in fact, her children's step-mother in her own lifetime. She is, too, it must be confessed, but little qualified to instruct her children. When she came out, every thing like real study was at an end; there was nothing more but what is truly called "light reading," to fill up the gaps that intervened between one act of excitement and another. Society-life does not prepare women for doing their part as mothers. And yet we hold it to be a positive duty in every mother daily to take part in the training of her children; nor do we think that women of the very highest rank are freed from this charge. The part which especially falls to them is that of directing the religious discipline of their children, in instructing them in religious truth, in their duties as children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. This office ought not to be deputed to governesses; a mother can best impress religious truth upon her child; it is a mother's duty, and a mother's privilege, while it is a high incentive to watch over her own spiritual state, to walk closely with God, after the Spirit, that she may be fit for so momentous a work. We must recal the example of Lady Halket's mother, whose labour was not in vain; it was her

"Chiefest care to instruct her children in the principles and practice of religion, teaching them to begin and end every day with prayer and reading a portion of Scripture, and daily to attend the church as often as there was occasion to meet there, either for prayers or preaching, backing all her instructions by her own pious example."

We are far, however, from wishing the decrease of governesses in desiring mothers to fulfil their part; as helps and assistants in the work of education, they are of the greatest use; for as we want not, where it can be helped, the whole burden of teaching to fall upon the mother, whose other duties must not be altogether sacrificed for her family cares, so the aid of well-qualified and well-principled governesses can be profitably employed. Indeed we claim for this class of persons far greater reverence, tenderness, and consideration than is commonly bestowed upon

them in England; they ought to be the mother's *friends*, as they occupy by her own choice the place of the best of friends, and are engaged with them in the work which tells upon the whole after life and character of their children. They should have the friend's honour. We believe that in Russia they are wisely treated with considerable affection and respect.

But society-life has greatly discouraged home education altogether; the burden and responsibility of children interfering with the claims of society, they have too often been packed off to school, as a mode of effecting a more complete riddance of them than consigning them to a governess and school-room at home. Now, while we admit that there must be girls' schools, since there are many girls, orphans, motherless children, and the like, who cannot enjoy the privilege of home education, yet we have the strongest opinion of the superiority of the home over school. As women are designed for home-life, so ought they to be trained at home. Schools, however good, however conscientiously conducted, are not good for girls; it is a wrong beginning, a false start; a youth spent away from home has a tendency to undomesticate them, to weaken home feeling. Home seems their natural place. Nothing can supply constant and affectionate intercourse with a mother. From the very nature of a girl's mind, she ought to be thrown into constant and immediate contact with those older than herself, not to be thrown principally or chiefly with persons of her own age; she gets a girlish character engrafted in her from such friction, and though we like cheerful tempers and good spirits in the young, we do not want a sort of girlishness to be carried away from school. Nothing, again, can supply a father's place; we think it highly hurtful to be mixing only with those of her own sex; it is apt to make her affected and unnatural when at last she is brought out of exclusively female life into mixed life. "Coming out" is a greater change than ever, and a greater trial, where she has not been accustomed to mix with any but girls and women.

Besides, a girl wants confidantes, and will have them; she is of a confiding nature; and though it is good for her to have friends of her own age, yet there are many matters on which she needs to speak out her mind, without reserve, to those of riper years. Now a schoolmistress has the authority, but not the affectionateness, of a mother. Let her be ever so good, and kind, and tender, she has to divide her interest and care among many; it is difficult for her pupils to be confidential; there is a stiffness and restraint between them; and while there is reserve, where openness and free expression of the mind would benefit, so there is apt to be a trifling and frivolous confidentialness between

the girls themselves, where there had better be some reserve. There is also a sort of publicity in school-life, which seems opposed and hurtful to the character of women; and the fact, that we shrink instinctively from the idea of "public schools" for girls, as being unfeminine, at once seems to condemn all those approaches to such a system which are already made by schools of twenty or thirty girls. With boys it is different; they had better have some beginnings of the friction of public life, in order to fit them for that publicity which it will be their portion, as men, to know.

Whether, however, education be at home or abroad, the daughters see too little of their mothers when the latter enter much into society; for even when school-room life is over, and the daughters spend more time with their mothers, the increased intercourse is more in public than in private, amid the unrealities of life; they make the same morning calls, or shop together, or dine out together; their hearts are not a whit more thoroughly opened out to each other. And hence it is that that cold, unworthy notion of the honour due to parents has arisen; there has been little communion between them, or, what is as bad, stiff, artificial communion in the midst of society; the true keen edge of filial feeling has been suffered to rust. It is Hannah More's complaint, that—

"Among the real improvements of modern times, it is to be feared that the growth of filial obedience cannot be included. Who can forbear observing and regretting, in a variety of instances, that not only sons but daughters have adopted something of that spirit of independence, and disdain of controul, which characterize the times."

Hence in high life those bold breaches of obedience, of which we have had many recent examples, which have led to the shameful mockery of a marriage, and which are commonly spoken of in so light a way as to leave the impression that the true notions of honour to parents are but faint.

In London, indeed, of late years, society-life has been busier than ever in making family intercourse cold and unreal; we hear of husbands and wives seeking even society apart from each other; the wife drives to a ball, the husband to the opera; and though this evil is as yet confined to the world of the world, we see the separating and undomesticating tendencies of over-much going out in full play.

As we are disposed to accuse society-life, not only of being an active course of vanity and self-indulgence, but of being one prolonged sin of omission, what shall we say, in speaking of the omission of home-duties in this undomestic course, of the treat-

ment of servants? It is the fashion to complain of servants; but masters and mistresses should first complain of themselves. The olden interest in servants is all but past; much society prevents interest; the dissipation of mistresses dissipates the servants; the spirit of the heads of the house descends. We believe the habits of servants in large towns to be vicious in the extreme, vicious almost beyond belief; they have caught the vices of those above them, and exhibit them in grosser and coarser forms. Extravagance, luxurious ways of living, self-indulgence, passion for dress, these are among their more obvious sins. Whether servants are Christians or infidels, as long as they preserve a show of propriety and respect, seems among a host of persons to be a matter of no concern; their spiritual state is not cared for, and is not known. The constant entertainments which they attend throws them among large numbers and varieties of servants, who corrupt each other and provoke each other to sin; late hours, an unquiet house, want of regularity, stiff, formal, brief glimpses of their mistresses, worldly examples before them; all these are the injuries which "society" inflicts upon the dependants of her votaries. If servants' morals be at the very lowest ebb, what an awful weight of responsibility rests upon the souls of those to whom they have been given in charge by God Himself!

Omitted duties thicken upon our minds as we begin to number them. What regard is paid to the poor by those who fly from home-life to society? We go into the narrow streets of our larger towns, where the poor are packed together in their close homes; where there is many a sick bed, and the sickness aggravated by want. How rarely do we see any sisters of charity turning out of the broader and sunnier highways of the world to dive into the gloomy abodes of poverty! Where is the heart for such a task, where the time? A few stragglers may occasionally be found, and but a few; even then making often rather irregular incursions than carrying on a systematic and well-directed mission; acting often without the knowledge or guidance of the clergy, and going perhaps where they had better not, and not going where they would do well to go; meaning well, and yet, for want of order, hindering their own charitable design, or making it less fruitful.

While women shrink from the sickly sights which meet the visitors of the poor, and disturb not the serene life of self-indulgence by agitating spectacles of distress, any thing like a system or due proportion of alms-giving is not to be hoped for. Where there is not real pity, there will not be real bounty; a selfish life and a self-denying life, in order to be bountiful, cannot be led by

the same person at the same time; a few shillings at a charity sermon, or to a "troublesome" beggar, or a few guineas squeezed out by the ingenious importunities of some "collectors" for doubtful societies, "to get rid of the men," make up the sum total of gifts. Society-life is voracious; it demands the whole purse; it leaves scarce any shreds or scrapings of worldly means for the poor: all the resources of those who are much out, all the "allowances," or "pin-money," or whatever other name is given to a woman's privy purse; all are required to keep pace with the costly and restless fashions of dress.

Again, we go into the schools of the poor in London, and in our large towns, and we see one hot, wearied mistress, acting as colonel, captain, lieutenant, and ensign of her regiment of 200 or 300 girls, while some dozen little corporals, a lesson or two ahead of those they teach, are placed as "monitors" under her. Occasionally a lady hurries from class to class; but being unable, on an emergency, to multiply herself into a dozen, she is able to effect but little, and is almost lost in the sea of little ones. Where, we ask, are "the daughters of England;" the daughters of the upper classes, who have time and leisure on their hands? There is time for worsted work, time for polking, for shopping, for calls, but no time can be found for the blessed work of teaching the children of the poor. We know women's aptness to teach, their power of adapting themselves to children's minds, and of interesting them; and, therefore, we bewail the more the lack of devotion to so great a cause, the neglect of those natural gifts which would give blessings to others and rebound in blessings to themselves.

Again, we go through our cathedral towns, or other places where the privilege of daily common prayer is offered. We pass down goodly streets, crescents, rows, terraces, where the wealthier classes live. Well, we say to ourselves, how happy a thing for this busy town; these houses must yield a host of at least female worshippers; here are those who can go to pray for these restless multitudes of busy men. Here there must be an army of defenders to go daily into the citadel, and by their prayers in the temple to defend the place against the powers of darkness. How excellent the economy of God, who in his mercy gives so large a portion of his servants, in the very places where temptations most abound, time and opportunities for the work of daily intercession. Filled with these thoughts, we wend our way hopefully to the cathedral or the church in the morning; alas! only to be chilled and saddened. All those houses, all those streets and terraces, yield but a dozen or so who have the heart and spirit to seek the Lord in his temple. If household cares employ the mothers,

where are the daughters? As we return, we catch the sounds of a multitude of pianos, and in passing from house to house carry in our ears a shred of secular music from each; here the end of the overture of "Don Giovanni," and there the middle of a quadrille from "Robert le Diable," and then the last notes of "Soave imagine d'amor." Again, however, we tread the same path in the afternoon, determined to hope even against hope. We behold the doors of these goodly houses opening, and female crowds issuing forth; our spirit brightens with fresh hope; but, alas! we quickly discern to our dismay card-cases, and not Prayer-books, in their hands: they are bent upon that work of confessed and most profitless self-denial which even the world exacts from its worshippers. We see carriages rolling by, we hear the knockings at doors, and with these sounds in our ears we enter the almost forsaken temple.

Now in all these remarks which we have made upon "society-life," as we have called it, and its great train of evils, we, of course, have spoken generally: we know there are countless shades and degrees of this sort of life, the more and the less; of course, therefore, there is the more or the less hurt, the more or the less loss of domestic habits according to the degree and measure of "going out." We have spoken, also, chiefly of the habits of the women whose lot is cast in our larger towns, where the indulgence of the taste for living in crowds and escaping the quietness of home-life can be gratified. The country, happily, is less tainted with the disease. Society there partakes more of the character of hospitality; friction is less frequent; the very distances from house to house prevent a round of dissipation, or, at least, mitigate it; there is necessarily more of home-life; the tastes and amusements which the country itself suggests are of a higher and more elevating kind: these tastes leaven the tone of life, make it less artificial, more natural, and more wise. It is easier to mix with the poor; they are thrown more in the way of their richer neighbours, and from their simplicity they are apt to excite greater interest.

Now, if we have in any degree taken a true view of the undomestic tendencies that are at work among the upper classes, making them frivolous "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God," taking them from their proper duties, from all objects worthy of their care, or able to recompense them at the last, from all that constitutes a spiritual, unworldly, and useful life, what can be done to stem the tide?—We must look to the Church—this is the true domesticating power; this the true nurse of home affections, of genuine well-grounded friendships. Here, when the mind is beginning to have some longings after a

more satisfying life, and conscience between the exciting acts of gaiety remembers something of the renouncing of the world, when the "heart, distrusting, asks if this be joy," or rather, if this be the proper use of human life, then the Church meets the awakening conscience with a given system, with a satisfying course of life marked out, with clear and defined schemes of nobler occupations. We must look, we repeat, to the Church;—this is the divinely-appointed antagonist of the world, and of that form of the world now developing itself among the upper classes. As society really dislocates while it seems to unite, as it wastes and weakens the natural love of fellowship, while it pretends to gratify it, by substituting a hollow system of acquaintanceship, too broad and universal to be deep and true,—so the Church, on the other hand, increases the reality of communion, while it reduces the number of persons known; it opens out hearts, while it checks the mere knowledge of faces. It presents, too, as we have said, a distinct intelligible plan of life; it gives those who are sickening of the world something positive to do; it has a work prepared for them; and system is a great help; human nature needs it.

If it be asked, how does the Church rescue souls from the life of the world, and lead them into a homelife, where they can enter upon a useful course, let the Prayer-book, not the only voice of the Church, speak. This at once, if it be obeyed, breaks the round of society-life, causes the wheel to pause, and claims no slight portion of the week for the retirement of home. It takes, for instance, every Sunday as a matter of course, and sets it apart as the great day of devotion and charity; it forbids all parties and entertainments of every kind on Saturday, as being the vigil or eve of the Lord's day, on which Christians should prepare themselves in quietness for the solemn duties of the morrow. It marks all Fridays in the year as days of abstinence and humiliation; and if we take the loosest view of fasting, perhaps to beginners the best view, we should at least interdict ourselves from the pleasures of society on that day, and practise that abstinence. Here, then, has the Church rescued three days out of seven from the world¹, while to these we may add the forty days of Lent, which would indeed be a gain to the soul if it were but spent strictly at home. Here is a plan prepared for those who want to break the flow of society. It is not left to us to say, "some day we will pause;" it is not left to us to choose the day, or number of days, which shall be kept inviolate and conse-

¹ The Church, however, does not consider three days' quietness a set-off against four days of dissipation; this must be clearly borne in mind.

crated to home ; but, what is of the greatest help, especially to unstable novices, certain days are marked out for them and chosen ; a rule is ready at hand, which they have but to use. It saves them, also, from the appearance of inventing over-strict rules of life in a moment of new-born zeal ; they can meet remarks by saying, " We have set up no private standard ; we are doing no unheard-of things ; we are simply obeying the plain rules of the Church, and taking her standard of strictness." If the clergy's wives and daughters led the way in such an observance of these days, that is, in withdrawing from *all* society thereon, the task would be made still easier for the lay members of the Church.

Then, again, as regards the duty of prayer, and the hearing or reading God's Word, the Church does not leave her members without guidance ; she arranges a course of devotion to arm them against hurry, changeableness, lessening of prayers ; though she gives no direction as to the length or times of private prayer, she enjoins daily Common Prayer. And where this privilege can be had, what is to hinder the mass of the women of the upper classes from a regular daily attendance in the House of God ? The offer of this privilege is almost daily multiplied. The golden remarks of the Bishop of London on this point are still fresh in our minds ; while in our cathedral towns the privilege has never been withheld. Even where it is not as yet to be enjoyed, the spirit of the Prayer-book would lead us to go through the service devoutly at home, to read the Psalms and Lessons of the day, and to use the prayers appointed. We may remember the custom of the Scotch saints, who, when prevented by the bigoted tyranny of their opponents from receiving the Holy Communion, were wont to receive it, as they said, spiritually, on the same day when they would have actually received it had it been administered. If no such rule of reading and praying be observed, some days might pass without any reading of God's Word, or a few verses might be read hurriedly, or some portions of Scripture might be dwelt upon to the neglect of other portions : we know that there is a tendency to read the Epistles more than the Holy Gospels, and to cast the Old Testament into the shade altogether. We must, also, suggest the devout observance of the festivals of the Church, that relish for spiritual feasts may be learnt, and the love of earthly feasts may be lessened. We need hardly speak of the Church's view of the duty of communicating, nor of the many excellent devotional works which her members have supplied to aid communicants in a due preparation for that great feast.

But we must not forget the union of devotion with active

piety, which we saw in the Churchwomen of the seventeenth century. It is not enough for the daughters of the Church to be found at daily prayer, to be frequent communicants, to keep fast and festival; the means of grace must not be mistaken for the end; there must be no patching of a worldly life upon a devotional course; there must not be a piebald life; consistency in action is imperatively required. We must guard against inactivity or worldliness after these devotional duties have been fulfilled. There is great temptation to rest here; to begin to build, but not to finish; to pray, but not to act: among young persons the danger is the greater; we have seen painful inconsistencies, which have provoked the ridicule of the world, and brought discredit upon a great cause. To be praying in the morning, and waltzing at night; to be talking at dinner-parties upon high, solemn subjects to one neighbour, and nonsense to the other; to be gabbling about architecture, or the Gregorian tones, as the mere hobbies of the day; to be reading good books, and to be spending as much as ever upon dress and gaiety: this is just the course which must be at once denounced; this flimsy shadow of earnestness must be guarded against with especial care. We want consistency; we want action; we want calm, unostentatious, deep devotion of daily life to the service of our Blessed Lord, and of our brethren in Him.

But, supposing that a course of action is desired consistent with the course of devotion, what guidance does the Church give? Here the Church suggests the aid of the ministry. It is the part of the parish priest to direct any member of his flock who desires to do good towards some definite actions, to point out a course of usefulness. Here he meets the inquiring portion of his family, not as preacher only, but as pastor, as the spiritual guide and friend. When then any earnest women desire to do good, we may say that he is, not only likely, but certain to suggest the visiting of the sick and poor, to set them forth on that course of charity, in which "pure religion, and undefiled before God and the Father," consists. He is able also to temper zeal, that it may be more useful, to suggest the particular individuals whom particular persons would do well to visit, to hinder his visitors from going into scenes unfit for female feet. It is true that in our larger towns this personal contact with the clergy is not always easy as yet, for it implies the proper action of the parochial system; whereas, from the unexampled increase of population, and the Church's neglect in former times, this system has become, in many parts, a fiction rather than a reality. Still, however, the fiction is fast becoming a reality again, and the overgrown parishes are undergoing a rapid process of dismember-

ment, that the parochial system may be adapted to the altered state of things ; and thus a close and familiar intercourse with the clergy, now overburdened with care, will be attainable where it is desired ; opportunities of seeking their guidance will be obtained, without those difficulties in reaching them which sometimes deter timid minds from revealing their desire to be employed in some labour of love.

In a thousand cases, however, notwithstanding these present and partial hindrances, arising from the defective organization of the parish system, the members of the Church who desire to know the poor, and to show kindness to the sick, can procure from their parish priest judicious direction in such a course. And when this course is entered upon, there are spectacles enough of misery and distress to touch even hearts of stone ; we know no such cure for personal luxuriousness and self-indulgences, as the sight of the homes and wants of the poor. The "visible rhetoric" of such sights is strong ; a visible sermon is preached to the soul through the eye, and never does personal extravagance seem so sinful, never does it pierce the conscience with such keen and sharp reproach ; the trappings and costly ornaments of the rich, "the wearing of gold, and the putting on of apparel," seem then to be malefactor's robes, rather than things to be coveted ; and when the cry for bread is heard, or the want of bread is seen, the extravagant trifles and gewgaws seem to torment the wearers with stern accusations of cruelty. Pity is sure to flow, self-indulgence to be seen in its true light, if the poor be really visited, and their state really revealed. If the visiting is regular and habitual, the pity becomes habitual ; and habitual pity will produce, what is so much to be desired, habitual almsgiving and personal self-denial. And it is constant giving, not by fits, nor on impulse, nor in gusts, which is of real good. There should be a fixed and stated portion set apart and consecrated to the poor by those who would be true almsgivers, to secure them and help them against themselves, to prevent the spirit of self-indulgence or self-deceit from creeping in. Would not the tithing of an "allowance" or "pin-money" suggest itself as the least that should be done ?

It is, indeed, of the highest importance that those of the higher orders, who habitually visit the poor, should make much of the duty of relieving their temporal wants ; though it seems an indirect channel for improving their spiritual state, yet, as a solid proof of real interest, so it predisposes the poor to believe the regard for their spiritual improvement is equally sincere. To rustle into a poor man's house, when he is wanting bread, and to say, "Now let us read the Bible," will provoke some such

remark as "Give me some bread, and then let us read;" to begin sermonizing to a starving family, to speak in a soft tone of the consolations of the Gospel, while want is thinning their frames, and whitening their cheeks, is almost a mockery of their need. Take an interest in their worldly state, and we have found a key to open their hearts; gratitude has a quick ear; and the Bible will sound with double sweetness on their lips, who have first supplied the family with a meal. At the same time our female almoners must be careful not to yield to rash, hasty, indiscriminate largess. They turn silver to copper, and waste half their alms, who give without discretion.

And, in speaking of visiting the poor, we must say a word on the subject of instruction. We think that lay visitors would do well, as far as possible, to confine themselves to the reading of the Bible, to talk little directly on religious subjects, to leave positive instruction to the Clergy. And in reading God's Holy Word, it is a good plan to fix upon the Psalms and Lessons of the day, as being an observance of the Church's course in public service, and connecting the infirm and sick, in spirit at least, with those who pray and hear God's word in church. At any rate, it is a rule to go by, and there is always an advantage in submitting ourselves to rule. Visitors must learn to regard themselves as readers, rather than as teachers or expounders.

While we are on this point, we cannot but remark on other advantages which will arise to the higher orders, from being brought into contact with their pastors, and in seeking from them ways of doing good to the poor. The intercourse thus commenced may lead them to consult their pastors about themselves. They suffer great loss from that extremity of reserve, which forbids any *spiritual* and serious intercourse with their parish priests; they get to look upon them simply as *gentlemen*; they meet them in secular society, and talk with them on every subject probably but the most important. There is, we know, a difficulty in talking freely and naturally upon religious subjects, but we think this over-reserve and stiffness arises from mixing too much in what we would call conventional life; the whole character becomes somewhat artificial; naturalness upon all points has too much departed, and if there were a return to home-life and the more natural attitudes of the mind, we believe that this difficulty would be greatly lessened. There are many cases of conscience, many religious doubts and perplexities, which it would ease and profit the heart to unfold: and in time of sickness, what great benefits and comforts the higher orders refuse themselves by hesitating to seek, as the poor do, the visits of the clergy. We are thankful, however, to see that the pastor is beginning to be more fre-

quently invited to the bed-side of the rich. We have already shown our reader the grave and sober kind of intercourse which the churchwomen of the seventeenth century held with their ghostly counsellors; it is the revival of this kind of intercourse which we desire, not the "running after" them, which characterizes modern religionism, amounting more to a passionate admiration than aiming at grave, earnest deliberation with them.

But even supposing that there is some bar to the visiting of the poor; that either, in the case of daughters, parents object to it, or that a suitable district cannot be marked out, or that the ground is pre-occupied, still the earnest churchwoman need not be at a loss for opportunities of doing good. In this case the parish school invites her care, a noble sphere of action. Children, above all others, seem to appeal to her for aid, while the gift of a natural aptness in teaching gives a double voice to the call.

But in thus pointing out duties that call the churchwoman abroad, these must not be performed to the neglect of duties at home. "Charity begins at home," is indeed a holy proverb, if it be rightly understood; love towards kindred and unselfishness must be exercised before love and unselfishness towards strangers; particular love must precede universal. We earnestly recommend the perusal of "*Gertrude*" to our female readers, that they may learn to mix home duties with duties abroad, lest love for the poor becomes a mere hobby, or a passion, or an excitement; they must not look upon their homes as mere bedrooms, breakfast-rooms, and dining-rooms, and the out-of-door world as the scene of interest and exertion; but they must practise self-denial and considerateness in home life. It is the fault of the Romish conventual system, that it does not merely afford a refuge to the lonely, and homeless, and friendless, but that it quenches half the fire of the home hearth, draws persons away from the natural fellowship into which they were incorporated by God Himself, and encourages the neglect and forsaking of kindred. If women throw themselves out of their home duties, either by devoting *all* their care and time to the poor, or by rushing into conventual life, in both cases they pursue a mistaken course. As it has been well said,—

"By trying to love our relations and friends, by submitting to their wishes, though contrary to our own, by bearing with their infirmities, by overcoming their occasional waywardness by kindness, by dwelling on their excellences, and trying to copy them; thus it is that we form in our hearts the root of charity. . . The vain talkers of philanthropy usually show the emptiness of their profession, by being morose and cruel in the private relations of life, which they seem to account as subjects beneath their notice. . . . I cannot fancy a state of life more

favourable for the exercise of high Christian principle, and the matured and refined Christian spirit, than that of persons who differ in tastes and general character being obliged by circumstances to live together, and mutually to accommodate to each other their respective wishes and pursuits. And this is one among the many providential benefits (to those who will receive them) arising out of the holy estate of Matrimony ; which not only calls out the tenderest and gentlest feelings of our nature, but, where persons do their duty, must be in various ways more or less a state of self-denial."

In thus insisting upon a careful respect to home duties, do we not insist upon care for the servants of our house, a true part of the family, or "familia," even in the Roman view of home? Reform of the whole class of servants is strongly called for; "steadiness" is the most that is now looked for; seriousness is indeed rare; out of the whole class of communicants, rich and poor, the servant-class yields the fewest, and this is no faint proof of the condition of the class. We venture to hint, that, among other methods of reformation, it is of the highest importance to provide good books for servants. We should like to see a kitchen library in every house. Servants are great readers in their way, and at present they rather hurt than improve themselves by reading, through the cheapness of vicious, unprincipled, but exciting publications. Among men-servants the "Weekly Dispatch" is notoriously popular. We know no better method of hindering the circulation of bad books than by a counter-circulation of good. Regular hours, home life, absence of gaiety and dissipation, the cessation of a constant flow of company; all these are among the most powerful of indirect methods of raising the religious character of our households.

Now in thus freely commenting on the present condition of the women of the upper classes, in contrasting them with no small portion of the same classes in former times, and in anxiously urging a return to a more domestic, unselfish, and Christian mode of life, we write hopefully and in good heart. Though we see great evils, we are not disposed to sink into the gloomy apathy of despair; it is no time to despond; we can discern a break in the sky. Though the smooth, deadly current of worldly life sweeps down with fearful force, and gathers into itself a vast multitude of lighter minds, there is, as we have already said, a counter-current setting in, breasting with the other tide, with a still, deep, and mysterious power; not noisily, not tumultuously, nor with great show of power, but steadily, and with a firm, unyielding earnestness. The Church is beginning to be stirred with a new life, and to lay hold of souls, and to work in them, and to possess them, with a spirit such as she has not had the grace to put forth

for a century and a half. We see the renewal of olden zeal, and faith, and love ; we behold a more self-denying spirit spreading itself into the very seats of wealth,—simplicity of life, adopted as a duty and as a means to greater usefulness,—the system of the Church better understood, more fully felt, and entered into and obeyed,—an increase of earnestness ; and this earnestness tempered by a teachable spirit, and uniting itself to order. All these marks of renewed vitality give witness that ours is no ephemeral, no schismatical body, raised for a time to provoke the true body to faith and to good works, but a true, living, enduring branch of the Catholic Church.

Now this new zeal is animating the daughters of the Church ; and we see a growing body of earnest-minded women, who are disentangling themselves from the frivolous, easy, and unsatisfying pleasures of the world, returning to their proper sphere of action, devoting themselves to a holy and charitable life, and yet showing that the course of true religion is not morose nor sour, that long-drawn faces and sombre looks are no part of genuine piety ; but rather that they who give themselves to such a life have the true source of even, enduring cheerfulness. The importance of an increase and deepening of this true religion among the women of the higher ranks cannot be told ; though woman's is a home mission, and so seems bounded within a narrow and quiet sphere, yet the influence there exercised spreads downward, upwards, and all around. Home is, as it were, the heart of the world ; and the great body of the world takes its colour from the blood which issues from the heart, and which is itself unseen. We know not how much of the mother or the wife colours the actions of the men ; what lines of public conduct issue from the spirit that was learnt at home. And hence, as we desire that our nobles, statesmen, lawyers, soldiers, physicians, merchants, all the members of the Church “ in their vocation and ministry,” should promote the glory of God by faithfully filling their parts as sons and servants of Jesus Christ,—so we have an intensity of desire that women, the secret levers of such a weight of good or evil in the world, by a high spirituality of life, by giving a godly character to their homes, may have the grace given them to move towards good those whom they in any degree mould or influence.

We have now discussed the more important branches of the subject ; but our pen, having once gained an impetus, and catching somewhat of the locomotiveness of the age, is disposed to run even into the by-lanes of the subject, rather than stop ; so we must suffer it to take its course and fairly to run itself out, leaving the more hardy and persevering of our readers to follow

for a moment if they will. The by-lanes, indeed, into which we turn, open out, it must be confessed, a view of considerable importance, though we can but briefly consider it. When we urge a return to greater domesticity, we are instantly led to look at the means for giving a continued interest to home. We want, of course, women to be "keepers at home," simply as a matter of duty, as their estate according to the Gospel, the sensual privacy of Eastern women being exchanged, not for publicity, but for an elevated retirement. But having taken this high ground, we may fairly look about and see what can be done to prevent their tiring of that which they dutifully undertake, to give them a permanent zest and relish for home life, and to prevent *ennui* from gradually making itself a place by the quiet fire-side. Thus, if there is to be more of home life, there must be more of home resources: bare unfurnished minds are but dreary things for daily use; women must be better educated, and have a stronger system of education. Without entering into the delicate question of the extent or character of their capacities, there cannot be a doubt in any reasonable mind that they are greatly under-educated at present; their minds are but gilt and plated with a thin coating of knowledge; a shallow mosaic is let in; like modern glass the colour is laid on, and not, as Hannah More observes, "burnt in:" the brush spreads a coloured wash over the whole, that looks well enough for the hasty glances of the multitude, who in society-life just look and pass on; but it will not bear the daily gaze, or daily wear.

"Society" has been the great vampire of women's minds; it is this which has weakened and vitiated the whole system of their education; it has been a system for show rather than for use; the surface of their minds has been brightened with a flimsy embroidery to fit them for society, to make an effect, as it were, by the candle-light of life. At eighteen, when their understandings are just beginning to gather strength, then the work of instruction is pronounced to be "finished;" they are veneered and polished up for the great show-rooms of the world; they walk forth from the school-room in supposed maturity. Such a system, so brief, so careful of the lighter and more trifling attainments, is wholly unworthy of their natural understandings, and leaves them with but slender resources for enlivening a domestic course of life. Too much is attempted in the school age, and much of that is of a wrong kind; the whole structure must not be begun, completed, and roofed in by eighteen, if it is to keep out dulness and *ennui* all the long winter nights. It is like starting for Russia with a bandbox of muslins and caps. Music, and worsted-work, and light reading, are well enough to fill up

the crevices of the day by way of relaxation, but they are not enough to give a constant charm to home life. All that can really be done in the school-age is to lay the foundation of knowledge, to get through the grammar, to have the ground well dug and prepared, to acquire habits of study and application: the hot-house haste of "abridgments" and compendiums will but produce a weak luxuriance of leaves.

In short, if schoolroom life is devoted only to the foundation, the girl prepared for after-study, no great burst into the world at eighteen first anticipated and then effected, but a gradual enlargement of intercourse with the circle of the parents' friends, then education, properly so called, would be carried on when school ceased. Though it would partake more of a voluntary character, yet it need not be a whit less vigorous for that. If the wrong impression be once done away, that every thing like real study is over when she "comes out," she will continue, as a matter of course, to give herself to study, even though she has more freedom of motion, and the restraints of the schoolroom are removed; just as the best part of the education of men is carried on, when they are in a measure masters of themselves, and free to choose either ignorance or knowledge, their own good sense keeping them to their books, when the leading-strings of school are broken.

And when we say that the capacities of women are but faintly exercised, are not properly worked out and developed, are equal to stronger meat, we are not speaking at random, nor taking a Utopian view of the power of their minds; we speak soberly, and, as it were, from book; we look, as we have done in the former question, to actual women of past times; we see what they have attained, and thence we learn what they may attain again, if they were moulded in a stronger system. We turn to the Elizabethan age,—the strong age of English intellect,—and also to the succeeding century; there we see the goodly stature, which, under proper discipline, female understandings can reach. In the phalanx of strong-minded, well-informed women that there presents itself, Elizabeth herself stands first. Miss Strickland, the pleasant gossip of history, speaks much of Elizabeth's learning.

"Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum is a small volume, in an embroidered binding, consisting of prayers and meditations selected from different English writers by Queen Katherine Parr, and translated and copied by the Princess Elizabeth, in Latin, French, and Italian. . . . Like her elder sister, the Princess Mary, she was an accomplished Latin scholar, and astonished some of the most erudite linguists of that age, by the ease and grace with which

she conversed in that language. French, Italian, Spanish, and Flemish, she both spoke and wrote, with the same facility as her native tongue. She was fond of poetry, and sometimes made verses that were not devoid of merit, but she only regarded them as the amusement of her leisure hours, bestowing more of her time and attention on the study of history, than on any thing else."

"French and Italian," says her tutor, Ascham, "she speaks like English; Latin, with fluency, propriety, and judgment. She also spoke Greek with me frequently, willingly, and moderately well. . . . She read with me almost the whole of Cicero, and a great part of Livy. . . . The beginning of her day was always devoted by her to the New Testament in Greek; after which she read select Orations of Isocrates, and the Tragedies of Sophocles. . . . For her religious instruction she drew first from the fountains of Scripture, and afterwards from St. Cyprian, the 'Common-places' of Melancthon, and similar works."

Hume tells us of Lady Jane Grey, that

"She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, beside modern tongues. . . . Roger Ascham, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and in admiring the singularity of her choice, she told him that she received more pleasure from that author, than the others could reap from all their sport and gaiety."

Mildred Lady Burleigh was a good Greek scholar, and wrote a letter in that language to the University of Cambridge. Her learning was not confined to the Classic writers, but she deeply studied the Fathers of the Church, especially Basil, Cyril, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzen. Her sister, the mother of Lord Bacon, was "eminent for piety, virtue, and learning, and well versed in the Greek, and Latin, and Italian tongues." She published a translation of several celebrated Italian sermons, which obtained the commendation of Archbishop Parker; while another sister, Lady Russell, was equally learned.

It would, of course, be easy to supply a list of well-read women; we allude only to a few specimens; and though we are far from expecting to see women of our day with the understanding of Elizabeth, still George Herbert's advice on a higher matter is applicable to this, that we had better shoot at the moon if we want to hit a high mark. Even if we regard the class of women we speak of as the "wranglers" of the sex, we might raise the standard many degrees without approaching them.

And if the general standard were raised, we need be under no fears of being over-run with female pedants. When a few women are infinitely better informed than the mass of their sex, there is then a strong temptation to learned vanity and parade; but

where all are raised to a higher level, we have no greater inundation of pedantry. Nor need we fear that a book-worm spirit will arise to the destruction of those lighter accomplishments which in their proper place seem natural to women. Ascham says of Elizabeth, that in music she was "very skilful;" and Heywood, quoted by Miss Strickland, says, that after the severer studies of the day were over, "she betook herself to her lute or viol, and after that, employed her time in needle-work." Indeed, we know that it was the golden age of English music. In the volume from which we have so much quoted, we find that Mrs. Murray, the mother of Lady Halket, had masters for her daughters for "playing on the lute and virginals and dancing; and a gentlewoman was kept for teaching them all kinds of needle-work." Music and needle-work were much cultivated as relaxations. A race, not of trifling and shallow, but of strong-minded, well-informed women is required, if home life is to bloom with perpetual charms; and such women will not break out into any of the affected eccentricities of learning, nor forget in solid acquirements the lighter ornaments that become their sex; they will trim their minds as well as clothe them. We must, however, curb our pen, and content ourselves with having thrown out a few hints on the less important, but not unimportant, branch of the subject.

ART. III.—*Essays on Partial Derangement of the Mind, in supposed connexion with Religion. By the late JOHN CHEYNE, M.D., F.R.S.E., M.R.S.A., Physician-General to his Majesty's Forces in Ireland, &c. &c.* Dublin.

WE do not know of any really important topic upon which the popular knowledge is so superficial as that of the connexion between the body and the mind, and of the modes in which they act and react upon each other. We fear we cannot except from the charge of lack of most useful, not to say necessary, information, that class of men to whom we are now chiefly addressing ourselves, although to them it is little less important than it is to the medical practitioner. It has long been our settled opinion, that the ignorance we so constantly meet with amongst our clerical acquaintances, of the machinery of their own bodies, and of the invariable operation of certain long-proved principles by which it is regulated, cannot be justified by a reference to their advancement in so many other branches of knowledge, which were once confined to distinct classes. There is something in the phrase, the study of medicine, which is still considered as prohibitory to an unprofessional person as the phrase, the study of the law; so that a work upon medical science seems as much a stray book upon a clergyman's table as Coke upon Littleton. The usual consequence is, that the practical knowledge—science would be an improper word to designate it—of so many, concerning the simple laws of health and disease, would but entitle them, we fear, to the worst epithet of the two in the old saying, that every man at forty is either his own physician or a fool. We are not now alluding to an accurate knowledge of the practice of medicine, which of course demands the energies of the whole life and the whole man; but only to that elementary philosophy of the human frame, which will confer on its possessor the power of protecting himself against the imposition of disordered nerves, and the like, or the baser imposition of dishonest practitioners; and, by necessary consequence, aid him in morally and physically benefiting others. We are only asking, that he who is not satisfied without knowing something of the many philosophies of the heavens and the earth, should not be satisfied without knowing something of the philosophy of his own microcosm. In ad-

vocating this, we do not think it necessary to guard ourselves against the old charge, that such knowledge will, probably, turn men into quacks or hypochondriacs. Superficial knowledge may do this ; we mean that outside knowledge (which is often ignorance disguised by words), in contradistinction to that inside knowledge, of the corporeal machine, which would most surely defend its possessor from the quackery of tampering with disease, either in himself or another. When, however, it is considered that the noblest intellect, upon which the welfare of the human race may depend, is yet enshrined in a physical case of most exquisite construction, upon the continued perfection of which its successful operations depend ; and that the preservation, or partial or total ruin of that case depends absolutely, speaking generally, upon the prudence, or carelessness, or ignorance of its possessor ; so that, short of vital damage, ignorance of its laws may deduct days, weeks, and months, from pursuits for which life is altogether too short ; certainly a *primâ facie* case is made out, of sufficient force to bear down fanciful scruples : and we have only to look over the examples of the living and the dead to ascertain the value of such information, by which we may learn the costly price which high intellectual attainments have so often cruelly forced from their possessor ;—bodily sufferings, premature old age, an inactive life, which rendered their attainments little better than idle ornaments, or an untimely grave, which were the sole results of the palpable violation of physical laws, as certain in their operation, and as certainly known, as the best known laws of the inanimate world. Students, in pursuit of lofty knowledge, are warned by experienced friends of the future consequences, both to body and mind, of over-exertions ; that is, of violating known laws ; and instances, familiar to all, are pointed out, as buoys tell of past wrecks to the mariner. But the advice of grey hairs is too often thrown away upon the enthusiasm of youth, conscious of the present possession of an instrument which, as yet, responds to none of these forebodings : and this is not always from obstinacy or disregard of the respect due to affectionate seniors, but more often, because their warnings fasten upon no accurate knowledge of the unchanging laws of the machinery they are entreated to use rationally, in obedience to the plain designs of its Maker.

This elementary acquaintance with the primary laws of health and disease, founded on what we are contending for—a certain measure of popular philosophy of the corporeal system, which, we are sure, might be made easily accessible to all—must be regarded as pre-requisite to that higher knowledge, so transcendently im-

portant to the clerical, as well as to the medical, practitioner,—the mutual effects of the body and the mind upon each other. We will not institute a comparison, to determine to which of the two this kind of knowledge is most important, but will merely say, that, as the medical practitioner, who does not know, philosophically, the influences of the mind on the body, must totally fail in many cases; so, in like manner, must the clergyman often grievously fail, who does not know, philosophically, the influence of the body on the mind. We have ourselves witnessed the humiliating consequences, in spiritual practice, resulting from a total ignorance of the effects of certain bodily diseases on the soul: we say humiliating, for surely it was mortifying to discover that we had grossly mistaken symptoms, which turned out to be more like the uncertainties of madness, than the certainties of penitence and faith.

For the sake of bringing forward and enforcing our views of this deeply important subject, we propose making free use of the work which stands as the text of this article. Its popular style, its freedom from technical words and phrases, and, above all, the deeply pious tone that pervades it, justify its claims upon the clergyman's thoughtful attention, for whose use the benevolent author wrote it. Moreover, the authority for its theories and facts is in every way so unexceptionable, that it must require considerable self-confidence in him who should attempt to gainsay them. For when this work is lying before us, it is to be considered that we are not listening to the dreams of inexperienced youth, or the hypothetical creed of the mere book-student, or to the limited opinions of one who writes timidly, because he tells us he has done his best only, amidst imperfect means for testing his theories. On the contrary, Dr. Cheyne appears before us as one who, in his day, was recognized by his professional brethren in Dublin as a leader in that ample medical field. It is impossible, we think, to peruse the unassuming autobiographical sketch prefixed to the Essays without yielding its author our full confidence. We there read of one who, from humble beginnings, and with but few adventitious aids, relying mainly on the laws of human prudence, aspired to, and reached, the summit of an arduous profession. Indeed, we have seldom met with wiser lessons for general success in life than are told in this brief story. We know of no liberal profession—not even the English Church, in which, constituted as it now is, patronage must of course depend mainly upon the accidents of birth and connexions—which could ultimately refuse success to him who should frame his life upon them. We would gladly, could we spare room, enrich our pages

with some of those maxims of human prudence, so rarely practised, yet so easily learnt, which carried their obedient and persevering possessor through the gradations of an income of "three guineas for six months," and of 472*l.* for the next twelve months, to one averaging 5000*l.* per annum; together with the more rare, but infinitely more blessed, undying rewards of fair fame and ample love.

In a modest and brief preface, the author thus accounts for the imaginary imperfections of these essays, and explains the object for which they were composed:—

"At a season when it was desirable to find such occupation as would divert him from anxious thought, he was induced to write the following Essays, which are obviously the result of recollection rather than of study, and, without exception, are in a crude and unfinished state. Had he been in the habit of recording his observations in writing, or even had he been possessed of the necessary books of reference, and had not his power of application been impaired by declining health, he is persuaded that he could have produced a fulness of evidence which would have more firmly established the positions to which he is desirous of obtaining the reader's assent. These positions are:

"1. That mental derangements are invariably connected with bodily disorder.

"2. That such derangements of the understanding, as are attended with insane speculations on the subject of religion, are generally, in the first instance, perversions only of one power of the mind.

"3. That clergymen, to whom *these essays are particularly addressed*, have little to hope for in placing divine truth before a melancholic or hypochondriacal patient, until the bodily disease, with which the mental delusion is connected, is cured or relieved.

"4. That many of the doubts and fears of truly religious persons, of sane mind, depend either upon ignorance of the constitution and operations of the mind, or upon disease of the body."

The work is divided into eleven essays, the titles of which will serve to show the importance of the topics discussed. The first is introductory and somewhat metaphysical. The others bear the following titles:—"On False Perceptions, and Supposed Demonism." "On Disorder of the Mind, confined to a single Faculty." "Of a Disordered State of the Affections." "On Insanity, in supposed connexion with Religion." "On the Constitution of Man, Upright, Fallen, and Regenerate." "On Conscience." "On Faith." "On Love to God, Charity, and Hardness of Heart." "On Hope." "On the Presence and Absence of Devotional Feeling."

One or two of these are almost purely theological, though based on philosophy, manifesting, however, accurate and deep

thought upon momentous topics, together with earnest piety, and, in the main, successful attempts at philosophical explanations of difficulties and anomalies in the Christian's experience.

The first essay opens with a quotation from Pinel, expressive of his views of the nature of the human mind.—

“ ‘ It cannot be doubted, that to consider the faculties of the mind separately would contribute to facilitate the study of pneumatology, as well as tend to very important knowledge in regard to the nature and varieties of insanity.’ ”

Upon this, Dr. Cheyne observes :

“ This arrangement we adopt as the basis of the following remarks, although we are aware that a doctrine is assumed which is rejected by many psychological writers, and which, however probable it may be, has not been proved;—namely, that the mind, whatever unity of essence it may have, operates as though it were an aggregate of distinct faculties.”

As we shall not meddle with the metaphysics of this work, we leave this theory undiscussed; and more especially as the author warns us, that he pretends to but little knowledge of the mind but what he has learnt from observation, and from having witnessed the passions and affections in unrestrained action; and from “ having viewed the drama of life from behind the scenes, and attended to manifestations of character in health and disease; from introspection, especially while suffering from lowness of spirits arising from dyspeptic nervousness, aggravated by the wear and tear of a life of continued over-exertion.” We apprehend that the disclosures implied here (and they are more than meet the eye, as we happen to know), must stamp the work with a far higher value than any merely metaphysical claims could bestow upon it. There are, however, evidences in it that Dr. Cheyne was not unacquainted with our best metaphysical writers, and he therefore takes upon himself to affirm, with a just confidence, that his conclusions will hold good, upon the theory that the mind is uncompounded, and that its faculties are but varied conditions of one simple substance.

Mental derangements—such as most clergymen of extensive experience must have met with—may arise, Dr. Cheyne says, from the following sources:—

“ 1. From a disordered condition of the organs of sense.

“ 2. From a disorder of one or more of the intellectual faculties.

“ 3. From a disorder of one or more of the natural affections and desires.

“ 4. From a disorder of one or more of the moral affections.”

The practical clergyman, who has not examined this branch of knowledge, will find many illustrations of these sources from which he cannot fail to derive instruction, and much relief of mind under anxieties, in particular cases, where effects exist which, if he did but know it, are really beyond his province and his skill. Charitable constructions, too, are here prepared for more intricate cases of inconsistency of conduct,—which have sometimes shaken faith to its foundations,—oddness, and irregularity of behaviour. He will be led to new trains of investigation when, in particular cases, unlooked for changes of character occur: such as, when a sensualist is spiritualized, the proud man becomes humble, the ambitious man lowly; or, on the other hand, when the generous man becomes miserly, a moral man dissolute or knavish, a sober man a drunkard, or a well-tempered man passionate. And surely there is all the difference in the world, for comfort and safety, between vaguely saying of certain persons, they must be deranged, and authoritatively knowing that truly some derangement of the mental faculties has occurred, which altogether shifts the ground of moral responsibility, and of his own duty.

We find, hereabouts, two remarks, relative to the dependence of the activity or inactivity of the mental faculties on the condition of the brain, which are well worth the student's attention. We recollect when, many years ago, we have quitted our books for exercise in the garden, and anxious to crowd as much as possible in the shortest space of time, have relinquished the spade drenched and limb-tired. But again and again great has been our mortification to find our inability for deep thought. For then we knew not, that mental activity depends on the supply and exhaustion of sensorial power, which is exhausted by long continued exercise either of body or mind, and, until restored by food, or sleep, or rest, the full mental vigour cannot be given. And, secondly, upon the state of the circulation of the blood, which is of course affected in various ways, depending on the constitution. A distinct apprehension of these laws will save the student much time, and, it may be, aid him in shunning disease.

The essay, "*On false Perception and supposed Demonism*," announces some physical laws which are illustrated and enlivened by striking facts. The ear, the sight, and other organs of the senses, are all shown to be capable of conveying false perceptions; and it is important to know that all are referable to disease of the brain, or of the digestive organs acting upon the brain, or a portion of it. Hence arise lessons of the value of temperance, grounded on warnings, that the glutton or the drunkard may end in the madman.

Of course Dr. Cheyne rejects the popular stories of demoniacal possessions; though, we think, he stops short of the whole truth of Satanic agency. A case parallel to one recorded here occurred in our own experience last winter, and cost a walk of two miles almost daily for some weeks. This person's temptations may be told in the words here applied to the case of another. "I am urged to say the most shocking things—blasphemous and obscene words are ever on my tongue; hitherto, thank God, I have been preserved," &c. We always urged that the disease under which she was labouring, was the proximate cause of these involuntary mental states. We, however, elicited a discovery, to which we attached much value, that these were temptations to former familiar sins, though they had been long given up. "Thou makest me to possess the iniquities of my youth." It seems to us, however, impossible, upon the principles of revelation, as it is needless, to deny that degree of Satanic agency, in such cases, which shall fall short of the somewhat indefinite phrase, demoniacal possession. A weakened state of body, and consequently disordered nerves; the mental powers, therefore, stripped of their wonted energy; what condition more suitable to his purposes could Satan find? The Bible, or some religious work, was almost always open before her, we believe. She was beyond the reach of sensual temptations. Hence, this one was invented; a permitted chastisement (so we taught her) by means of long-forgotten sins, imperfectly, if ever, repented of. We understand Dr. Cheyne as stopping far short of this, when he says,

"We have never seen a case of disordered mind, even when attended with the most subtle malignity, which could not be explained upon natural principles. We acknowledge the power of Satan, and it may be as great as ever in the dark places of the earth, which have received no benefit from Christianity; but as there are no rules for distinguishing between the workings of the human mind, when influenced by bodily disease—when yielding to its unrestrained propensity to evil, and when acted upon by Satan, the extent of Satanic agency cannot be known, nor ought the mode of its operation to be assumed upon conjecture. It is one of the devices of man's great enemy to have his power, nay, his existence, denied by those who are his subjects; and we only play his game, and confirm Sadducean principles, when we allege what we cannot prove. Probably nothing so much weakened Luther's influence, as his accounts of his conflicts with the devil."

Directions are given for the course to be pursued with such as conceive themselves to be "possessed;" but, good as they are, we imagine they appeal to the educated only; at least, we should despair of making it clear to the illiterate, that their favourite sparks of fire, beautiful streams of water, and bright angelic

appearances, which most of us must have heard adduced by dying persons of the lower classes as evidences of salvation, are produced by disorder of the optic nerve, or brain ; or that the sweet music that angels sung round their beds, or other discordant sounds, "solely depend upon accelerated circulation throughout the brain, or affections of the auditory nerves." It is important, however, to know, that Dr. Cheyne has often, by this kind of explanation, "removed a mountain of perplexity from those who had thought themselves demoniacally possessed."

This essay concludes with the following instructive case :

"We once, by a very obvious question, relieved the mind of a young gentleman who thought that if he were not in some measure to blame, he never could have been persecuted by injections into his mind of wicked thoughts and articulate promptings of blasphemy. We asked him, if he were locked up in a chamber with a profane swearer, would he consider himself blameable for hearing words which he disliked and protested against? This young gentleman was delivered from his supposed (?) temptations by mild purgatives, alkaline bitters, and country air. In a word, we must cure the choler" (in allusion to Baxter's odd view of the case), "and the choleric operations of the devil will cease."

This may be the truth, but it is not, we think, the whole truth. For the temptations were not only "supposed," but real. Whence they arose is another inquiry. However, there must be a tempter to make a temptation ; and unless the mind can tempt itself, when no internal want exists, which is altogether doubtful, we prefer our own solution, that such favourable opportunities are watched for by the foe, so often beaten away from other points ; and then he selects the only *kind* of temptation which their case admits of, and against which the mind itself is all but too feeble to bear up. In the majority of cases, too, this corporeal condition is superinduced by indiscretion—to use a mild word which does not adequately mark the offence of breaking the laws of nature—either in diet, or some other manner. And hence the punishment is not to be regarded as a mere accident, nor as inappropriate, nor as useless, since, when rightly understood, it may afford inducements for future self-denial (the Christian's best help and safety), and as acting the part of the prophet to the woman, as we made it act that part to the woman above spoken of—"art thou come to call my sin to remembrance?"

The next essay illustrates "the disorder of the mind, confined to a single faculty." Of these the memory seems most exposed to injury from excitement of the brain, or external injury. In one instance the knowledge of the vernacular tongue was lost,

whilst the patient could utter his thoughts only in a dead language. Other instances are related.

On the gloomy and awful subject of hereditary insanity, important revelations are here made to the spiritual adviser. It may appear necessary, in particular cases, to draw aside the veil which time, and delicacy, and tenderness, have thrown over the more private history of a family, for the welfare of the living. Dr. Cheyne has no hesitation in affirming, that various immoral and vicious practices ought to be ascribed to insanity.

"When periodic insanity has shown itself in a large family, it is probable that some members of the family will evince a propensity to thieving and swindling. And when more children than one of the same parents, bursting through all the restraints imposed by carefully-established principles on established habits, engage in swindling transactions, it will appear, upon inquiry, that insanity has broken out in that family."

One example may be required to illustrate this:—

"One individual of this (particular) family, devoted to the highest interests of man, has been exposed to danger in his attempts, perhaps not always the most judicious, to extend a knowledge of true religion; others, although sometimes odd or fantastical, have passed respectably through life, performing their relative duties in an irreproachable manner; one has been guilty of various incongruities, one is an incorrigible liar, one a dexterous swindler, and two have been in a lunatic asylum. *Falsehood and swindling in such individuals are but symptoms of mental derangement.*"

What a relief to the burdened soul of the puzzled and baffled minister would not a knowledge of such well-established principles of the moral afford in similar cases?

Dr. Cheyne is anxious to prove that "the imagination may be insane, while other faculties, were they not acted upon by it, would be in a natural state." Such, we suppose, might be Hamlet's, who had "a method in his madness." The author has limited himself in this essay to a particular consideration of two powers of the mind, and endeavours to show what havoc may be produced by a single faculty being destroyed, while the intellect, in other respects, remains inviolate. The examples are curious. Thus, in some cases, the power of pronouncing a single letter is lost; or again, the strokes of letters in writing are misplaced, and one word employed for another; or the power of pronouncing or writing the name of individuals and places is lost. These are traced up, not to a failure of memory, which is usually the alleged cause, but to "a failure of utterance, as every thing in connexion with the individual, whose name cannot be recollected—his

appearance, character, circumstances, are stored up in the mind." We quote a singular example of the suspension of that faculty by which thought is communicated by speech or writing.

"On the 31st of January, 1772, Dr. Spalding had to speak to many people in quick succession, and to write many trifling memorandums concerning very dissimilar things, so that the attention was incessantly impelled in contrary directions. He had to draw a receipt for interest; he accordingly sat down, and wrote the first two words requisite, but in a moment became incapable of finding the rest of the words in his memory, or the strokes of the letters belonging to them. He strained his attention to the utmost in endeavouring leisurely to delineate letter after letter, with constant reference to the preceding, in order to be sure it suited. He said to himself that they were not the right strokes, without being able in the least to conceive wherein they were deficient. He therefore gave up the attempt, and partly by monosyllables, and partly by signs, ordered away the man who was waiting for the receipt, and quietly resigned himself to his state. For a good half hour there was a tumult in part of his ideas. He could only recognize them for such as forced themselves upon him without his participation. He endeavoured to dispel them to make room for better, which he was conscious of, in the bottom of his thinking faculty. He threw his attention, as far as the swarm of confused and intruding images would permit, on his religious principles, and said to himself distinctly, that if by a kind of death he was extricated from the tumult in his brain, which he felt as foreign and exterior to himself, he should exist and think on in the happiest quiet and order. With all this there was not the least illusion in the senses. He saw and heard every thing about him with its proper shape and sound, but could not get rid of the strange confusion in his head. He tried to speak, for the sake of finding whether he could bring out any thing connected; but however vehemently he strove to force together attention and thought, and though he proceeded with the utmost deliberation, he soon perceived that unmeaning syllables alone followed, quite different from the words he wished. He was as little master now of the organs of speech as he had before found himself of those of writing. I therefore, says he, contented myself with the not very satisfactory expectation, that if this state should continue, I should never in all my life be able to speak or write again; but that my sentiments and principles, remaining the same, would be a permanent spring of satisfaction and hope, till my complete separation from the unfortunate ferment of the brain. I was only sorry for my relations and friends, who, in this case, must have lost me for duties and business, and all proper intercourse with them, and looked upon me as a burden upon earth. But after the completion of the half hour, my head began to grow clearer and more quiet. The uproar and vividness of the strange and troublesome ideas diminished. I could now carry through my process of thought—I wished now to ring for the servant, that he might request my wife to come up. But I re-

quired yet some time to practise the right pronunciation of the requisite words. In the first conversation with my family, I proceeded for another half hour slowly, and in some measure anxiously, till at length I found myself as free and clear as at the beginning of the day, only I had a very trifling headache. Behold, instead of fifty dollars for half a year's interest, as it should have been, I found in as clear, straight strokes as I ever made in my life—*fifty dollars through the sanctification of the bri-*” with a hyphen, as I had come to the end of the line ; I could not possibly fall upon any thing in my previous ideas or occupations which, by any obscure mechanical influence, could have given occasion to these unintelligible words.”

The philosophy of tears is sadly and beautifully expounded. “Weeping,” Dr. Cheyne tells us, “is as much the language of grief, as speech is of thought.” A severe injury done to one of the affections has interrupted tears as effectually as words, by the destruction of one of the faculties of the mind. How ready are those who are under a stunning bereavement to declare, whilst the wound of the heart is fresh, that they cannot shed a single tear ! “How often have we, in passing through this VALE OF TEARS, heard the following lament—‘Oh, that I could only cry ! I feel as if it would so relieve me ! There seems nothing natural in my grief. I, who wept so bitterly for my father, have not a single tear to shed for my child. Ever since my husband, or son, or daughter died, my affections have been frozen, and my eyes dried up.’” When however the more violent, selfish, or ecstatic stage of the passion has had time to subside, tears will again flow.

Other examples of the deviation of the mind are recorded, which might amuse, were not the subject too painful and humiliating. For example, there is found in some what has been humorously called “the lust of finishing.” Dr. Cheyne has known some who, otherwise perfectly sound in intellect, when they have seen a herd of cattle in a field, or on the road, could not resist a desire to count them. Another, a man of great power of thought, confessed to a propensity, which he was not always able to resist, viz., to rise up and lift a chair, and thump it on the ground a certain number of times, and then replace it in an exact line with the rest ; nay, more,—

“‘I am sometimes,’ said he, ‘as it were, impelled to subject a whole range of chairs to the same discipline ; and when I overcome this fancy I experience dissatisfaction,—a sort of scruple which seems as if it belonged to the non-performance of a duty ; and now, my dear sir, what is this but insanity ?’”

And then he would force a laugh, at the same time that he blushed for shame.

A whole family, with which Dr. Cheyne was intimate, is mentioned, in the majority of whom there was this "lust of finishing." One, whose house stood near a lake, seven miles in circumference, rode round it every day of his life, and when he gave his horse to his servant, would frequently say, "Lord help those who must ride in all weathers." It is impossible not to have our estimate of a man lowered in whom, as is so often the case, we see some petty peculiarity or oddity, evidently adopted to gain notoriety. But the deserved contempt, if it were a manifestation of vanity, would be exchanged for a kind compassion, if we could trace up any deviation from the ordinary rules of society to some physical or moral disorganization warping the judgment. Indeed, one of our objects in recording these examples is to illustrate a philosophy to which so many are entire strangers, and which may serve to turn the unchristian ridicule, at the oddities of others, into pity and humble gratitude for our own exemption. Amongst other examples of similar modes in which predisposition to insanity shows itself, Dr. Johnson is introduced; and there can be very little doubt, Dr. Cheyne remarks, that he was often on the brink of insanity, and that many passages in his life serve to support this opinion. He refers to one which seems to have puzzled his "very entertaining biographer."

"He had another peculiarity, of which none of his friends ventured to ask an explanation. It appeared to me some superstitious habit, which he had contracted early, and from which he had never been called by his reason to disentangle himself. This was his anxious care to go out or in at a passage, by a certain number of steps, at a certain point; or, at least, so as either his right foot or his left, I forget which, should constantly make the first actual movement when he came close to the door or the passage. This I conjecture, for I have, upon innumerable occasions, observed him suddenly stop, and then seem to count his steps with a deep earnestness; and when he had neglected or gone wrong in this sort of magical movement, I have seen him go back again, put himself in a proper posture to begin the ceremony, and having gone through it, break from his abstraction, walk briskly on, and join his companions."

The next essay, on "a Disordered State of the Affections," may add another chapter to the *Anatomy of the Melancholy* of human life. The object proposed in it is to show that disturbances of the whole mind may also take place, in consequence of one of those endowments becoming much excited or depressed, being in a passionate or apathetic state. He instances the effects produced by the encouragement and discouragement of romantic love; by attachment, "founded on hope, and exalted by disappointment;" an obviously true classification. Examples are given of the ab-

surd provocations by which this passionate "love" may be utterly extinguished; thus proving, by the way, that this theme of the thousand and one novels of the year, this *ἔρως*, is a base offshoot from the lowest parts of humanity, and utterly, therefore, disowned by the spiritual *ἀγάπη*, for *ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε ἐκπίπτει*. Spiritual anatomists should pay more attention to this fact, as capable of yielding lessons of instruction, so truly needed by the many of our days, whose whole education has been tacitly founded upon the contrary doctrine, and whose subsequent reading has perpetually fed and pampered the falsehood.

Frequently, the active minister has been baffled in his endeavours to advance the spiritual progress of certain individuals in his flock, by a passionate desire for children, which has far surpassed the bounds of Christian moderation. When all those arguments, which of course must always have the precedence, arising from our relations to Christ and his to us, have failed in subduing this sinful passion, the clergyman may fall back upon the philosophy expounded in this book, and, in the words of Dr. Cheyne, warn, that "such an impatient desire for a possession, attended with so many cares and dangers, may so fill the whole mind as to end in insanity." Our own experience—an experience which has been corrected, amended, enlarged, or responded to, "as face answereth to face in a glass," again and again in these pages—enables us to add an item to this. A case exists in the circle of our own knowledge, in which this passionate desire is not only impeding directly growth in grace, but also indirectly injuring the whole character, by gradually subduing the affection naturally due to others.

Other moral problems, which have puzzled and wounded both spiritual guides and parents, are here solved. For example, some have no wish for children, and *are devoid of parental affection*; and some, who have been attached parents, have lost all regard for their children, and, conscious of the change, have acknowledged and bewailed a want of affection, which they have ignorantly viewed as criminal. Dr. Cheyne refers to a lady who, by force of principle, or regard for character, discharged her maternal duties after every feeling of affection for her children was eradicated. Our estimation of the value of the wisdom contained in a knowledge of such laws as these, is great indeed. For to be able to relieve the mind of one who has committed herself to our spiritual guidance, from the mountainous load of conscious guilt thus imposed by a falsely directed conscience, which, if just, must also nullify every prayer, every sacramental privilege, every act of faith, is one of the sweets of the ministerial life.

Another fact, which is contrary to all preconceived probabili-

ties, viz. that the maternal love is more liable to extinction than the paternal, is accounted for by the occurrence of bodily disease;—"Can a mother forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the fruit of her womb? *yea, they may forget.*" (Isaiah xlix. 15.)

Another wretched passion of human nature may be assaulted by a similar weapon, which may succeed, where others of a more legitimate kind have failed. The cupidity of the miser and collector, says Dr. Cheyne, sometimes becomes not merely the ruling passion, but the only passion, of their souls, gaining such an ascendancy, that at last it subdues all other desires which might have proved correctives to it; and when these are completely mastered, the mind is left in a state of derangement, which is generally incurable. It seems to us, that this philosophy relieves Christianity of much for which it is unjustly made responsible. It pretends not to work in spite of physical laws. We find, moreover, in it a commentary upon the words, "Ephraim is joined to his idols, let him alone," which show that they may imply something more than an arbitrary judicial visitation, which, as it befel them in a moment, so it might be as speedily withdrawn. Anti-spiritual laws had been so long allowed to work their sure effects, as, by the laws of moral and physical nature, to render powerless the ordinary operations of spiritual laws. So, as we conjecture, Pharaoh's lust of possession gained such an ascendancy over him, "that at last it subdued all other desires which might have proved correctives to it," and ended in what is designated "hardness of heart,"—a moral derangement which defied not only all appeals to the superstition that lies in our nature, but also to the first laws of life, self-preservation. Dr. Cheyne religiously adds, that the Great Physician has prescribed but one cure for all this, "excision of the object of desire, even if it be precious as the right eye or right hand."

We have now reached that essay to which Dr. Cheyne regards the former as introductory, "On Insanity in supposed connexion with Religion." It opens with the following remark, or text, which is luminously illustrated by facts and arguments:—

"That mental derangement may originate in superstition or fanaticism, by either of which, behind a visor of religious zeal, all sobriety of mind is lost, to the interruption of social and domestic duties, will be understood by those who know that insanity, in the predisposed, may arise from any cause which excites, at the same time that it agitates, the mind. But that true religion,—which removes doubts and distractions, explains our duties and reconciles us to them, and teaches that 'all things work together for good to them that love God,' and thus not only guides but supports us as we toil through the weary maze of life;

which in every pursuit demands moderation and method, and calms every rising storm of the passions,—that true religion should be productive of insanity is not easily credible, and would require the clearest evidence.”

The French physicians have remarked, that, before the Revolution, a large proportion of the insane of France were monks. Whilst we would draw the attention of many, whom, in our day, this fact may especially concern, to this singular statement, we do not think that Dr. Cheyne’s ready solution of it satisfies. He says, “we cannot draw any conclusion in favour of the opinion that religion causes insanity, from the fact of its prevalence among a class of men over whom superstition domineered.” He omits to add, how far he regards that mode of life, constituted as it generally has been amongst Roman Catholics in the apparent expectation that heaven would work miracles to counteract the most daring defiance of the laws impressed upon human nature, is responsible for such consequences. If a man places himself, irrespective of his prejudged qualifications for its demands upon him, in a situation from which there was no escape, and in which, from constitutional peculiarities, his whole life must be one fierce struggle to stand up against the force of the strongest laws under which his Creator has placed him, both physical and moral derangement, of some kind, and to some extent, must issue. The history of the evils (including insanity) of Romanist monastic life, cannot be admitted as evidence against the principle itself of any such association, because it has been almost always founded upon, not only a disregard, but a violation, of those laws, under which God has conditioned humanity, and which He Himself, as we believe, never disregards or violates in his government of the world. We consider this to be a better and completer solution of the fact than Dr. Cheyne’s.

So, it is added, it would be just as unfair to infer, that we must trace insanity to true religion, because it is possible to discover evidences of monomania among fanatics at home, who have mistaken “unequivocal symptoms of hysteria, or the inarticulate growlings of enthusiasm, for manifestations of the Holy Spirit.”

Again, our own experience enables us to do justice to Dr. Cheyne’s criterion for judging of the injustice, in particular cases, of making religion responsible for natural effects.

“In a person devoted to religion who may have become insane, it is desirable, as in every other case of insanity, to ascertain what faculty, affection, or sentiment, is prematurely disordered. If we find that all religious feeling is in abeyance, while, through exaggerated pride, vanity, selfishness, or imaginativeness, the mind becomes deranged,

surely the case ought not to be ranked under the head of madness from religion."

The case of a female once under our own immediate notice, and now (or lately) in confinement, illustrates this criterion. We never once heard a doubt amongst her numerous acquaintance of her being a sincere and affectionate disciple of Christ, ever speaking of Him to others, though not always with the serpent's wisdom, and urging unwearied struggles for pure obedience to his laws. The primitive disorder lay in "imaginativeness," which manifested itself in occasional eccentricities in pursuit of the darling object of her life, which sometimes, perhaps, might suggest to bystanders the exploits of the hero against the windmills of Spain. There was, however, in her, what we so often find amongst the middle classes, utter ignorance of all dietetic rules, which in no cases can require attention more than where the brain is disordered. We have seen her meals consist of what must have been almost as poison to one encompassed about with her infirmities. Had she been aware of the laws of health and disease, we believe that her happy religion would not only, as we believe it did, have postponed the threatened calamity for many years, but, perhaps, altogether. The difficulty and apparent evils, however, of such cases, lie in rescuing them from the misconception of the poor. They ask, if Christianity be true, how can God permit such faithful disciples of Christ to fall under such calamities? Not long since, the parish of — was one morning shaken to its centre, by the strange tidings of the suicide of one whom all confided in as the meek, and laborious, and useful servant of Christ. Of course, there were the old attacks against the more serious profession of religion, which, unfortunately, there was not one at hand to refute. We alone possessed the key of the mystery. There was in her a predisposition to melancholy. An illness came on, which ended in an attack of the jaundice. Anxious to regain her health before the departure of the holidays should summon her to the superintendence of her infant school, she rashly put herself out of the hands of the regular practitioner, and consulted a clever quack, who promised to do all she required. The directions, and cautions to avoid spilling one drop upon her clothes, which accompanied the vials, proved that they contained a kill-or-cure remedy. Apparently, she speedily recovered, renewed her duties at the promised time, when the injuries wrought within the stomach by those burning drops, ascended, as Dr. Cheyne would have told us, to the brain; derangement followed, and she hanged herself. In reply to the breathless inquiries of her friends, why did God permit so terrible

a catastrophe to overtake so faithful a servant? we could have replied (but we had left the neighbourhood), that unless He, by a miracle, had prevented her from consulting that well-known and, unhappily, well-trusted, strolling, drunken (his very vices seemed to gain him the confidence of the poor) doctor, the result was inevitable.

The following abbreviated fact may aid the guardians of Christianity in rescuing some unhappy professor from the charge of a life of hypocrisy. An unmarried lady, nearly fifty years of age, whose sound religious principles had never been called in question, was observed to pay an unusual attention to dress, which gradually advanced to such changes as would have been more becoming in a girl than in one of her mature age. Other symptoms indicative of attachment to worldly follies followed, until, at length, having apparently lost all sense of religion, she was removed from society. Dr. Cheyne's explanation of this phenomenon is satisfactory and cheering :

“In consequence of bodily disease,—of one of those irregularities of the circulation which take place at critical periods of life,—the brain became affected, and the mind suffered in consequence. The sentiment of vanity naturally strong, but for a long time suppressed, became ungovernable, and swept away every trace of religious feeling.”

We cannot omit another remarkable example of the aids to Christian charity and ministerial wisdom which are wrapped up in this philosophy.

“A friend of ours was one day riding with a clergyman of refined manners, who, for a good many years, had been devoted to the service of God. To the amazement of our friend, his companion, without any adequate provocation, fell into a paroxysm of ungovernable fury, swearing at a wood-ranger, and threatening him with vengeance because he had been dilatory in obeying an order which he had received relative to a matter of little importance.—Had this fact become public, all the devotedness to his profession for which this excellent clergyman was distinguished, would by many have been considered as assumed; and his habitual humility of demeanour, arising from a sense of his own unworthiness, as the result of hypocrisy. Such things must be expected. We cannot entertain a doubt that this was a monomaniacal explosion, in which aristocratic pride, much fostered during the youth of this member of a noble family, was roused by cerebral excitement, and for a time renewed its original ascendancy. We come to this conclusion upon the following considerations:—First, this gentleman had, shortly before, undertaken a duty which led to over excitement of the brain. Secondly, he appeared quite unconscious of the incongruity of his conduct,—an unconsciousness which is one of the usual attendants upon insanity.”

We recollect, when very young, hearing a gentleman of profligate life, a leader in a branch of the legal profession, ask the keeper of a lunatic asylum—one of those ignorant persons who, when these institutions first began to spread more widely, was thought competent for a post which is now properly confined to regular medical practitioners—if religion was not principally, or very generally, the cause of insanity? The keeper, a man both illiterate and irreligious, replied without hesitation that such was the case. And from our recollection of certain individuals in the extensive asylum over which this broken-down glazier presided, we can easily believe that he was deceived by appearances, concerning which his ignorance ought not, for a moment, to have been consulted. But what is worse, this man's betters have put forth the same superficial statements. It is plain, however, that a mere superficial acquaintance with Christianity and its proper effects upon the human mind, does not qualify any man, however well in other respects he may be endowed, for sitting in judgment upon such a vital question. We listen to Dr. Cheyne because he understood both Christianity and medicine. Thus, in discussing this case, he remarks, that maniacs who, when sane, were inattentive to religion, in the course of their derangement will sometimes fasten upon a dogma of religion which they first pervert, and then incessantly rave about.

"We almost invariably observe," says another able writer, "in long continued cases of insanity, where the hallucinations are in any degree variable, that perverted ideas of religion will present themselves, though utterly unconnected with the original cause of excitement."

Yet in returns from establishments for the insane, such cases, Dr. Cheyne says, are generally reported under the head of "insanity from religion." Such, we believe, was almost the invariable judgment of visitors to the asylum we have alluded to, as formerly known to ourselves, when they saluted a respectable tradesman of better appearance who was confined there, and heard his unchanged reply uttered in tones of despair,—“forsaken by God and man.” Yet we never heard of him as a stricter professor of religion when in health. We believe that such libels against Christianity are now seldom put forth; and if they were, we should confidently reject them, relying upon such an authority as Dr. Cheyne, who avers that the Gospel, received simply, never produced a single case of insanity.

"Fanaticism," he continues, "and superstition have, as well they might, caused insanity: nay, derangement of the mind may often have been caused by the terrors of the law, but by the Gospel—by a knowledge of a trust in Jesus—never!"

Dr. Cheyne, however, admits, that true religion, though a preservative, is not a complete preservative, against derangement of the mind. This admission we have already required for the explanation of facts occurring within our own unprofessional experience. He only contends that insanity, in such cases, is not produced by the creed, but in spite of it. He has, for example, known instances in which all sense of religion has been permanently destroyed by insanity. And the solution is both simple and rational; "that there is nothing in the Scriptures to warrant an expectation that religion will change the laws of the natural world" to meet the apparent wants of any individual, however much he may live under its influence. Insanity always depends upon the state of the body. A vicious parent, who may have wept floods of tears over his past sins, will not the less corrupt his offspring. Religion may directly and indirectly alleviate such evils, by the self-denial it teaches; but it no where promises a cure.

This essay concludes with a quotation from the writings of Dr. Combe, highly lauded by Dr. Cheyne, which is so much in harmony with our deep anxiety to call the attention of our clerical readers to this branch of philosophy, that we must give it entire.

"When fairly examined, indeed, the danger is seen to arise solely from the *abuse* of religion, and the best safeguard is found to consist in a right understanding of its principles and submission to its precepts. For if the best Christian be he who in meekness, humility, and sincerity, places his trust in God, and seeks to fulfil his commandments, then he who exhausts his soul in devotion, and at the same time finds no leisure or no inclination for attending to the common duties of his station, and who, so far from arriving at happiness or peace of mind, becomes every day the more estranged from them, and finds himself at last involved in disease and despair, cannot be held as a follower of Christ, but must rather be held as the follower of a phantom assuming the aspect of religion. When insanity attacks the latter, it is obviously not religion that is the cause; it is only the abuse of certain feelings, the regulated activity of which is necessary to the right exercise of religion; and against such an abuse, a sense of true religion would, in fact, have been the most powerful protection. And the great benefit of knowing this is, that whenever we shall meet with such a blind and misdirected excess of our best feelings in a constitutionally-nervous, or hereditarily-predisposed subject, instead of encouraging its exuberance, we should use every effort to temper the excess, to inculcate sounder views, and to point out the inseparable connexion which the Creator has established between the true dictates of religion and the practical duties of life, which it is a part of his purpose in sending us here to fulfil."

The next essay, "on the Constitution of Man, upright, fallen, and regenerate¹," is an attempt to prove, from philosophical considerations, the share which the infirm physical part of man has in preventing his attainment of that mental holiness which it is the ceaseless object of the Christian's aim. The text from which the essay is expanded is this :—

"By acquiring a just view of the present constitution of man, we may learn that his obedience to God must of necessity be imperfect; 'by the infirmity of his nature' even the mature Christian 'cannot always stand upright;' all that he can hope for is, that his desire to serve God, proceeding from a right principle, shall be earnest and sincere."

The commentaries of certain writers on the Epistle to the Romans are entirely confuted by this philosophy; indeed, it is an essential key to some difficult portions of that work. We shall learn from it, too, to moderate our expectations of obtaining more than imperfect aids in our struggles after holiness of heart, and lip, and life, by means of even the severest discipline of fastings, and other such aids as experience may suggest are required by individual temperaments to correct inborn or superinduced excrescences. Many, we doubt not, who had dreamed that fasting would prove a panacea for all the evils of the fall, have, on discovering their error, foolishly relinquished that Christian duty and means of grace: with such, and many others, the soul seems to be regarded almost as an abstraction, which is solely to blame; so that, in very ignorance of the terms of the union of body and soul, a wilfully pampered body has obtained a mastery over the soul, at which the poor struggler has stood aghast. We believe that a deeper insight into this philosophy would set the discipline of fasting upon philosophical grounds; so that the mode in which it is brought out in the New Testament—short, we admit, of a positive precept, and therefore courting accessory aids, if they can be obtained, from the light of nature, as well as traditionary observation—would not be regarded as affording a loop-hole for the escape of the self-indulgent; but rather as taking for granted a necessary physical-moral principle, which all might or ought to know, but which was not re-published as a positive enactment, because our merciful Saviour would admit of such modifications in obeying it, as are demanded by the circumstances of climate, and constitution, and the pursuits of life.

¹ The reader will find it necessary, occasionally, to make allowances for a few less definite theological terms, which were in current use some years ago. One thing, however, may be relied upon, that if there are not always right technical expressions, there is always right feeling.

Dr. Cheyne, in tracing, *ab ovo*, the fault of our nature, is not prepared either to admit or reject the speculation, that the physical effect upon Adam's frame of the forbidden food introduced into it was, by an inevitable law, a tendency to disease; yet he considers that such a theory is strongly supported by the effects of particular kinds of food. He instances the nature and functions of insects, modified by food; the fecundity of the bee, depending on what apiarians have called the royal jelly, or the effects of food on beasts of prey; as the royal tiger of Bengal, "having attained full growth, may continue domesticated in the compound, and playful so long as he is fed on vegetables, but the moment he obtains the taste of blood he will dart into the jungle, and from the friend become the enemy of man." This theory, however, of the origin of particular propensities in wild beasts is contradicted by two authorities. One is that of an Eastern gentleman, who confidently domesticated a young lion, whilst rearing him upon such food as milk, potatoes, and turnips², and, judging from appearances, was triumphing in his successful experiment, when one morning the beast was found in its master's room, amusing itself with the remnants of its master's skull.

The other authority for a contrary theory is Æschylus, in the Agamemnon, who thus tells his story, leaving it to ourselves to add the obvious commentary for less competent Grecians, who might not know the state of society in those times.

ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντα
σῖνιν δόμοις ἀγάλακτον οὖ-
τως ἀνὴρ φιλόμαστον,
ἐν βίотου προτελείοις
ἄμερον, εὐφιλόπαιδα,
καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον.
πολέα δ' ἔσχ' ἀγκάλαις
νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν —.

So far all went on well, proving the converting efficacy of a vegetable and milk diet (*ἀγάλακτον* does not destroy our hypothesis of the milk diet; it only means that the youthful brute had given up sucking its mother), and daily he sought the acquaintance of those who had vegetables and milk to give, overflowing towards them with what has been called *cupboard love*;—

φαιδρωπὸς ποτὶ χεῖρα, σαι-
ων τε γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις.

² Our authority for these particular vegetables, which we think must be exotics at Bagdad, is Hawkstone, in which the story is told with much humour. See vol. ii. page 33, 2nd edition.

But time passed on, and nature became stronger than nurture ;—

χρονισθεῖς δ' ἀπέδειξεν
ἔθος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων·

Like father, like son—a classical authority for the English proverb. At length, however, to spoil the theory of Dr. Cheyne, and of the Bagdad experimentalist in natural philosophy, and to prove that you cannot teach young lions gratitude :—

χάριν
γὰρ τροφεῦσιν ἀμείβων
μηλοφόνοισιν ἀγαισιν
δαῖτ' ἀκέλευστος ἔτευξεν·

Ἀκέλευστος—that is, he did not want for an invitation, but took French leave. And now the housemaid, as she gazed in despair upon the work cut out before her by this dirty beast, in dining-room, drawing-room, and hall, raised loud complaints, and probably threatened to strike for wages ; for every morning

αἵματι δ' οἶκος ἐφύρθη.

Nor, to proceed with our commentary, did matters stop here ; for soon cook, butler, housemaid, lady's-maid, and valet, came in a body to their master, informing against the vicious beast, and declaring, that as their lives were no longer worth an hour's purchase ; and as several insurance-offices, knowing their danger, had rejected their application ; and as they had already been put to the expense of making their wills by the village attorney, who, finding that none of them could read (all having foolishly neglected to attend a Sunday-school), had made them in his own favour, fully confident of their sudden destruction ; they should leave without a month's warning or wages ; for, in spite of the milk and turnips, with which they had crammed him, he had become

ἄμαχον ἄλγος οἰκέταις,
μέγα σίνος, πολυκτόνον³.

These two examples must be regarded as set-offs against that of the tee-totalling royal Bengal tiger, who, whilst he kept the pledge of abstaining from the alcohol of his beloved blood-wine, and stuck to milk and turnips, continued domesticated and playful.

The doctrine, however, above alluded to, that the kind of food taken into the frame may affect the moral nature, should, at

³ Scholefield's Agamemnon, 696—713.

least, suggest caution and self-observation. The biographer of Lord Byron, Mr. Moore, represents his lordship, during that period of his life in which he was seeking to starve down his obesity, as standing over himself one day, whilst devouring a beefsteak, and asking him, if it did not make him feel *fierce*? We have heard too, that the French soldiers claim one kind of superiority over English soldiers, namely, that they can fight with an empty stomach, whereas an Englishman is nothing until he has eaten his beef. Dr. Cheyne illustrates by a fact, that the admission of a deleterious substance into the human system, may bring about a great moral revolution. "If," he says, "the human body is dissected before putrefaction takes place, the dissection, if he cuts himself, or if he has a wound in his hand, is in danger of absorbing from the cadaver a *something* which is frequently destructive of life."

"A good many years ago, a medical gentleman, of liberal mind and amiable disposition, while engaged in the dissection of a body which was quite fresh, imbibed the poison referred to through a puncture of the skin, in consequence of which he had well nigh died. From the time of his illness, from which he slowly recovered, it was observed he was morose and selfish. The conclusion of this short story is remarkable. Several years afterwards the same individual came under the influence of godliness, some of the first effects of this—the only principle of true reform—was an act of great generosity; and ever since his life has been a course of gentleness and unostentatious beneficence."

In seeking further proofs of the close connexion existing between the body and the soul, they are so evident as to force upon the thoughtful man the moral and religious duty of paying obedient attention, for his soul's sake, to the laws by which the body is affected. For it seems that we can now perceive, think, and act, only by means of the bodily organs;—"Compress the nerves which convey sensation, and all perception of the qualities of bodies will be interrupted; compress the brain, and thought will be suspended; compress the nerves of motion, and the mandates of the will can no longer be executed." To us, such considerations suggest solemn thoughts, as we look abroad and see how many, by a sinful disregard of these laws, wound, through an abused body, the soul, are prematurely laid by from life's duties, and thus may be almost said to die the suicide's death. The Christian teacher, who properly understands this subject, may be enabled, by the weapons it supplies, to make a breach in the enemy's walls, in certain instances, which would make way for the regular spiritual artillery. This luxurious age, too, makes demands upon every resource to which the Christian minister can

find access. He who disregards the warning that he is killing his soul, may not disregard the warning that he is killing the body,—for the “board kills more than the sword.” Diseases are constantly brought on by the daily and ordinary intemperance of the world’s examples of temperance. Mr. Abernethy (we think we saw the remark in his writings) observed, in reply to an expression of surprise at the great increase of medical practitioners, that they no more than met the demand, as modern luxuries, up to his day, had introduced diseases into the human system which had no name when he was young. We are not quoting these facts as illustrating any medical theory, but as showing that the Christian is required to consult for his soul’s health, not only by the kind of doctrines he imbibes, and the form of Church discipline he submits to, but also by the prudence and self-denial he manifests at his daily meals. We have been more than shocked,—we must speak out, for we find ourselves amidst the humiliating details of humanity,—by hearing clergymen complain of their unspiritual condition for the Sunday afternoon’s duties, after their carelessly chosen and as carelessly eaten meal,—meaning, in fact, that they could not pray, though required to kneel down and utter the words of prayer. The gross view of this is offensive enough; but take the higher view, and it is an example of our subject, that the mind is, by ordinary carelessness, awfully affected by the body; and that, therefore, it is a part of a man’s religion to comprehend its demands upon his self-control, and to submit, in the fear of God, to the trammels they confer upon him. “If thou be a man given to appetite, put a knife to thy throat,” for the suicide’s grave is dug by both. We confess to a shrinking as we read of those modern feasts—held, too, sometimes when they ought not to be held—at which “every luxury of the season” tempts the body to do a wrong to the soul. We refer to them here not on the ground of extravagant expenditure; of waste of the means of life; not as ministering to the pride of life; not as the direct cause of corporeal diseases; but as inflicting diseases on the soul through those diseases of the body. There is one set-off to these evils, permitted by Him who brings good out of evil when it suits his wisdom, that they often entail premature sickness on their victims; and thus, by damming up the accesses to these and kindred worldly pleasures, pave the way, not unfrequently, for repentance, and prayer, and amendment, and benevolence, in giving that to heaven for which earth can no longer offer them an accepted equivalent.

In like manner, this philosophy enables the Christian teacher to warn against the violence of the passions, on the lower ground that health of body is injured, or altogether destroyed, by that

which is also injuring or altogether destroying the soul. "Violent anger has induced an attack of the jaundice; it is attended with the excitement of the brain and nervous system." The physical evils of these states are thus told in few words: "they disturb the secretions, and especially retard the flow of the bile, which is thrown back and absorbed." And this brings us to the morality of the doctrine of bile. We need not remind the majority of our readers that there are other symptoms of bile besides the yellow skin. Addison, in alluding to this, traces up to it the peevish and quarrelsome folio of many an angry polemic, and suggests, as a preventive or cure, the game of *σκοιμαχία*. This—another name for proper exercise—may prove an useful ally to the Christian's temperance, which we wish to see grounded on a true knowledge of the nature and properties of that machine which God has given to be used for the highest purposes, by which a consistency of temper may be maintained; the want of which, in those who bear the name of Christ's more faithful disciples, so often puzzles domestics and children, who cannot comprehend why such pious people should be good-tempered one day and cross the next. The sin of such evil tempers is thus seen to be twofold, and cannot be without injurious effects in retarding the formation of the interior character.

Dr. Cheyne tells us, that the sinkings of despair are not more absolute than the hopelessness which depends purely upon disease of the nervous system. Now, the preservation, or the disorder, of the nervous system mainly depends, in general cases, upon those laws of prudence which the Christian at least cannot violate without committing sin. No one who has watched the variations in his spirits, being competent to judge of the causes, has failed to observe how much they depended upon himself. Hence the loss of time, and want of energy for life's duties, and the disquietude occasioned to those around us during such seasons of despondency, are very often self-created moral evils, for which a man must take himself to task.

Another painful topic of much importance to the Christian minister is thus brought before us:—

"From the soul becoming the minister of the body, in consequence of the ascendancy of the carnal principle, many evil practices have arisen which have still further impaired the physical constitution of individuals and families, and thereby further degraded their minds. For example, to preserve domestic purity, intermarriages between near relatives are prohibited. When the divine law in this respect is broken, a degenerate offspring, as in the case of the Bourbons, may be expected. Even from intermarriage of first cousins, inveterate forms of scrofula are sometimes generated and a liability to insanity. Various diseases—

originating in sensuality — descend in families. A vicious habit of intemperance will excite in children, procreated after the habit is established, a propensity to the same habit, which has descended to the third generation."

This, as we judge, is one of the true explanations of the doctrine of the second commandment. It is not, as some seem to think (probably, the majority), that the mode of inflicting this awful punishment is arbitrary; that is, that because the parent has sinned somehow, therefore the children must suffer somehow, but not according to a fixed moral law, defining and limiting the kind and the measure of punishment. If this be not so, then Ezekiel not only apparently, but truly, contradicts Moses. "Doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father? When the son hath done that which is lawful and right, and hath kept all my statutes, and hath done them, he shall surely live. The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father." (Ezek. xviii. 19, 20.) "The sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation:" so said the lawgiver Moses, with one object in view; and so says the physician, Dr. Cheyne, with another. Ezekiel means, therefore, to teach, that if the parent commits a crime, he shall suffer the *direct* punishment, and not the son. For each and every act of intemperance the parent shall give in an account at the judgment-seat of Christ: this is the doctrine of Ezekiel. But this same "vicious habit of intemperance will excite in children, procreated after the habit is established, a propensity to the same habit, which has descended to the third generation:" this is the doctrine of Moses. If greater prominence has not been given by Christian teachers to this awful doctrine, it may be traced up, we think, to their want of confidence in its philosophy. It seems to us to lie very close to the foundation of Christian morals, and to be capable of forming the materials for making the most powerful appeals to natural affection. For what sight can be more painful and humiliating to an awakened parent than that of a beloved offspring suffering in body and mind through his own depraved indulgences, so that, in consequence, their path to eternal life has been made tenfold more rugged? A man engaged in a course of vicious indulgences may resist altogether the ordinary rebukes of the Christian minister, who might yet be arrested by the question—"do you mean to marry, in the hope of having posterity to inherit your wealth or honours?" Or, supposing he is married, the arguments for a virtuous life have received a powerful impulse from the considerations that the reply he might make to rebukes for irregularities, "I am willing to bear the consequences," is not the full one; the whole includes

this,—“ will you take upon yourself to answer also for your posterity, who may suffer both bodily and mentally for your violations of the published laws of God?” Our own experience has fully established in our minds the truth of this terrible doctrine of the divine government, by bringing us into contact with instances of human depravity for which we could find no other solution that gave a moment’s satisfaction, but the existence of a moral hereditary propensity, which illustrated the warning of the second commandment. The exultation of Sir ——— that the originally poor family baronetcy was amplified by the addition of Mr. ———’s wealth, is sadly tempered by the recollection that the blood, which accompanied the money, contained within it the seeds of the family gout. Bishop Burnet has illustrated the permanent injury which the physical nature of man sustained at the fall by similar examples.

Again, the philosophy which this work brings out is made to bear upon the difficulties of the Christian life. The Wesleyan-Christian perfectionist, early Quakerism, Jansenism, and the like, were all founded upon laudable aspirations after an unattainable purity—unattainable by the laws of our earthly condition. There are, says Dr. Cheyne, two things which are never to be forgotten by the Christian desirous of living in a more pure and serene air, who is kept in sadness by his inability to serve God in holiness: first, that the inward work of the Holy Spirit leaves the body fallen and degraded—a body of death—the carnal principle fiercely warring with the spiritual desires of the renovated soul: and, secondly, that the growth of the spiritual principle is generally a work of time, of difficulty inconceivable, unless by the experienced Christian, “ and not completed till the soul of the dying man is on the wing.” “ Nothing,” Luther truly remarks, “ can be more useful for sincere and pious persons than to know St. Paul’s doctrine concerning the contest between the flesh and the spirit.”

The following comforting remarks close this essay:—

“ For the believer, who, in dwelling upon his transgressions, feels that his access to God is interrupted, the histories of many of the Old Testament saints have been written in vain; they have been written in vain, if they do not demonstrate the power of the carnal principle in the strongest believer, and the power of the grace of God in the weakest.”

The next essay, upon “ Conscience,” opens with the opinion, that the causes of monomania, which have been termed religious insanity, are to be traced up to disorders in the conscience, or in the Christian’s principal sentiments of faith, charity, and hope. Conscience is regarded by Dr. Cheyne as a part of our nature,

which, therefore, like every other mental endowment, is improved by being properly exercised; and by this means habitual rectitude of conduct is established. In cases where the conscience is much exercised, whilst the intellectual faculties are weak or easily perverted, scrupulosity and inconsistency will be the consequence. The physical injuries done to conscience may arise from the use of "ardent spirits, opium, tobacco, and other narcotics, which become irresistibly attractive, partly from habit and partly from the loss of mental energy, caused by their acting injuriously upon the nervous system." The destruction of the conscience, Dr. Cheyne says, is especially the effect of the disease arising from continued inebriety. This is a physical view of the drunkard's case, which may point out to the clergyman that the main hope of success, in his endeavours to reform him, must depend more upon the probable influence of temporal considerations, than upon appeals to the dead or dormant faculty of conscience. We do not know how much light this view of the case casts upon a question once put to us by a clergyman, who, having himself taken the pledge, was anxious to turn the temperance movement in his parish to a religious account;—"could we account to him for the fact, that the reformation of so many teetotallers stopped short of Christian reformation?" Our reply, as not including this deeper cause, was probably radically wrong. Not many hundred yards from where we are writing there lives one who, about three years ago, suddenly relinquished the most incorrigible and ruinous habits of drunkenness, and took the pledge, which, we believe, he has never broken. But though, perhaps, one of the most moral men in his little village, we should say he is the least religious. He seems to consider that he has found his salvation in the teapot.

Again, we learn that diseases of the brain, or nervous system, are sometimes productive of similar moral changes. Dr. Cheyne knew a young woman, afflicted with St. Vitus's dance, accompanied with slight palsy, "who lost all respect for truth, of which, before her illness, she was by no means regardless." Other examples follow, which are explained as not arising in the wilful violation of moral principle (which would probably be the conclusion of the minister who had never been taught that other causes exist to account for such effects), but to moral insensibility, produced by disease, which frequently occasions the standard of rectitude to decline from that more or less upright state in which it is found in every sane man.

It will not a little astonish some to hear that conscience is, more or less, active according to the state of the body; yet most

religious persons, if they consult their own experience, will admit the truth of the following proofs :—

“When the body is exhausted by pain or sickness, or even fatigue, the conscience becomes less sensitive ; in that half dreamy state, which often precedes sleep, especially after great fatigue, trains of thought or lines of conduct are allowed to pass through the mind, which would at once be dismissed were the body in vigour and the conscience on the alert.”

What awful emphasis do such considerations give to the earnest warnings of our Lord, “Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation ;” “the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.” And what a distinct duty is thus set before the follower of his Lord, to resort to such unrelaxing discipline as shall give him the mastery of that foe which will otherwise master him ! “The spirit is willing—the flesh is weak ;” these few words form one of those short sentences that none but a master can utter, which contain in them all that can be written upon their subject. The only value of Dr. Cheyne’s book to the Christian is, that it is a valuable contribution towards a commentary upon them. What St. Paul has written upon the “carnal” principle is another commentary upon them. Since, then, the corporeal element of humanity claims such dominion in the union, as not to exempt even conscience, which is supposed to be the most spiritual of all the faculties of the soul, from its influences ; it cannot be denied, we think, that an accurate knowledge of its laws is necessary to aid the Christian in bringing it under.

However, care must be taken, as Dr. Cheyne teaches, not to extend too far excuses for the irritability of disease. For however the disease is to be accounted for, whether personal indiscretion or accident (that is, the will of God), still, so long as exaggerated irritability stops short of derangement, moral accountability exists and must be enforced. The fretfulness and temptations of disease must be struggled against by appropriate Christian means, as one of the trials permitted or sent, to exercise in resignation to the Divine will, and in that patience without which we cannot hope to inherit the promises. It is well added, that “sanctified experience of this kind establishes a disposition of mind which leads the Christian to prefer the power of patient submission to a removal of suffering.” Let us add to this the example of Dr. Shaw, the eastern traveller, who, when suffering in foreign lands all the hardships of the plague, records that he, however, dreaded its departure, not because he did not deeply feel its calamity, but because he was more than recom-

pensed, as he lay under it, by the peace of God that passed all understanding.

In accusing religion as the cause of insanity, of course the effects of a disturbed conscience would be naturally seized upon, without the trouble of inquiring whether it was enlightened or not. One of Dr. Cheyne's friends told him, that conviction of conscience actually drove him mad. No appearances of insanity, however, ever showed themselves in him afterwards. And so long as mental agitation continues to be one of the causes of insanity, this result is intelligible and to be expected, without impeachment of Christianity. Dr. Cheyne thus discusses this case :—

“What is the essence of religion? Is it not a knowledge of Christ as a Protector and Saviour? Had the gentleman in question been acquainted with the Gospel, he would have known that there was balm provided for his wounded spirit; which, had it been skilfully applied, would have preserved him from distraction.”

This part of the subject is summed up by a declaration, that during a period of forty years' experience of, and inquiries into, the nature of insanity, such cases as the above are not in the proportion of one in a thousand to the instances of insanity which arise from wounded pride and disappointed ambition.

Dr. Cheyne puts two questions and replies to them, which contain such important directions to the spiritual guide, that we particularly direct attention to them :

“How shall we distinguish between a sound and unsound state of the enlightened conscience? Chiefly by the right application of the blood of the Lamb of God. If that imparts no relief, its unsoundness is probably connected with bodily disease. Again, how shall we distinguish between a sound and unsound state of the natural conscience? By attending, first, to the cause of compunction. Secondly, to the state of bodily health. If we discover that there is what must be counted a disproportion between its cause and the degree in which remorse exists, it will be our duty to inquire into the state of the bodily health of the sufferer. If we discover that the conscience is disturbed at times, and that at other times, without any mental change having occurred to relieve it, ease is restored; and more especially, if it should appear that disease of the digestive system, or fever, or nervous irritability concur with the disquietude, we may infer that the conscience is unsound, in consequence of some disease of the body, which is exercising an evil influence over the mind.”

Speaking for ourselves, we regard such lessons as teaching us a priceless knowledge.

The gloom which often attends the dying hour of the most

eminent Christians, is reducible to the mastery of the body over the soul, *i. e.* to disease. Mr. Pearson, himself we believe a surgeon of eminence, in his life of Mr. Hey, observes, "good men may be unusually depressed, and bad men elevated, under the near approach of death, from the operation of natural causes." A valuable hint for correcting the exaggerated accounts of happiness, and transports it may be, of men who profess to believe that the penitence of a few hours or days, entitle them thus to proclaim to the world their joyful entrance into eternity.

We are glad to see Dr. Johnson's case, which has often been unfairly dealt with, quietly disposed of upon these merciful principles.

The advice which Dr. Cheyne gives to the spiritual guide in such cases is, that there is little prospect of conquering feelings of remorse, unless we cure first the disease which maintains them. Moral or religious statements, he says, will rather promote (as in cases enumerated by him) the delusion, than remove it, so long as the bodily disease is unmitigated. We ourselves attended, many years ago, a farmer's wife, who manifested what our raw experience judged to be symptoms of even horrible remorse. Time passed on, and still all such weapons as our weakness was then master of, fell harmless to the ground. At length the doctor took her in hand, cured her, and sent her forth without one symptom of religious amendment, except one or two feeble efforts to break through her former godless habits on the Sabbath.

Our limits do not permit us to proceed further in this mode of testifying the value we place upon this work. We must, however, catch a few straggling thoughts amidst the remaining pages, to make our own work a more faithful epitome of the whole subject.

Diseases of the body, Dr. Cheyne remarks, in the "Essay on Faith," and consequent delusions of the organs of sense, which the mind receives as truths, or defect of judgment, often give to faith an excitement productive of fanaticism. He then proceeds to discuss, as the Christian physician can alone discuss them, such cases as Miss Fancourt's, the miracles of Prince Hohenloe, that of the nun of the convent of St. Joseph, and others. The story of the nun of St. Joseph is probably forgotten by most of our readers; and as it is capable of yielding an important moral, never more needed than in our own times, we proceed to sketch it.

Whilst this nun was recovering from a typhus fever, the chapel of the convent was consumed by fire, March 10, 1819. She escaped for her life, after midnight, and took refuge in the damp

grass of an adjoining field, when, as she supposed, the disease was contracted, under which she lingered for four years. On the morning of August 1, 1823, after having been helplessly confined to her bed for many months, she was impressed with a belief that God, through Prince Hohenloe, in a supernatural manner had interfered in her behalf; and when having prepared herself by a sacramental confession, which she could only make by signs, to receive the most adorable eucharist, and the Rev. Mr. Meagher offered the divine sacrifice of the mass in her chamber, she could only receive it as a viaticum; and when receiving it, she could not project her tongue beyond her teeth; and, at the end of the mass, finding no change, she was resigning herself, when she suddenly found strength to exclaim, "Holy! holy! Lord God of hosts! heaven and earth are full of thy glory," and that strength was at once given her to quit her bed, dress, and walk down to the chapel.

We cannot follow Dr. Cheyne in his masterly dissection of this vaunted case, but his refutation of the *miracle* is complete.

Again, he teaches that Christian faith is sometimes inactive in bodily diseases; as, for example, in the commencement of a sick head-ache the sufferer appears to be not only without faith, but completely incapable of devotional feeling, though the sentiment is only dormant; and, therefore, the offence is not in its absence, but in those indiscretions by which sick head-aches are usually brought on.

In the essay "on Love to God, Charity, and Hardness of Heart," there are some profound Christian philosophical reflections. A whole host of cruel insults to religion is dispersed by such sentiments as these:—

"When love to God, in imaginative persons, escapes from the necessary restraints of reverential fear, it may introduce into the exercises of devotion a familiarity productive of effects obviously injurious to the cause of religion. By enthusiasm, more allied to superstition than to fanaticism, recluses of former times were infected; they entertained for their canonized patrons a sentiment which there is reason to think degenerated into a species of *erotomania*, of which also instances might be produced, exemplifying a very revolting form of mental derangement."

"Hope is the expectation of happiness, by the aid of which man accomplishes the pilgrimage of life."

This is an excellent popular definition. Its characteristics are, that it may be active, strong, extravagant, weak; or inactive, or extinct; or, alternately, active and inactive. The

essence, Dr. Cheyne says, of that species of monomania which is generally termed melancholy, and which *always* depends upon bodily causes, is the suppression of hope. Much valuable instruction upon this Christian sentiment will be found in this essay; and the concluding sentence of it should be treasured up in the memory of the Christian minister.

“One point, with respect to melancholy, is never to be forgotten; namely, that if it be curable, it is by medical rather than moral treatment, consequently that all such cases ought, in the first instance, to pass through the hands of the physician.”

This remark alone must prove the value to the Christian minister of a proper acquaintance with this branch of philosophy.

The last essay, “On the Presence and Absence of Devotional Feeling,” affords some specimens of high Christian philosophy, which we must leave to be studied in the work itself. Two sentiments only seem to press themselves on our notice.

“We have known,” Dr. Cheyne says, “excitement of the mind thus occasioned (that is, by the annual meetings of religious societies in London and Dublin,) give rise, in delicate females, to nervous diseases; and we are persuaded that, to some, after a succession of meetings at Exeter-hall, or the Rotunda, the calm service of a church will appear as insipid as plain food after a ragout.”

The fit name which we have heard given to the continued attendance at such meetings is religious dissipation.

The other remark is a wholesome warning to the writers and publishers of spiritual diaries. The following is a quotation from the diary of a devoted servant of God:—

“July 1. Much sweetness of prayer this morning. In the afternoon was sunk and depressed; seemed a poor, miserable, useless wretch.”

The description of such alternations of elevation and depression, says Dr. Cheyne, which have been liberally introduced into the lives of Christians, are surely sufficient to illustrate this species of trial, from bodily affliction, to which they are exposed, and need not be repeated in future publications. In fact, the account of such changes is not to be sought for in the Bible, but in almost every popular work on medicine; and such diaries would seem to be more useful to the doctor than to the Christian, whose religion

they represent as being no more under the regulation of known principles than the weathercock.

Our hope is, that the reader will now resort to the work itself, —especially the clerical reader, for whose use its lamented author took up the task,—which we are sure cannot be perused, studied rather, without much advantage both to the intellect and the heart. There is a depth of religious earnestness about it, which, coming from such a quarter (where the clergyman cannot often look for help), we cannot rate too highly. There may be some theological statements which we deem are inaccurate, in words at least, if not in sentiments ; but they are minor blemishes, belonging more to a school than the man, and do not at all affect the real claims of the work upon the professional student.

After lingering so long amidst pages which our imagination has invested with a character of sacredness, and to which we ourselves owe deeper obligations than we can describe, for the ability to discharge an unlooked-for duty with success, at which we should have stood aghast but for the accidental (so far as intention was concerned) perusal of them ; we cannot quit our willing task without turning to the affecting autobiographical sketch of the author prefixed to his work. We have already pointed to the lessons of practical wisdom it teaches, not only directly to those of his own profession, but also indirectly to the general reader, and, not least, to the clergyman. We will quote one edifying instance in illustration of his rare diligence, which ought not to be thrown away upon the clerical student.

“I obtained, when a young man,” says Dr. Cheyne, “a mass of consultations, many of them written with great care by the most eminent physicians in Edinburgh, during the middle and towards the end of the eighteenth century, that had been preserved by my grand-uncle, father, and grandfather.”

The obvious commentary upon this very dry and laborious process of fitting himself for a future post he might, or might not, reach, would enable us to show how alone there can be reared up within the Church of England a supply of spiritual *practitioners* of a very different order from those who have, in such numbers, dreamed away their youth in an indolent discharge of the mere letter of their duties, apparently unconscious that ministerial success is no more the result of accident or ignorance, than medical success ; that it is not the sermon copied, it may be, at random, nor the utterance of the same common-places to all, without discrimination of character, that can command success.

John Cheyne was born in Leith, February 3, 1777, where his

father, John Cheyne, practised medicine and surgery. "He would visit the poor as promptly as the rich, and his half-crown was as freely given to those who had no means of procuring food as his prescription." His uncle, John Cheyne, also of the same profession, acquired the name of "the friend of the poor."—"The generation of the upright shall be blessed." Family estates and titles are but the types and shadows of such an inalienable heritage as this. The peerage of such men may be dormant, but will never be extinct.—The ambitious blood and maxims, and the high principles of worldly honour, were on the mother's side. His education, which it appears terminated at thirteen, was, though professedly liberal, of course, in all respects, imperfect. We find ourselves standing too near, in imagination, his melancholy tomb in Sherington church-yard, to sketch the ludicrous account of one of his schoolmasters, though it belongs to the defects of his education.

Before he was sixteen he had begun to attend medical lectures in the University of Edinburgh. This he calls the "second false step in his education," as being premature. In 1795 he entered upon his duties as assistant-surgeon in the Royal Regiment of Artillery at Woolwich, which he discharged for about four years, when, dissatisfied with his prospects, he returned to Scotland, assisted his father, learnt lessons of more than professional wisdom from Sir Charles Bell (who, "as an example of diligence in study, could not be surpassed"); ultimately determined to practise as a physician, and, providentially, was led to select Dublin. In the latter end of 1809 he took up his position there, as a candidate for public favour, where he passed the summer, "neither expecting, nor indeed wishing, for rapid advancement, as what is easily acquired is little valued, and not unfrequently soon lost." We omit to notice other professional details, and merely add, that in obtaining the appointment of Physician-General to the Army in Ireland, "he had fully attained the object of his ambition."

The course of his prosperity was at last arrested by the failure of his health. Atossa, with that dark mythology which would make prosperity a curse, and not a privilege, might have introduced the rest of the story thus :

εἰς δ' ἡμᾶς ἐρῶ
 μῦθον, οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῆς οὔσ' ἀδείμαντος, φίλοι,
 μὴ μέγας πλοῦτος κόνισας οὔδας ἀντρέψῃ ποδὶ
 ὄλβον, ὃν Δαρεῖος ἤρεν οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν τινός⁴.

⁴ Æsch. Persæ. Scholf. 163—166.

In the year 1825, when Dr. Cheyne was about to enter on his forty-ninth year, "a period which is often critical to those who are engaged in anxious business," he became affected with a species of nervous fever, brought on, or much increased, by the frequent failure of means in individual cases, for stemming the tide of a fatal disease then prevalent in Dublin. To this were added anxieties of another kind, until he became so weak, as to be in fact no longer fitted for such arduous duties. Two months' relaxation in England appeared to partially restore his lost strength, and he again returned to Dublin, to encounter *one* duty, which completed the downfall.

"I found," he says, "one of my most esteemed professional friends, the father of fifteen children, labouring under a disease which ultimately proved fatal. He had awaited my return, in order to put himself under my care. His sufferings proved an incubus on my spirits, which strangled every cheerful thought. I now began to comprehend the nature of my own illness—a climacteric disease was forming, which ever since has been slowly executing its appointed mission."

After a few more vain efforts, he relinquished his profession, crowned with honours (as significant to him as the votes of both houses of parliament to the successful patriot), which were conveyed in two letters expressing the deep sympathies of his professional brethren; one signed by forty-five of the most eminent physicians practising in Dublin, telling him of "their deepest sentiments of esteem for his private virtues, and respect for his exemplary professional character, proved whilst he occupied for many years the very first rank in his profession:" the other, signed in behalf of the apothecaries in Dublin. A glorious type, surely, of another verdict, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

He took up his abode in the village of Sherington, in Buckinghamshire, where he continued to heap up materials to justify the formula of acquittal before the future Judge: "I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me." Three mornings in the week he went to a neighbouring cottage, and saw the sick villagers, giving advice and dispensing medicines, which were prepared in his own house. On the fourth morning, the sick came to him from distant parts of the county, for whom he prescribed.

ἄνδρα δ' ὠφελεῖν ἅψ' ὦν
ἔχοι τε καὶ δύναιτο, κάλλιστος πόνων⁵.

⁵ Œdip. Tyr. 314, 315. Brunck.

The above records have been gathered from his own autobiographical sketch. The remainder is told by the editor, we presume one of his children. In a very few months after he had made his first corrections to the manuscript of these Essays, having already lost the sight of one eye, and being otherwise reduced to a wreck, he died, January 31, 1836.

We learn from the following unfinished letter to a friend, that what was the true secret of his life of honour, was, also, the secret of his death of peace:—

“On a bed of languishing from which I know not that I shall ever rise, I write once more . . . to tell you the condition of my mind. I am humbled to the dust by the consideration that there is not one action of my busy life which will bear the eye of a holy God. But when I reflect that on the invitation of the Redeemer (Matt. xi. 28), and that I have accepted that invitation; and moreover that my conscience testifies that I earnestly desire to have my will in all things conformed to the will of God, I have peace—I have promised rest—promised by Him in whom was found no guile in his mouth.”

Once more, just before his decease, he took up his pen—so far as we know, for the last time—and we give what proceeded from it, without mutilation or abbreviation:—

“DIRECTIONS RELATIVE TO MY BURIAL, ETC.

“My body, attended only by my sons, is to be carried to the grave by six of the villagers, very early on the fourth or fifth morning after my decease. I would have no tolling of bells, if it can be avoided. The ringers may have an order for bread, to the amount usually given upon such occasions; if they get money they will spend it in the ale-house; and I would have them told, that in life or death I would by no means give occasion for sin. My funeral must be as inexpensive as possible: let there be no attempt at a funeral sermon. I would pass away without notice from a world which, with all its pretensions, is empty.—‘Tinnit, inane est.’

“Let not my family mourn for one whose trust is in Jesus. By respectful and tender care of their mother, by mutual affection, and by irreproachable conduct, my children will best show their regard for my memory.

“My decease may be announced in the Irish newspapers in the following words:—‘Died, at Sherington, Newport Pagnel, Bucks, on the——day of ——, Dr. Cheyne, late Physician-General to the Forces in Ireland.’ Not one word more. No panegyric.

“I believe there is a vault belonging to the manse, but if it be under the church I should not wish my body to be laid in it, but in the churchyard, two or three yards from the wicket which opens from the path through the fields. I pointed out the spot to ——, and chose it as a

fit place for a rustic monument, without marble or sculpture ; a column, such as is represented in the accompanying sketch, about seven or eight feet high. On the column, on hard, undecomposing stone, are to be engraven the following texts :—St. John iii. 16, ‘ *For God so loved the world,*’ &c. ; St. Matthew xi. 28, 29, 30, ‘ *Come unto me all ye that labour,*’ &c. ; Hebrews xii. 4, ‘ *Follow peace with all men,*’ &c.

“ As these texts are meant to rouse the insensible passenger, they must be distinctly seen. The following inscription is to be engraven on the opposite side of the column :—

“ ‘ *Reader ! the name, profession, and age of him whose body lies beneath, are of little importance ; but it may be of great importance to you to know, that, by the grace of God, he was brought to look to the Lord Jesus, as the only Saviour of sinners ; and that this ‘ looking to Jesus’ gave peace to his soul.*

“ ‘ *Reader ! pray to God that you may be instructed in the Gospel, and be assured that God will give his Holy Spirit, the only teacher of true wisdom, to them that ask Him.*’

“ If any objection be made to the spot pointed out for interment of my body, let some other be chosen, where the inscription on the column to be erected over me may be seen with advantage. The monument is for the benefit of the living, and not in honour of the dead.

“ I wish the inscription to be preserved, and leave this to my children and my children’s children.”

These directions, says the editor, were scrupulously attended to ; and the monument which marks the spot where Dr. Cheyne lies buried, besides the texts and inscription, bears only the initials, J. C.

Few efforts of our own pen have given us keener enjoyment than this endeavour to rescue from oblivion, and hand down to posterity, the name and the writings of a great and good man.

“ After life’s fitful fever he sleeps well.”

What a glorious reward for one to whose body and mind, for the greater part of life, the stern demands of duty had refused the sweets of calm repose by day or by night, to realize the promise, “ there remaineth a rest for the people of God !” And what a glorious change for one whose earthly sun had, at its setting, shone upon all but sightless orbs, to find himself where his “ sun would no more go down, neither the moon withdraw itself.” Or, in the words of the divinest poet of Greece, who thus marries the same thoughts to immortal verse :—

ἴσον δὲ νύκτεσσι αἰεὶ,
ἴσα δ’ ἐν ἀμέραις ἄλιον ἔχοντες ἀπονέστερον
ἔσλοὶ δεδόρκαντι βίον. PINDAR, Ol. 2.

ART. IV.—1. *Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis*. Ed. J. A. GILES. Oxford: J. H. Parker. London: Dolman. 1845-6. 8 vols. 8vo. [I. II. Lives. III. IV. Letters of Becket and others. V. VI. Letters of Foliot and others. VII. VIII. Works of Herbert of Bosham.]

2. *The Life and Letters of Thomas à Becket, now first gathered from the Contemporary Historians*. By the Rev. J. A. GILES, D.C.L., late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Whittaker. 1846.

3. *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England*. By JOHN, LORD CAMPBELL, A.M., F.R.S.E. First Series. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Murray. 1845.

(Continued from No. XI., Article II.)

THE archbishop was accompanied in his flight from Northampton by two monks and a servant. He himself was disguised in the dress of a monk, and assumed the name of Brother Dearman.

After having ridden about five-and-twenty miles, in a night of violent storm, the party rested for some hours at a village¹; and early on the following day they reached the city of Lincoln. Thence they descended the Witham, about forty miles, to a lonely hermitage, belonging to the monks of Sempringham²; and at length, travelling by an unusual route, and for the most part during the night, the archbishop reached Eastrey, a manor near Sandwich, the property of Christ Church in Canterbury. At this place he remained a week, waiting for the means of passing over to the continent; and we are told that the chamber which he occupied had an opening into the church, through which he was able, without being seen, to share in the service, to receive the kiss of peace, and at the end of the offices to bestow

¹ Called in the printed books *Grabam* or *Graham*. The position does not agree with that of Grantham; perhaps Gretton, in the north of Northamptonshire, may be meant.

² This and other circumstances relating to Sempringham bring St. Thomas across the path of one of the Littlemore Cyclics, who introduces his story as an episode into the Life of St. Gilbert. The hermitage is called *Haverolot* in the books.

his blessing on the people. On All Souls' Day³, before dawn, he embarked at Sandwich in a little boat, managed by two priests, and in the evening he reached the opposite coast.

On the same day the sea was crossed by a deputation of bishops and others, whom the king had sent off to plead his cause with the pope. The biographers tell us, that, while the saint found the water delightfully calm, his enemies were tossed about by a tempest,—a contrast which brings to Herbert's mind the exemption of Israel from the Egyptian plagues⁴. Here, however, there is something of the usual lying; for Herbert forgets that he had before described the archbishop as having suffered from the roughness of the sea⁵. And there can be no doubt that if the contrast had been reversed, an explanation favourable to Becket would not the less have been put on it⁶.

The archbishop did not yet consider himself out of danger. The news of his flight had by this time spread, and every stranger from England was looked on with suspicion. The Earl of Boulogne had an old grudge against him, for having opposed his marriage with the Abbess of Romsey, daughter of the late King Stephen; nor was his brother, the Earl of Flanders, to be trusted. It seemed well, therefore, to avoid the ports; and the fugitives landed on the sand, about a league from Gravelines. The archbishop, unused to walking on rough ground, stumbled and hurt himself. He lay down, declaring himself weary and unable to go any further. A boy was sent to the next village in quest of a horse, and the length of his absence raised all manner of apprehensions. The horse was brought at last—apparently what our friend Father Blackhal would have styled “a lasche jadde⁷,” and with no other equipment than a halter made of hay. The monks spread their cloaks on his back, by way of a saddle, and the archbishop mounted; but after riding a little—as Johnson gave up talking French to Paoli, on “finding that he did not do it with facility⁸”—he judged it “easier and more respectable⁹” to betake himself to his feet again.

³ Joh. Sarisb. in S. T. C. i. 330. Herbert here remarks, that Tuesday was the day of the week on which the most remarkable events in Becket's life took place, and that All Souls' Day was Tuesday, a fortnight after that on which he “fought with beasts” at Northampton. (S. T. C. vii. 163, 164.) It would appear, however, that in 1164 All Souls' Day fell on a Monday, and that it wanted but a day of three weeks since the last day of the council. See Nicolas, *Chronology*, p. 60.

⁴ S. T. C. vii. 169.

⁵ *Ibid.* 163.

⁶ The inference of the biographers is very different, when they have to relate the favourable passage which his murderers had on their way to England.—*Quad.* iii. 12.

⁷ *English Review*, No. vii. p. 18.

⁸ Boswell, iii. 82, ed. 1835.

⁹ “*Tolerabilis et honestus.*” S. T. C. i. 146, 147.

Various other incidents of the journey are related:—how, as he passed through a town, a woman, struck with his appearance, presented him with a stick, which, although sooty, greasy, and scorched, from having been employed for hanging up fish in the chimney, he received graciously, and gladly made use of: how he was near betraying himself by the interest with which he looked at a falcon on a young man's wrist—a relapse into his old tastes, for which Alan supposes that he may have atoned sufficiently by the anxiety to which it exposed him¹: how, at a hostelry where he halted at night, the landlord discovered him, although he took no precedence of his companions, by his lofty and noble look, the whiteness of his long and slender hands², and the air with which he distributed morsels of his food to the children of the house; and how the saint had much ado to keep the tongues of this good man and his wife from betraying him to others, who might have been less disposed to reverence him.

At length, partly on foot and partly by water, the archbishop and his companions reached the monastery of Clair-Marais, near St. Omer's. There they were joined by Herbert of Bosham, who had been charged at Northampton to repair to Canterbury, and endeavour to secure some portion of the revenues of the see, which were then in course of payment. He brought, however, no more than a hundred marks, with some silver plate. The king had ordered that the primate's property should be under custody, as the pending appeals to the pope prevented a confiscation.

After spending some time at Clair-Marais, where others of his clergy also joined him, the archbishop proceeded to the monastery of St. Bertin, at St. Omer's, bearing with him as a present to the community a large fish, which had miraculously jumped out of the water into his bosom, in order that the arrival of the party might not press too heavily on the fast-day provisions of their hosts.

At St. Bertin's, Becket had an interview with the grand justiciary Richard de Luci, who was on his way homeward from a mission to the king of France. This old friend strongly urged him to return to England, and offered to make his peace with the king; but the archbishop was not to be persuaded.

In the mean time, Henry's envoys had an audience of the

¹ "Forte timor ille hujus vanitatis culpam ipso tempore potuit diluere."—Quad. ii. 3.

² This reminds us of a story of a Scotch Jacobite of noble family, who after the battle of Culloden disguised himself as a labourer. When charged by some soldiers with being a gentleman in hiding, he held out his hands, which were naturally very large and rough, and asked, "Are these the hands of a gentleman?" The question at once put an end to suspicion.

French king at Compiègne, and from thence went on to the court of the pope, at Sens. Louis was engaged in the interest of Becket, at once by his rivalry to Henry and by his devotion to the Church. Soon after the breaking out of the troubles, he had sent a message to the archbishop, that, if his fortunes should take him into France, he might reckon on being received, "not as a bishop or archbishop, but like a brother sovereign³;" and his behaviour to the English envoys was a strong declaration as to the part which he was now resolved to take. When their master's letter was read, in which Thomas was designated as "*late* Archbishop of Canterbury," Louis asked by whom he had been deprived, and added, that he himself, although no less a king than Henry, could not venture to deprive the meanest clerk in his dominions. To the demand that he should give Becket up, under an agreement between the two sovereigns for mutual surrender of fugitives, he replied, that he knew of no such agreement; but that, if it existed, it could not imply the delivery of the archbishop, who was not the vassal of the English king, but rather his superior⁴. The Earl of Arundel reminded him of the damage which Becket had done to France in the war of Toulouse; Louis replied, that the chancellor had acted as a faithful servant of his king, who had since requited him most unworthily. And, at last, when the envoys requested him to write to the pope in behalf of their master, he wrote to beg that Alexander would show his love for him by treating the banished archbishop with love⁵.

Herbert of Bosham and another of Becket's train were appointed to watch the movements of the envoys, and to counterwork them. They arrived at Compiègne a day later, and met with the most gratifying reception from Louis, who granted the archbishop an assurance of safety throughout all his dominions, declaring it to be one of the "royal dignities" of France to defend the persecuted, and especially those who were suffering for the Church. On arriving at Sens, Herbert and his companion were not received with any show of honour, but in the evening they were admitted to a private interview with the pope, who expressed an interest in the archbishop's cause.

The following day was appointed for the audience of the English king's envoys. The Bishop of London opened the case by strongly blaming the primate for the evils which had arisen. In allusion to the flight from Northampton, he quoted the text, "The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth." The pope on this remonstrated with him, telling him that such bitterness was more

³ Ep. i. 23, p. 33.

⁴ Roger, in S. T. C. i. 140.

⁵ Grim, in S. T. C. i. 50, 51.

hurtful to himself than to the object of it; and Foliot said no more.

The next speaker was Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, whose delight in the music of his own eloquence is a frequent subject of amusement to the writers of the opposite party. His grammatical acquirements, however, were not on a level with his rhetoric; the portentous word *oportuebat* excited the laughter of his hearers, and, after some vain attempts to recover himself, the orator broke down ⁶.

The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Exeter followed; and the king's cause was wound up by the Earl of Arundel, who avoided the risk of an exhibition like his diocesan's by speaking in his native tongue, the only one which he professed to understand. He reminded the pope of king Henry's good service and attachment; he allowed the high merits of the archbishop, and requested that the pontiff would study to restore harmony between the parties, for the sake both of the Church and of the kingdom.

The result of the audience was unsatisfactory to the envoys, and they then attempted to gain Alexander by private solicitations. He remained inflexible, however, although they made various tempting offers, such as that Peter-pence should be paid from England by classes which had before been exempt, and that the impost should be secured to the see of Rome for ever. He refused to depose the archbishop; and when they requested him to commit the final decision of the matters in dispute to two cardinals—a species of dignitaries which Henry had reason to believe not inaccessible to money⁷—he replied that he would never abdicate his office by granting a commission in which the appeal to himself should not be reserved.

The envoys hurried away from Sens—partly because the king's instructions had limited their stay there to three days; and partly because they had reason to believe that some knights of the neighbourhood,—“friendly to the archbishop,” as Dr. Giles tells us⁸ with an apparent pride in the friendship of such persons for his hero,—had a design of attacking and plundering them.

On the fourth day after their departure, the archbishop entered the city. He had been accompanied by the abbot of St. Bertin's and Miles, Bishop of Terouenne, to Soissons, where he was received with honour by the French king; and now, by the munificence of that sovereign, he appeared with a train of three hundred horsemen. The two parties had seen each other by the way, on the opposite banks of a river.

⁶ Alan, in S. T. C. i. 356.

⁸ i. 288.

⁷ Roger, in S. T. C. i. 151.

The pope's sympathies were naturally with the champion of the clerical immunities; and the power of France swayed him in the same direction. There were, however, various contrary forces which also acted on him. He was afraid of the king of England; he was afraid of the anti-pope; for, although his original rival was lately dead, another had been set up, who had in his interest all Germany and a part of Italy, so that Alexander was an exile from his own city; and, on the whole, his conduct was as unheroic as possible—unsteady, crooked, double, and pusillanimous⁹. An emissary of the archbishop's, who had been sent abroad soon after the council of Westminster, represented the feelings of the papal court as follows, in a letter to his master:—

“They all extol in you that courage of which they feel themselves in every way devoid. They are all in such a state of imbecility, that they seem to fear God less than men. They are so affrighted by a number of occurrences which have happened all at once, that they would not at this time dare to offend any prince—especially the king of England,—in any point; nor, even if they could, would they try to succour the Church of God, which is in danger all over the world.”

The utmost help that could at that time be obtained from the pope was a recommendation of the archbishop and his church to the prayers of some Cistercian communities. When, however, Becket visited him at Sens, he was disposed to take a more

⁹ Even the pope, however, may be wronged; and we are bound to defend even the pope from the injustice which is done to him in this part of the story by Mr. Turner's misapprehension and M. Michelet's misrepresentation. The former writer says that Becket's “messenger was two days at Rome [this is a mistake for Sens] before he obtained an audience, and though received at last with the public gesticulations of sighs, and even tears, and congratulations that the Church had such a pastor, yet, when his friend mentioned Becket's petition to be invited to Rome [*i. e.* Sens], the immediate answer of the pope was a peremptory refusal.” (England during the Middle Ages, i. 255.) The authority referred to is, “lib. i. ep. 23.” That letter, however, (the same which is about to be quoted in our text,) was not written, as Mr. Turner supposes, after Becket's flight, but a year earlier. And the statement of a “peremptory refusal to *invite*” the archbishop, is founded on a misconception of a passage, the true sense of which will appear from Mr. Froude's translation. (p. 70.) “Lastly, on our requesting that his holiness would send your lordship a *summons to appear before him*, he answered, with much apparent distress, ‘God forbid! rather may I end my days than see him leave England on such terms, and bereave his Church at such a crisis!’” M. Michelet may be left to speak for himself,—that Becket wrote from Pontigny, “charging himself with having been intruded into his see, and declaring that he resigned his dignity;” that “Alexander refused to see Thomas, and contented himself with writing to him, that he re-established him in his episcopal dignity. ‘Go,’ he coldly wrote to the exile, ‘go, learn in poverty to be the consoler of the poor.’” (Hist. de France, iii. 171.) This is really not an unfair specimen of the brilliant historian's accuracy in his account of Becket,—the only part of his work which we have closely examined.

decided part. The king of France's letter, and the imposing cavalcade of three hundred, were not without their effect on him.

He received the archbishop with honour, placed him at his right hand, and desired him to be seated while stating his cause—a task which devolved on Becket himself, as all his clerks (although, we are told by Roger¹, there were many learned canonists and eloquent men among them) declined it, from fear of rendering themselves especially obnoxious to the king. After a short opening, in which he declared himself willing to endure any thing rather than consent to the demands which were made against the liberties of the Church, the archbishop threw himself on his knees, and spread out before the pope the parchment which he had received at Clarendon. The constitutions were read aloud; the pope emphatically expressed his disapproval of them. Some, he said, might have been borne with, although none were good; but ten out of the sixteen he pronounced abominable, contrary to ancient canons, and to all that was sacred. He reproved Becket for having joined with the other prelates in consenting to them even for a moment—a submission, he said, which amounted to renouncing their priesthood, and reducing the Church to the condition of a handmaiden. He declared, however, that the archbishop's subsequent conduct had atoned for his passing weakness; “and thus,” says Herbert, “having first rebuked him with the severity of a father, he dismissed him with the sweetness of a mother's consolation².”

On the following day, the archbishop was again admitted to an audience. He broke out into lamentations over the unhappy condition of the Church, and traced all her calamities to his own promotion—effected, as it had been, by the intrusion of royal power, and not by a fair canonical election. He professed that he had long been weary of his office; that he had withstood the advice of his brethren who wished him to resign it, because he would not give a precedent of sacrificing the Church's rights in order to appease a prince's anger; but that he had only reserved his resignation until he should be in the presence of the supreme pontiff,—in whose hands he now placed the see of Canterbury, beseeching him to appoint to it a successor more capable of benefiting the Church. So saying, he drew off the archiepiscopal ring, and delivered it to the pope; and the tears with which he accompanied the action affected all who were present.

He then withdrew, and the conclave debated as to the acceptance of his resignation. Some of the cardinals,—“and these,” says Alan, “were of the Pharisees”—bribed by the king of Eng-

¹ S. T. C. i. 152.

² S. T. C. vii. 181.

land, according to other writers—regarded it as the best means of extricating the Church from the difficulties which beset her; but the opposite counsels prevailed. Becket received his office anew from the pope's hands—a manner of appointment which did away with all scruples as to the regularity of his former title. The pope assured him of his constant support and sympathy, and committed him to the care of the abbot of Pontigny, a Cistercian monastery about twelve leagues from Sens. "Hitherto," he said, "you have lived in abundance and luxury; but, that you may learn to be in future, as you ought to be, the comforter of the poor, and as this lesson can only be learnt from poverty herself, who is the mother of religion, we have thought fit to commit you to the poor of Christ³."

³ The story of the resignation is told by all modern writers; and we have not deviated in the text from the track of our predecessors. Among the older biographers, however, the incident does not by any means appear so distinct and certain. The "*deitur*," with which Fitzstephen introduces his statement, does not much bespeak our confidence; neither does even the "*ut mihi pro certo dictum est*," of Grim (S. T. C. i. 52—244); and, on the other hand, the account given by Alan, which we have chiefly followed, has even too much of detail. But the most remarkable circumstance is the silence of Herbert, who was himself with Becket at Sens. He tells us of the audience at which the constitutions were exhibited; and then he states that on the following day many cardinals and other persons of the court (politicians of the Mr. Worldly Wiseman school) remonstrated in a friendly way with the archbishop on the unseasonableness of quarrelling with the king while the Church was suffering from a schism; to which censure the biographer replies in a very long discourse put into the mouth of his hero; but of the resignation he says nothing whatever. It is hardly worth while to mention small variations in the story; as that Alan makes the reading of the constitutions to have been at a public audience, and the resignation in the pope's chamber, while Herbert expressly states that the former incident was in the chamber; that Grim represents the whole as having taken place at one interview, while Alan makes two; that, according to Alan, the restoration of the see was on the same day with the resignation, while Fitzstephen tells us that there was an interval of three days; that Herbert speaks of Becket as having himself chosen Pontigny for a residence, and petitioned to be placed there, while Alan's statement is that given in the text, &c. On the whole, we think the story of the resignation extremely doubtful. Such writers as we have to do with were equally capable of inventing a falsehood, or of suppressing a fact; but Herbert's narrative has a much greater air of probability than Alan's. And what motive could Herbert have had for suppression? Or what likelihood is there that Alan should have been so very circumstantially informed as to an incident of which Grim and Fitzstephen speak so uncertainly? And if the scene took place as Alan describes it—in the presence of the cardinals, many of whom were in Henry's interest—how could there have been any mystery or uncertainty about it? Surely it would very soon have become universally known. Becket himself alludes, in a letter to Cardinal Hyacinth, A. D. 1167, to something which took place at Sens, "*Partes vestras diligentius interponatis, ut confirmationem primatiæ nostræ, quam in primo adventu nostro Senonis D. Papa nobis concessit, per vos obtineamus*" (Ep. ii. 14); this, however, evidently means, not that the pope restored him to his archbishopric, but that he promised him a formal confirmation in certain privileges, as attached to it. If the story of the resignation is untrue, one of Lord Lyttelton's charges against Becket will fall to the ground—viz., that while to the pope he professed to consider his promotion uncanonical, he yet maintained its perfect validity and regularity in writing to the

It was on Christmas eve that the king of England heard from his envoys the report of their ill-success at the papal court. Two days later he issued orders that the archbishop's property and the revenues of the see of Canterbury should be seized; and that all Becket's kindred, clerks, and servants, should be banished—the same oppressive measure which had been threatened against Foliot, in order to overcome his opposition to the archbishop's election, being now enforced against the primate himself. The bishops were commanded to withhold from the clerks attached to him all the income of preferments within their respective dioceses, and were required to bind themselves, by a solemn promise, that they would not quit the kingdom, hold communication with the exiles, appeal to the pope in any matter whatever, or receive his rescripts. It was forbidden to mention the primate in the public prayers. The sheriffs were charged to arrest and imprison all persons who should appeal to the pope. Peter-pence were to be gathered into the royal treasury. Any one who should be caught with letters from the pope or the archbishop was to be put into a crazy boat, and turned adrift to the mercy of the waves⁴.

The chief instrument in the execution of these measures was Ranulph de Broc, an old and persevering enemy of Becket, whose original cause of enmity was probably a claim made by the archbishop to his castle and lordship of Saltwood, as an ancient possession of the see of Canterbury⁵. He is said to have performed his commission with a barbarity beyond what was required⁶. "Those," says Grim, "of whom God especially styles Himself the Father and Judge,—orphans, widows, children altogether innocent and unknowing of any discord, aged men, women with their little ones hanging at their breasts, clerks, lay folk, of whatever age and sex, of the archbishop's kindred, and some of his friends,"—were seized in the depth of winter and mercilessly transported beyond sea, after having been obliged to swear that they would seek out the archbishop, and present themselves before him, in order to add to his afflictions by the sight of their misery. The pope absolved them from their oath, and those who were less able to travel remained in Flanders⁷. But many found their way to Pontigny; and Herbert fills much space with a long oration, in which the archbishop's *eruditi* are said to have endea-

English bishops. (Ep. i. 127. Lyttelton, ii. 401.) Our scepticism on this point had not arisen when our former article was printed, or we should have worded one or two passages of that article (pp. 52—60) somewhat differently.

⁴ Roger, in S. T. C. i. 156; Herbert, *ibid.* vii. 198.

⁵ Ep. v. 43.

⁶ Herbert, in S. T. C. vii. 198; Grim, *ibid.* i. 54.

⁷ Herbert, in S. T. C. vii. 211. Most writers omit to state that the actual suffering was thus mitigated.

voured to soothe his grief at the piteous spectacle of the multitude which was suffering for his sake, and with one still longer which is described as the reply. The cause for which the exiles suffered, however, procured them a welcome in foreign lands, so that many of them, according to Herbert, were better provided for than they had been in their own country⁸. The women were received into convents; and the men were entertained by princes and nobles, bishops and clergy, with a hospitality from which we should not think of detracting, did not the exaggerated praises of some writers compel us to observe, that the motives of it at first may not have been altogether free from faction⁹, and that its warmth subsided long before the necessity was at an end¹.

Some of the archbishop's connexions found means of concealing themselves in England; and our friend Fitzstephen obtained leave to remain, by composing a curiously rhymed Latin prayer for the king's use².

Becket's residence at Pontigny lasted nearly two years. Soon after his arrival, he requested that he might be furnished with a monastic habit, hallowed by the papal benediction; for he wished, says Alan, to mark his renewed appointment to his office by becoming a monk like the archbishops before him. The pope complied with his request; and Alan, in reporting some pleasantries which passed on the occasion of first trying on the garb, takes occasion to inform us, that the archbishop's spare figure was so stuffed out by the unsuspected shirt of hair, that all the world supposed him a portly man³.

He now endeavoured in every thing to conform to the strict

⁸ S. T. C. vii. 214.

⁹ It is curious enough to find Becket expressing warm thanks for the kindness shown to his friends by the king and queen of Sicily, and at the same time requesting a Sicilian prelate to intercede with these royal persons for the recall of the Archbishop of Palermo from banishment, as a measure which would gratify the King of France.—Ep. i. 58.

¹ There may in some cases have been very sufficient reasons for growing tired of the guests. Thus, in the beginning of the exile, John of Salisbury reports to Becket that he had asked the Bishop of Chalons to take in one of the clerks: "He acquiesces readily, but hopes you will send him some respectable person [*aliquem probum hominem*]; yet he will receive whomsoever you may send. But whenever you send one, pray instruct him to behave with modesty; for the people of this kingdom are modest."—Ep. i. 31.

² This gives countenance to the conjecture (p. 40), that the biographer was the same Fitzstephen who is found in the service of the crown after Becket's death. It seems also likely, (although we would not speak too positively on the point,) that he may have been the William, described as "late chaplain to the archbishop," who was imprisoned in 1166—seemingly in retaliation for his master's proceedings at Vezelay—and for whom Foliot then interested himself with the king.—Ep. i. 123. 130.

³ Quad. ii. 13. Fuller speaks of the costume which we have described at p. 55, as "clothes built three stories high."—Ch. Hist. b. iii. p. 32.

rule of the order to which his hosts belonged ; but, as before at Canterbury, with a studious attempt at concealment. His table was placed by itself in the refectory, so that he was safe from the general observation. Viands suitable to his dignity were served up on it ; but the monk who waited on him was privately instructed to place among them the coarse and unsavoury “*pulmentaria*” of the Cistercian dietary ; and to these, for a time, he restricted himself, allowing the more delicate food to be carried away for beggars⁴,—from whom M. Thierry might claim a share for Saxon refugees.

Grim adds other and more wonderful details of his mortifications and devotion,—borrowing somewhat too largely (we suspect) from the stock list of the hagiologists : that he was wont to lock himself up in an oratory, employing his time in exercises which might be guessed at from his loud and frequent groans ; that he used to stand for hours chilling himself in a stream ; that, instead of occupying the bed which was prepared for him “with clean and costly coverings, as was meet for an archbishop,” he spent much of the night in prayer, and then used to rouse his chaplain, and submit himself to him for discipline ; that when the chaplain returned to his couch, weary with exertion and unable to flog any longer, the saint tore his own flesh with his nails, until at length, in a state of exhaustion, he lay down on the bare floor, and, with a stone for his pillow, yielded himself to a short slumber, which the galling shirt of hair and the gnawings of his multitudinous vermin rendered a pain and additional weariness rather than a refreshment⁵.

That he soon fell ill is certain ; and then, says Grim, he was haunted by visions of malignant cardinals bent on plucking out his eyes, of savage men cutting off the tonsured crown of his head, and other such dire appearances. Herbert of Bosham, who does not mention any other cause of the illness than the unsuitable diet, tells us that he himself discovered this cause with some difficulty ; and that, in obedience to his remonstrances, the archbishop returned to his Canterbury practice of placing his mortification rather in the scantiness than in the plainness of his food⁶ ;—eating, we may suppose, his morsel of pheasant with abstinence, while the brethren of Robert of Molesme and Stephen Harding might be gluttonous over their beans and their bran.

Although, however, the archbishop’s personal habits were thus severe, his general style of living was such that his friend the Bishop of Poitiers thought it necessary to urge repeatedly a reduction of his establishment. “Your wisdom,” he says, in one

⁴ Herbert, in *S. T. C.* vii. 214.

⁵ *S. T. C.* i. 62, 63.

⁶ *S. T. C.* vii. 215, 216.

of his letters, "ought to know that no one will think the less of you, if, in conformity to your circumstances, and in condescension to the religious house that entertains you, you content yourself with a moderate establishment of horses and men, such as your necessities require⁷."

Much of his time was now given to study⁸, in which his chief associates were Herbert of Bosham and Lombard⁹, a learned native of Piacenza, who was afterwards Archbishop of Benevento. The direction of his reading was such as his wisest friend, John of Salisbury, could not regard without fear for its effects on the archbishop's peculiar temper.

"Laws and canons," he wrote, "are indeed useful; but these are not what will now be needed. For, in truth, they raise curiosity rather than devotion. Who ever rises pricked in heart from reading laws, or even canons? I would rather that you should ruminate on the Psalms, and should peruse St. Gregory's books of Morals, than that you should philosophize after the fashion of the schoolmen. You would do better to confer on moral subjects with some spiritual man, by whose example you might be kindled, than to pry into and discuss the contentious parts of secular learning. God knoweth with what intention, with what devotion, I suggest these things. You will take them as you please¹."

The study of ecclesiastical law, as it then was—"developed" by forgery, ignorance of antiquity, and the usurpations of the clergy, which had been advancing for centuries—was especially

⁷ Ep. i. 35. Froude, 570.

⁸ Fitzstephen tells us that during his exile he caused copies of many rare books to be executed in French libraries, for the enrichment of that of Canterbury.—S. T. C. i. 244.

⁹ This person has been confounded with Herbert, in consequence of a mistake in the *Quadrilogus*, p. 157. The error runs through many works, down to Mr. Froude's, p. 116. It is corrected by Dr. Giles in the Preface to S. T. C. vol. viii. (which had probably not been seen by the writer of a letter on the subject in the *British Magazine* for July, 1846—Dr. Giles' volumes having been published by instalments.)

¹ Ep. i. 31. Dr. Lingard seems to agree in thinking that Becket's studies had an unfavourable effect on him, and quotes this letter (ii. 230); but wrongly refers it to the time of the archbishop's residence at Sens,—not without a motive, as we shall see hereafter. Mr. Turner, after quoting the passage which we have given, adds, "Becket excommunicated this bishop" (i. 258); and Lord Campbell (who borrows the quotation from Mr. Turner without acknowledgment) says still more pointedly, that John "was excommunicated *for his pains*" in writing the letter (i. 86). This misstatement is very injurious to Becket, who, if we may judge by the freedom with which John continued to admonish him, appears to have taken the letter in good part. He excommunicated the *Bishop of Salisbury*, and *John of Oxford*, *Dean of Salisbury*; but *John of Salisbury* was his steady friend, and was not a bishop until after Becket's death. If any carelessness could surprise us in Dr. Giles, we might be surprised to find the author of two volumes relating to Becket, and editor of eight, confounding the two Johns. (S. T. C. i. 316.)

fitted to bring out the defects of Becket's character, by filling his mind with exaggerated notions; while his austere manner of life would arm him with a stern determination to carry out his ideas of duty, abating nothing of what he conceived to be his dignities and the rights of the Church.

And now the correspondence becomes voluminous and important. Unhappily, however, the editors have done all that was in their power to prevent the possibility of reading it with any ease or pleasure. The old edition is intended, no doubt, to have something of a chronological arrangement; for each of the five books, into which it is divided, professes to contain the epistles of a certain period; but a glance at Mr. Froude's list of the letters will show how ill this pretence is borne out. Dr. Giles' principle of arrangement is different, but at least equally unsatisfactory. He divides his four volumes of correspondence into two pairs,—placing Becket's letters² at the beginning of the first, and those of Foliot at the beginning of the second; excluding the letters of John of Salisbury and Arnulph, as belonging to other portions of the "*Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," and distributing the miscellaneous epistles between the parts which are chiefly devoted to Becket and Foliot respectively. These arrangements would of themselves be enough to make considerable *hunting* necessary in an attempt to read the correspondence with understanding. But the difficulty of finding our way is strangely increased by the *internal* order of the classes; for this is regulated, in the case of Becket's and Foliot's letters, by the rank of the receiver; in the others, by that of the writer. The clergy take precedence; and after the smallest of these come emperors, kings, and queens; from whom the scale descends to the rest of the laity. When a late voluminous baronet published the letters of his correspondents in the order of heraldic precedence, he had the satisfaction of parading in the most imposing way the greatness of the personages who had written to him; this was in his case an object, and furnished a motive for such a disposition; but in the case before us nothing could be more absurd or vexatious. And so utterly indifferent is Dr. Giles to any real utility or convenience, that he has not even taken the pains to put into their proper order the letters addressed to the same person by Becket or Foliot, or those of the same writer in the rest of the correspondence!

There is, indeed, Mr. Froude's list to guide us about the old

² As Lord Campbell (i. 99) gives Becket credit for *all* the merits of the letters which pass under his name, we may mention that Herbert speaks of them as "*quas vel ipsemet scripsit, vel aliqui de eruditis suis, de ipsius mandato, sub ejus nomine.*" S. T. C. vii. 234.

edition; and Dr. Giles has furnished another (of the most meagre and unsatisfactory kind); so that the laborious reader may, if he will, pick out his way, after some fashion, through the four octavos and the corpulent little quarto, by the help of two lists, which do not agree with each other; (and all this labour is necessary, since each edition has both more and less than the other;) but we need not say how different such a process is from reading onwards in a collection digested by an intelligent and careful editor according to the order of dates³. And as to other matters—care of text, accuracy of printing, and the like—both the old and the new editions are as choice specimens as could readily be found of the method described by Mr. Carlyle in his “Cromwell;”—“editing, as you edit waggon-loads of rubbish—by turning the waggon upside down.”

It is not for a reviewer to enter into the details of this mass of correspondence. The reader, if he fears to embark on the great ocean itself, may gain an idea of it from Mr. Froude's work⁴. We cannot say, that, as a whole, it gives a favourable idea of the time. There is abundance of violence, falsehood, and insincerity; mean selfishness and artifice trying to veil themselves under fine professions and language; cant, too evidently known to be cant by those who used it; strange tossing to and fro of allegorically misapplied Scripture; duplicity of pope, corruptness of cardinals and other high dignitaries, intemperance of Becket and Henry, hypocrisy of Louis, politic smoothness of Foliot. Exeter Hall itself might enrich its abuse of the Church of the middle ages from the language and imputations which her eminent personages lavish on each other. She appears distracted by schism and faction, corrupted and degraded by a multiplicity of evil, pitiably subjected to the variations of temporal affairs, and

³ We do not wish it to be supposed that *we* have read the correspondence in the thorough style here described; and therefore we cannot undertake to speak of Dr. Giles' demerits in detail. We may, however, mention one specimen of editorship which we have by chance observed. A part of a letter from Foliot “to G. [Geoffrey Ridel], Archdeacon of Canterbury,” (Foliot, ep. 197,) is repeated as a letter to a person unknown (*ibid.* 292). The want of acquaintance with his own book which the editor has shown by printing the letter twice, is discreditable; but there seems to be something far more discreditable than this in the matter: *for the index makes no mention of the second insertion*; and the only way in which we can account for this is by supposing that Dr. Giles, in making his index, discovered the repetition, and that he thought to conceal the fact from his readers by omitting the reference to the second place where the letter appears. A comparison of the two copies is not calculated to inspire much confidence in Dr. Giles' accuracy as an editor. In the one he reads *adduxeritis*, where in the other he rightly gives *adduxeritis*; and in the copy which is free from this blunder, there is an error of punctuation which alters the sense.

⁴ In referring to this volume, we do not attempt to distinguish between Mr. Froude and the friend who completed and edited his papers.

attempting to assert herself against the world, not by leavening it with a higher and purer element, but by setting up pretensions unfounded, mischievous, and of a rival worldliness.

The letters of John of Salisbury are, we think, the most readable in the old collection. He, at least, is free from cant, and writes with apparent honesty. He is genial, learned, and sensible. Although a strenuous adherent of Becket, he is by no means blind to his faults, or sparing in reproof of them; and his ill opinion of the fair-spoken Bishop of London shows itself in a variety of amusing ways.

In the spring of 1165⁵, Henry entered into a negotiation with the German adherents of the antipope, Paschal. His envoys are said to have gone so far as, at a diet which was held at Würzburg, to swear in their master's name that he would renounce Alexander and acknowledge Paschal; and the authority for this statement is nothing less imposing than an edict of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa⁶. Lord Lyttelton suggests, and with great probability, that the edict may have represented as absolute an engagement which was only conditional—depending on the course which the pope should take in the disputes between the king and the archbishop⁷; but it is clear that the affair, however qualified, was discreditable and injurious to Henry. He backed out of it by setting John of Oxford, who had been one of the envoys, to swear before the pope that in the German transactions nothing had been done “against the faith of the Church, and the honour and interest of the pope⁸.” It was at Rome that this oath was taken; for the state of affairs had encouraged Alexander to return to Italy, and he entered his capital in November, 1165⁹.

The king of England spent the following Easter at Angers; and there he had an interview with John of Salisbury, Herbert of Bosham, and others of Becket's clerks, in consequence of an attempt made by the king of France to procure their restoration to their country¹. The clerks all refused to abandon their master, or to admit the usages except in so far as the pope should

⁵ We follow Lord Lyttelton and Mr. Froude as to the date of these transactions, which are placed by Dr. Lingard in 1167, and by Dupin (as Mr. F. informs us) in 1168. We cannot imagine how these later dates can be supported; for the diet at Würzburg was held at Whitsuntide, 1165, (Fleury, lxxi. 17.) and the whole sequence of the story appears inconsistent with any other date. The only apparent difficulty is, that Henry speaks of sending envoys to *Rome*, and asks the emperor to give them a safe-conduct. (Ep. i. 69—73.) We may suppose, however, that the pope's return to Italy was foreseen when these letters were written.

⁶ Ep. i. 70.

⁷ ii. 417, 418.

⁸ Ep. ii. 102.

⁹ Fleury, lxxix. 20.

¹ We follow Mr. Froude in the date of this interview: Dr. Giles not only deviates from his usual guide, by placing it in 1167, but wrongly represents him as dating it in 1165 (ii. 121).

warrant; and they left Henry in great indignation at their firmness, and especially at the swaggering deportment of our friend Herbert.

A negotiation which the archbishop himself opened with the king, about the same time, or perhaps somewhat earlier, had no better result. It began in the most conciliatory manner. The envoy was a Cistercian abbot, named Urban—"a man," says Herbert², "urbane in reality as well as in name, and of urbane speech;" and he bore with him a letter of corresponding blandness—"a most sweet letter," as the biographer describes it, "containing supplication alone, and nothing or next to nothing of reproof; for," he adds, "the archbishop had sought for words profitable, sweet, and pacific, and wrote in most gentle terms." The king, however, answered roughly; whereupon Becket sent him a verbal message of somewhat sterner tone. The king's second reply was still rougher than the first—(as might have been expected); and the archbishop, finding (says our author), that oil had no effect, proceeded to pour in wine. Another letter was written in a tone of severe rebuke and lofty ecclesiastical dignity; and this, like the first, was sent by a suitable bearer—a monk named Gerard "the shoeless,"—tattered, mortified, and of a burning zeal. The last communication incensed the king to fury; and so the negotiation ended.

And now our reader—if the story of Becket is not wholly new to him, and if his previous acquaintance with it has been derived from certain sources—may expect that we should tell him how King Henry procured the removal of the exile from Pontigny. We are sorry to keep our reader waiting; but *we* must tell things in their proper order.

Although the pope had returned to Italy, he was still far from feeling himself independent of circumstances and persons³; and he had tied up Becket from taking any steps against Henry until after Easter, 1166. That time had now arrived, and the archbishop prepared to act.

Threats, conveyed by letter and otherwise, had given the king reason to apprehend that the extreme spiritual censures of excommunication and interdict were about to be pronounced against him. He summoned an assembly of his nobles and bishops to

² S. T. C. vii. 222.

³ He was ill provided with money, and there is some curious correspondence with Foliot on the subject of Peter-pence. The pope desires the bishop to collect this impost, to transmit the amount with all speed, and in the mean time to advance as much money as he can spare or borrow. Foliot replies, that no Peter-pence would have been forthcoming without the king's leave, and that the money shall be sent when gathered; but he takes no notice of the request as to an advance. Giles, i. 320.

Chinon, and desired their advice as to the course which should be taken⁴. It was resolved to prevent the sentence by an appeal; for in the case of excommunication an appeal could not be admitted *after* sentence, as the party was then no longer a member of the Church. The bishops of Lisieux and Seez accordingly proceeded to Pontigny, accompanied by Rotrou, Archbishop of Rouen, who professed that he went rather with a view of mediating between the parties than of aiding in the appeal. They found that Becket had received notice of their approach, and had left the abbey in order to avoid them⁵. They published the appeal, however, although in a manner to which an exception was taken as informal,—as it was only read aloud, instead of being affixed to the abbey-gates.

The archbishop in the mean time went on a pilgrimage to Soissons, attended by some of his clerks, and arrived there in the beginning of the Rogation-week. He watched three nights, before the shrine of the Blessed Virgin, that of St. Gregory, who set on foot the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, and that of St. Drausius, a saint much resorted to by persons about to engage in duels, and therefore, we are told, very germane to the occasion⁶. On the morrow after Ascension-day he proceeded to Vezelay; and on the Sunday following⁷, after preaching at high mass, he entered into a statement of the differences between himself and the king, of the measures which had been taken against

⁴ He is reported to have said, “quod omnes proditores erant, qui eum adhibitâ operâ et diligentia ab unius hominis infestatione nolebant expedire.” (Ep. i. 140, pp. 233, 234.) “These,” says Mr. Froude, “are the very expressions which Henry uttered in 1170, and which were the immediate occasion of the archbishop’s murder.” (p. 150.) “C’était,” writes M. Michelet on that occasion, “la seconde fois que ces paroles *homicides* sortaient de sa bouche.” (iii. 187.) There is, however, nothing *homicidal*, or suggestive of violence in the Latin here, although we cannot say the same of Mr. Froude’s translation—“who had not zeal and courage enough to rid him,” &c.

⁵ Dr. Giles tells us that “Herbert says [the archbishop] withdrew from Pontigny purposely to prevent notice being served on him.” (i. 333.) What Herbert really says is considerably different—“We knew that on the ground of domicile appeals might be made, although the parties appealed against might be absent, or might absent themselves; but we withdrew in order to avoid intercourse with the envoys.” (S. T. C. vii. 233.) Herbert represents the visit of the bishops to Pontigny as having taken place *after* the excommunications—apparently confounding the proceedings of the *Norman* prelates sent from Chinon with those of the *English* bishops, on hearing what had been done at Vezelay. We here chiefly follow the correspondence.

⁶ Ascension-day, the last day of Becket’s stay at Soissons, fell on the feast of this saint, June 2.

⁷ Dr. Giles, we do not know on what authority, says, that it was on Easter-day. (i. 332.) Herbert says that it was on St. Mary Magdalene’s day, July 22. (S. T. C. vii. 229.) But it is evident from the correspondence (which is better authority than Herbert’s work, written from memory long after), that this is a mistake. Ep. i. 146. 150, &c.

him, and the failure of his attempts to bring Henry to a better mind; and then, with all the awful forms of the Roman Church, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against John of Oxford, for his intercourse with schismatics, and his intrusion into the deanery of Salisbury⁸; against Richard de Luci, Ranulph de Broc, and others of the king's party, for having advised measures against the good of the Church, for having infringed her property, and other such offences. He anathematized six of the constitutions of Clarendon in particular, and all who should act on them; and he absolved the bishops from their engagement to observe them. He suspended the Bishop of Salisbury, for having admitted John to the deanery of his church on the king's nomination, without a canonical election, and against the pope's command. Henry himself would have been included in the excommunication, but that Becket, on arriving at Vezelay, had heard of his being seriously ill. He contented himself, therefore, with summoning him to repent, and threatening to anathematize him if he should persist in his courses.

These censures were uttered in the presence of a great concourse of people, who had met to keep Ascension-tide at Vezelay; and Herbert tells us, that he and the other clerks who accompanied the archbishop were altogether taken by surprise when they heard them; for in the many consultations which had passed, he had given no hint of his object, and they had followed him from Pontigny without suspecting it⁹.

The archbishop forthwith despatched letters to the English bishops, requiring them to carry out his denunciations. They met on St. John the Baptist's day, and agreed to appeal to the pope against him—fixing on Ascension-day in the following year as the term. The writers of Becket's party exult much over the fact that, on this and other occasions, the king and his friends had recourse to appeals—"an expedient," says Dr. Lingard, "which had been prohibited by the constitutions of Clarendon;" but, as the utmost that was intended by the constitution was to prevent appealing *without the king's consent*¹, the charge of inconsistency appears very ill-grounded.

⁸ The late dean having been advanced to the bishopric of Bayeux, the pope had forbidden the election of a successor during the exile of some of the canons, to whom the right of electing belonged. Froude, 154.

⁹ S. T. C. vii. 230. Herbert, indeed, does not mention the excommunications, but only the threat against the king. Our chief authority here is a letter from John of Salisbury to the Bishop of Exeter. Ep. i. 140.

¹ Henry, in an explanation which was meant to reach the pope, puts a far more limited construction on the article—professing that it was intended to apply to civil cases only, and to forbid the carrying of matters to Rome without a previous trial in the king's court. Foliot, Ep. 174. Lingard, ii. 219.

Letters, long, able, and bitter, were now exchanged between the primate and his suffragans; among them was that of Foliot, which has been referred to in our account of Becket's elevation to the archbishopric. The pope, soon after, confirmed the suspension of the Bishop of Salisbury and the excommunications of the others, and ordered that all persons who were in possession of benefices or revenues belonging to the exiles should restore them and make satisfaction².

At the general chapter of the Cistercians, which was held at Cîteaux in the month of September, an intimation was given from the King of England³ that, if the archbishop were any longer harboured in any of their monasteries, he would confiscate all the property of the order within his dominions. A deputation of monks was sent to Pontigny in consequence. The king's letter was read over to the archbishop, and he was requested to choose his own course; the order would not turn him out, but would feel itself greatly eased by his departure. Becket at once resolved to relieve the Cistercians from the danger which they incurred by their hospitality, although the brethren of Pontigny besought him still to remain among them with an earnestness which would have been more meritorious if *they* had been among the parties on whom the penalty would have fallen.

The Roman breviary represents the king's threat to the Cistercians as having followed immediately on his learning the fact that they had afforded refuge to his enemy. Most of the old biographers say nothing of any provocation given by the archbishop; as neither does the breviary of Salisbury. The *Quadriologus* omits Herbert's account of the scene at Vezelay; and Dr. Giles, although he relates the fact, yet thinks it too unimportant to deserve any mention in his table of contents, or in the heading of his chapter, which is simply "The pope returns to Italy!" Dr. Lingard, after relating that the archbishop retired to Pontigny, devotes three pages to an account of wars in Wales, and then returns to the subject of Becket, by stating that "amidst these transactions the eyes of the king were still fixed on the exile at Pontigny;" that he banished the archbishop's kindred, and took other measures against him which we have already mentioned; that "still Henry's resentment was in-

² Ep. i. 119, 120.

³ The late French historians connect with the hearing of what had been done at Vezelay, the account given in one of the epistles of a transport of rage into which Henry was thrown. Thierry, iii. 143. Michelet, iii. 173. Lord Campbell (who makes no mention of the Vezelay excommunications) says that it was caused by "receiving a despatch disclosing a new machination of the archbishop." (i. 87.) If his lordship had really consulted "Ep. i. 44," which he affects to quote, he would have seen that the occasion had nothing to do with Becket.

satisfiable;" that he caused him to be dismissed by the Cistercians; that Becket found refuge at Sens, and *there* took to a kind of reading from which his friends "endeavoured to divert his attention;" and that "at last, urged by the cries of the sufferers" and "the violence of Henry," he proceeded to an excommunication⁴.

This sequence is, indeed, fitted to produce a very different impression from the natural account of the case. The king's measures are here strung together as the expressions of a restless and "insatiable" malignity, with "eyes still fixed on the exile at Pontigny," and going on from one cruelty to another without any fresh provocation. In reality, however, all these proceedings took place at two points of time and no more,—the banishment of the kindred, the seizure of effects, &c. on the return of the envoys from the papal court at Christmas, 1164, before Henry knew that the archbishop was at Pontigny; the dislodging of the exiles, after the excommunication of the king's adherents. It was at Pontigny that Becket inflamed his mind by the studies against which John of Salisbury remonstrated; it was thence that he proceeded to Vezelay in order to excommunicate; and it was in consequence of his doings at Vezelay that the king procured his removal from Pontigny.

Why, we may ask, did the old biographers for the most part omit the fact of the excommunication? It was nothing private, obscure, or uncertain; in their eyes it certainly cannot have been unimportant. By omitting it, the King of England's conduct is made to appear unprovoked and hateful; whereas, in truth, Becket's most intimate friends and most zealous partizans were shocked by the violence of the provocation. We can see no other conclusion than that the biographers wished to falsify the history; that the compiler of the *Quadrilogue* had the same motive; and we leave the charitable ingenuity of the reader to find out some way of accounting for the remarkable series of transpositions by which Dr. Lingard has so curiously changed the character of the story.

Becket now resolved to throw himself on the kindness of the French king, who at an earlier period had offered to entertain him. On hearing the statement of the archbishop's messengers, Louis uttered severe reflections on the Cistercians, as having "deserted the cause of God for the sake of those perishable things of this world, to which they professed to be dead⁵." A man whose worldly interest it was to support Becket, might well be righteously indignant against those who followed *their* interest

⁴ ii. 230—232.

⁵ Herbert, in S. T. C. vii. 241.

by getting rid of him⁶. He desired that the archbishop would choose a residence in any part of his dominions, and assured him of an ample maintenance. Becket fixed on a monastery close to Sens,—the city in which the pope had lately lived, and, according to Herbert, a very pleasant abode⁷.

The abbot of Pontigny accompanied the exiles on their way to Sens, and, observing that the archbishop was sad, endeavoured to console him. On this, Becket told him, under promise of secrecy, that he had been troubled by a vision during the night. He had found himself in a church, pleading his cause in presence of the Roman conclave,—the pope hearing him with favour, while the cardinals opposed him; when four knights entered, and cut off the crown of his head⁸. The abbot is said to have observed, with a smile, “How should one who eats and drinks as you do be a martyr? The cup of wine which you drink accords ill with the cup of martyrdom.” And the archbishop replied, “I own that I indulge overmuch in the pleasures of the body; yet He who justifieth the ungodly hath vouchsafed to reveal this to me⁹.”

The vision is said to have been imparted, under the same seal of secrecy, to another abbot a few days later; and both the depositories of the secret kept it to themselves until it had been verified by the event. This is not exactly after the manner of Scripture prophecy, where, although the meaning might not appear until after the fulfilment, there was never any concealment of the words.

No one will maintain that the conduct of Henry in dislodging Becket was at all magnanimous or admirable, if judged even by a standard which is not the highest. But neither was it very atrocious or inexcusable, —as appears strongly from the circumstance, that those who wish to give it this character have

⁶ The king's support was far from steady. John of Salisbury speaks as if it were cooling very early in the day. (Giles, i. 309.) And as to its generosity, we find by a letter of the Bishop of Poitiers, written about the same time, that his plan was to provide for the archbishop out of the revenues of some vacant see, “so as to keep his own funds unimpaired.” (Ibid. 314.)

⁷ Lord Campbell states that in 1167 Becket removed to Rome (i. 35). The authority for this error is not given.

⁸ This is Herbert's account. We have already given a similar story from Grim, who refers it to an earlier time, and also tells that one day at mass the archbishop had a vision, in which it was said to him, “Thomas, Thomas, thou shalt glorify Me by thy death.”—S. T. C. i. 64.

⁹ Will. Cant. in Quad. ii. 13. The abbot's speech seems to show the narrowness of a monk, unable to conceive any sanctity or abstinence except after the very fashion of his own order. We have already said enough as to Becket's mortifications, but we may take this opportunity of mentioning, that the Passion quoted in p. 53, note ⁸, which, according to Dr. Giles (S. T. C. viii. p. ix.) was “first printed in 1604,” is really that which formed the lessons of the Sarum breviary.

found themselves obliged to omit mentioning the offence which prompted it. We would allow Dr. Lingard and the rest to inveigh against the king at will, if the fact were that he kept his "eyes still fixed on" a harmless exile, whose placid hours were divided between devotion, study, and deeds of love; if it were true that, out of mere "insatiable" malice, without any new incitement, he heaped affliction after affliction on this meek recluse, and at last forced the brotherhood which had sheltered him to turn him out of doors. But when the matter is stated in its true form,—when it is considered that Becket had put the crown to a long course of most vexatious conduct, by pronouncing the highest censures of the Church on the king's advisers, by threatening himself with excommunication and the kingdom with an interdict, by anathematizing his constitutions, and releasing men from their pledge to observe them;—when we consider that the violence of this proceeding alienated from the archbishop some of the English bishops, who before were favourable to him, and provoked the Archbishop of Rouen, "that most firm pillar of the Church," as John of Salisbury styles him, to declare that "all his actions proceeded either from pride or passion¹;"—when we consider that Becket was himself so well aware of the violent nature of his act that he did not venture to consult his most confidential friends on it, out of fear lest their dissuasions should overpower his wishes—we cannot in truth much wonder that Henry should have taken the first means which occurred to him of retaliating in such measure as he could. To abstain from retaliation would have been the part of a character very different from a Norman king of England,—from a prince or noble of that age,—most assuredly from Becket himself. And, if there seem to be something unworthy in the manner of the retaliation, even this may be partly excused when we remember the circumstances of the case,—that Becket had fled from the king's dominions, and therefore it might very naturally be an object with Henry to make him feel that, even in a foreign territory, he was not altogether beyond his reach.

The negotiations which followed, down to the final reconciliation, are very fully related in Mr. Froude's volume, where they occupy about three hundred pages—almost a hundred more than the whole of the previous history. The original letters, which fill the greatest part of the space, give an interest to Mr. Froude's work; but we fear that our readers would find these affairs very wearisome, if we should enter into their complicated details.

¹ Ep. i. 150, p. 243. John's advice on this is significant: "You must meet this opinion by a display of moderation, as well in your deeds and words as in your bearing and habit; and yet all this avails but little with God, *unless it proceed from the secret chamber of your conscience.*"

We shall, therefore, endeavour to confine ourselves to the most prominent and important transactions.

The first matter which calls for notice is a mission of John of Oxford and others to Rome, in the interest of the King of England. John, excommunicate as he was, was favourably received by the pope, who at the time had pecuniary and political reasons for dealing tenderly with Henry. He placed his deanery of Salisbury in the pope's hands; his excuses for the intrusion were admitted, and he was confirmed in the office. With the facility which procured him from John of Salisbury the nickname of *Jurator*, he swore whatever he supposed to be for his master's interest—promising, it is said, even that the usages should be abandoned; and he returned home in a triumphant mood, which Becket describes as an “exalting himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped².” He had obtained, among other things, the appointment of a legatine commission, consisting of two cardinals, William of Pavia and Otho. The former was before noted as altogether in Henry's interest; and Herbert tells us that both were corrupt and greedy, and, “but that they were my lord pope's legates, worthy rather of relegation than delegation³.” During the subsistence of this commission, the archbishop's power of excommunicating, and the sentences already pronounced, were dormant; and it was also granted that in the matter of excommunication the king should be exempted from all authority but the pope's.

The proceedings of the cardinals took up the greater part of the year 1167. William announced his arrival in France to Becket in a somewhat magisterial manner; and the archbishop wrote two answers, which were, one after the other, set aside by John of Salisbury as too offensive in tone. He threw about protests and denunciations on all sides. In his letters to the pope he used a strange vehemence of language, protesting against the appointment of William, and declaring that he would never admit him as an arbiter. He repeatedly alludes to a rumour that the cardinal had been bribed by a promise of succeeding to the see of Canterbury, if a vacancy could by any means be effected. He states that the success of John of Oxford had induced many of the French nobles to give up the cause of the Church as hopeless, and to dismiss the exiles whom they had entertained; some of these, he adds, had already perished from cold and hunger⁴.

The envoys, after having visited the king at Caen, had an interview with the archbishop near Gisors, and endeavoured to obtain his consent to a reconciliation, in which there should be

² Ep. i. 165.

³ Quad. ii. 22.

⁴ Ep. i. 165.

no mention of the constitutions. By this expedient, they told him that he might make sure of an implied withdrawal of the usages, and at the same time might conciliate the king by not insisting on a formal abrogation of them. He replied that his silence would rather be regarded as an assent. The legates then proceeded to Argenton, where they met Henry and some English bishops. The king was disgusted at finding that he had been deceived as to their powers—a more limited commission having been substituted, at the instance of Becket and the French king, for that which had been promised to John of Oxford, so that the cardinals had no authority to go into England, or to arbitrate, unless a reconciliation should first have been effected. He treated them for a time with studied disrespect, but at taking leave he besought them with tears to befriend him at the court of Rome. William cried for company, while Otho was hardly able to refrain from laughing. The cardinals returned to Italy, without having effected any thing towards a reconciliation.

The term of the original appeal by the English bishops had expired while the cardinals were on their journey northward. At the conference of Argenton, which took place in November (1167), they again appealed to Martinmas in the following year. The archbishop deliberated with his clerks whether this appeal should be respected; and the decision was, that, as it was made not for the protection of right, but for the maintenance of wrong (*i. e.* not for but against the cause of Becket), the inferior judge was not bound to regard it. The archbishop then proceeded to excommunicate for disobedience, in neglecting a summons to appear before him, and for other offences, the Bishop of London, and his own archdeacon, Ridel (whom he somewhere terms "*Archidiabolus noster*"); and he included with them a multitude of clerks and laymen, who were concerned in invading the property of the see of Canterbury, or the benefices of the banished clergy.

The censures lighted thickly among the persons immediately around the king.

"Almost every one about the court," says Herbert, "was excommunicated, either by name or as having communion with those expressly named, which they were neither able nor at liberty to avoid; so that in the king's chapel there was hardly one that could offer him the kiss of peace at mass, but such as were excommunicated either by name or implicitly." (S. T. C. vii. 253.)

The biographer goes on to give a lively description of the stir which arose in consequence:—

"The king and his party send and send again with all haste. Mes-

sengers upon messengers, and then fresh messengers, run, hurry, scamper, to report these doings to the apostolic pontiff. We on our part sent also; our pious king of the French, too, sent and sent again on our behalf. So now the threshold of the Apostles was daily worn, both by our friends and by our adversaries; they run up and down, they hurry, they scamper, both the one party and the other." (S. T. C. vii. 253, 254.)

The "holy pontiff" (as Dr. Giles affects to call him) was in a sore perplexity. He was not disposed to break with Henry, and was much annoyed by the archbishop's hasty and headstrong proceedings; yet he was not willing to abandon him. And if the "gilded and silvered" words of the English king's emissaries weighed more than the "shabby ink-written words" of the exiles, yet, on the other hand, there was the influence of Louis, who zealously espoused the archbishop's cause, and prayed that the excommunications might be sustained; and other potentates are said to have concurred in the request. As, therefore, it would have been awkward to quarrel with either party, the pope judged it most expedient to persuade them to make up their quarrels; and with this view he wrote letters in all directions, which raised up a host of peace-makers—influential personages, both ecclesiastical and secular, all full of love and soft conciliation, busily endeavouring to mediate.

Henry, by means of some envoys whom he sent to Rome, obtained a suspension of the archbishop from dealing forth censures, until a reconciliation should have been effected. The pope seems to have granted this in the full belief that the reconciliation would not be long delayed; we must not, therefore, tax him with any remarkably bad faith for expressing himself to the king without any limitation of time, while to the archbishop he announced that the suspension was only to last until the following Lent⁵.

As, however, there was no appearance of any speedy move, the pope despatched into France three envoys—Simon and Engelbert, dignified ecclesiastics, and Bernard, a monk of Grammont. The statutes of his order bound the last-named personage to abstain from pen and ink; but doubtless his genius found vent in other ways. These envoys were charged with letters to the king, containing exhortations to peace and threats of punishment; the latter to be delivered if the former should be found ineffectual. There was now a general wish for an accommodation. Henry sincerely desired it, although the opposite party charge him with insincerity in his offer of concessions⁶. The French king

⁵ Ep. iv. 16.

⁶ Such as "ut liberum sit ad sedem apostolicam appellare," and "ut clerici ad sæcularia judicia non trahantur."—Ep. ii. 105.

was eager to act as mediator : some foreign potentates, won by Henry, pressed the expedient of removing Becket by a translation ; his clergy in general were weary of banishment, and willing to meet any conciliatory measures. The primate himself, however, was still unbending. He declared that he would not give up the rights of the Church ; that he would rather die than consent to desert her cause by a resignation of his see.

On the Epiphany, 1169, the two kings held a conference on political affairs at Montmirail, near Chartres ; and Louis induced Becket to be present. On being admitted into the presence of the kings, he fell on his knees before Henry, who immediately raised him up. The archbishop then lamented the differences which had arisen, charging all the evil of them on his own insufficiency ; and concluded by saying that he threw himself wholly on the king's mercy, and submitted to him in all things, " saving the honour of God." This reservation took by surprise many of those who had advised him to concession, and believed that they had prevailed with him. The archbishop professed to have substituted the words *salvo honore Dei* for *salvo ordine nostro*, from a wish to avoid the repetition of the offensive formula ; but Henry would not recognize any distinction between the two. He exclaimed that the reservation might be made a pretext for any disobedience : he loudly reproached the archbishop for pride, ingratitude, and disloyalty ; and he concluded by proposing that Becket should yield him that amount of obedience which the greatest and holiest of former primates had paid to the least of earlier kings⁷. All who were present declared that the king could not be expected to humble himself further ; but Becket remained immovable. It was true, he said, that former archbishops had borne with many abuses ; they had corrected much evil, but not all ; and it was *his* duty to strive against what remained.

The King of France had now strong reasons for siding with Henry. He, his nobles, and the great body of the clergy who were present (including most of the archbishop's own train), were disgusted at Becket's pertinacity. The kings left the meeting

⁷ M. Thierry characterizes this proposal as " evidently ironical, and containing at least as much of mental reservation as Becket could have put into his ' saving God's honour.' " (iii. 151.) There is, however, a very clear difference between the two ; nor does the idea of irony appear to have entered the mind of any who were present. Another proposal made by Henry, and much favoured by some of the more moderate among the archbishop's friends, (such as John, Bishop of Poitiers, whom Becket reproved severely for his good intentions,) was, that the obedience of the archbishop should be what the evidence of a hundred men of England, with a like number from Normandy and from Anjou, should determine to have been formerly paid.

without saluting him ; Louis did not visit him in the course of the evening (as was generally his custom) ; he let him depart on the morrow without leave-taking ; and for some days he held no communication with the exiles, and discontinued their usual allowance of provisions.

Soon after returning to Sens, Becket was in consultation with his clerks as to the course which should now be taken, and had declared an intention of seeking a refuge in Burgundy, when he was summoned to attend King Louis. The king threw himself on his knees before him, acknowledged that the archbishop alone had been in the right at Montmirail, and besought absolution for having taken part against him ; which Becket formally gave. This revolution was caused by the receipt of tidings that Henry had violated the late treaty, by putting to death some leading men of Poitou, who had been in rebellion against him. Louis was now prepared for a breach with the English king ; and he treated the exiles with greater honour than before.

The pope's envoys, having failed to bring about a reconciliation, proceeded to deliver to Henry the second letter with which they had been charged, containing a threat of punishment, unless he should speedily repent.

During the negotiations with Simon and his colleagues, the proceedings against the Bishop of London had been allowed to rest. But at the beginning of Lent (1169) the suspension of the archbishop expired, and he declared an intention of inflicting the highest censures on his contumacious opponents. In order to ward off the blow, Foliot put in a fresh appeal, which was to last until the feast of the Purification in the following year ; and he induced the Bishop of Salisbury, who was in the same danger with himself, to unite with him in this step. Without, however, regarding the appeal, Becket on Palm Sunday pronounced sentence of excommunication against the two bishops and several other persons, at Clairvaux.

Foliot knew how to turn the forms of law to his advantage with the ingenuity of a Bentley. He had appealed ; no citation to appear before his metropolitan had reached him—for the reason that a strict watch was kept to prevent the importation of any letters from Becket into England ; and, although he acknowledged that he had heard a rumour of the excommunication, he professed that he did not hold himself bound to defer to it until he should receive a formal intimation. All possible care was taken to keep such documents at a distance ; but this vigilance was not long effectual. On Ascension-day, when the service of high mass in St. Paul's Cathedral had advanced as far as the offertory, one Berenger, a young French layman, approached the celebrating

priest, and held out a packet as his oblation. The priest, on opening it, found—not (as might have been hoped), something equivalent to a modern bank-note, or the title-deeds of an estate bestowed on the Church, but—a letter from the primate to the bishop, announcing the sentence which had been passed on him, and another to the dean and clergy of the cathedral, charging them to avoid the communion of their diocesan in consequence. The messenger then proclaimed the excommunication to the people, and, having escaped under cover of the confusion which ensued, he made his way to York, where he published the sentence in a similar manner¹.

The bishop and the dean were both absent from London when the scene in the cathedral took place. On the next day but one, Foliot assembled the clergy of his church. He read the letters before them, and protested against the sentence on many and various grounds. He argued both from the Old Testament and from the New. He insisted on his appeal, and on the informality of pronouncing sentence without citation and trial—an informality, he said, which could not be excused by the difficulty of serving a citation on him, since the archbishop had found means of conveying the letters of excommunication, which was a far more difficult and hazardous matter. He declared that he owed no obedience to the see of Canterbury, inasmuch as he had not taken any oath to the archbishop at his translation, and because, moreover, London was of right an independent archiepiscopal see, as it had been until the ancient British Christianity was swept away by a heathen invasion².

The London clergy in general joined with the bishop in appealing against the excommunication; but the members of his own order excused themselves from supporting him. The king wrote letters in his behalf to the pope, as did also the abbots of Ramsey and Reading, with other ecclesiastics, representing his merits and vindicating his conduct; and, having obtained the king's licence, he set out for Rome, in order to endeavour after a reversal of his sentence.

On the same day when the letters of excommunication were delivered in St. Paul's, Becket himself was busy elsewhere in adding to the list of the excommunicate. The Archdeacon Ridel ("*Archidiabolus noster*") was among the persons denounced on this occasion.

The pope was much annoyed at hearing of the excommunication of Foliot. Before the tidings reached him, he had (chiefly by way of staving off the importunities of opposite parties) ap-

¹ Fitzst., in S. T. C. i. 256—258; Ep. iii. 41.

² Fitzst., in S. T. C. i. 256; Ep. iii. 41.

pointed Gratian, a subdeacon, nephew of Pope Eugenius III., and Vivian, a learned lawyer, to go into France as his envoys; and he now sent Becket a letter, expressive of regret that he had resorted to excommunication while negotiations were pending, and advising that further proceedings should be deferred until the result of the embassy were known¹.

In the month of August the envoys arrived in France; being less encumbered with dignity and baggage than cardinals, says Fitzstephen, they were able to travel more expeditiously. Gratian was the favourite with Becket and his friends. He is described by Herbert as "truly gracious, according to his name, and, moreover, more vivacious than Vivian²;" nay, the biographer speaks of him as a very prodigy, inasmuch as "although a Roman, yet he went not after gold³." He and his colleagues held several conferences with Henry, most of which ended in some display of passion on the king's part. There were offers of concession from both parties; but as each wished to make a reservation—Henry insisting on the words "*salvâ dignitate regni*," while the archbishop was equally earnest for "*salvâ Ecclesiæ dignitate*"—Gratian gave up the hope of effecting an accommodation, and returned to Rome, declaring himself (we are told) disgusted at the king's untrustworthy character. Vivian was more favourable to Henry—not without special reasons, it is said. He remained behind, and entered into fresh negotiations, for which Becket was but little disposed to thank him⁴. The envoy succeeded, however, in persuading the archbishop to be present at a meeting of the kings, which took place at Montmartre, near Paris, on the Octave of St. Martin (November 18). The Archbishop of Rouen and others presented to Henry, on the part of Becket, a petition for forgiveness of his offences, and for the restoration of himself and the other exiles to their full rights and preferments. This petition was graciously received; and in the conference which followed, there was on each side a studious silence as to all offensive topics. The archbishop made a demand of thirty thousand marks, by way of compensation for the value of the benefices detained from the exiles. The French king said that a question of money must not be a bar to the reconciliation; and Henry promised that compensation should be made as soon as the proper amount could be ascertained by valuation. All seemed to be on the point of a friendly settlement, when Becket—by advice of the pope it is said—requested that the king should give him the kiss of peace, as a security for his good faith. Henry replied that he would gladly do so, but for an oath

¹ Ep. iii. 24.

² S. T. C. vii. 281.

³ Ibid. 283. (*Ecclesiasticus* xxxi. 3.)

⁴ Ep. iii. 10.

which he had formerly taken, that he would never kiss the archbishop if a reconciliation should take place. Becket (who states in his letters that the king's insincerity had been evident throughout to those who understood his ways) on this broke off the treaty⁵. The kings rode off towards Mantes, and Becket retired to lodge in the Temple at Paris. Herbert relates, that one of his clerks, in allusion to the name of Montmartre, expressed a belief that nothing but the archbishop's martyrdom would restore peace to the Church; and that Becket replied, "Would that she might be delivered, even if my blood were the ransom"⁶!

The envoys, on beginning to act, had absolved the Archdeacon of Canterbury and others, with the condition that the excommunication was to be again in force if the hopes of a speedy peace should be disappointed; and Gratian, when about to return to Rome, wrote to Ridel and the rest, desiring them to consider themselves as still excommunicate.

When Gratian gave up his commission, the archbishop again felt himself at liberty to deal out his censures. He threatened that, unless full reparation for all wrong were made before the ensuing feast of the Purification, (Feb. 2, 1170,) he would lay the kingdom of England under an interdict, and, if necessary, would excommunicate the king. On hearing of this, Henry despatched Ridel into England, with a commission to exact an oath from ecclesiastics that they would not receive or obey any such denunciations, if the archbishop should proceed to carry out his threats. Some of the bishops absolutely refused compliance, and took refuge in religious houses, by way of sheltering themselves from the anger of the king.

Vivian, after the last failure of his endeavours at mediation, declared himself strongly against Henry; and the king, by way of revenge, gave out that his former favour had been gained by bribery.

The pope was still earnestly desirous to effect a reconciliation; and in January, 1170, he set on foot a fresh commission for the purpose. The members of it were Rotrou, Archbishop of Rouen, and the Bishop of Nevers; with whom the Archbishop of Sens was joined, although not formally. The last-named prelate is described in Mr. Froude's volume as "a warm supporter of the arch-

⁵ In a letter to his envoys at Rome, (Ep. iii. 65,) there is a curious passage, in which Becket shows himself sensible of the value of a grievance—(if, at least, Dr. Giles' translation is correct, as it seems to be)—"If he will repent, and make compensation in part, we for the rest will bear with him in all patience. *For it is expedient both to the Church of Rome and the Church of England, that he shall have something in his own possession, which may be objected to him when he is planning disturbance or disaffection.*" Mr. Froude omits this, p. 461.

⁶ S. T. C. vii. 290.

bishop's cause ; but the other two," it is added, "were persons of views decidedly opposite to it, and had manifested their opposition only very lately, at the close of Gratian's and Vivian's embassy⁷." As to the previous conduct of the Bishop of Nevers, we do not remember any thing except the fact of his having written to the pope in favour of King Henry on that occasion ; but it is right to mention that the Archbishop of Rouen bore the character of a true and steady churchman, and had been favourably disposed towards Becket until disgusted and alienated by his pride and violence.

"On this appointment being made," says Mr. Froude's editor, "Becket endeavoured to give it a good direction, and wrote a letter to the Bishop of Nevers, how to act in his new situation." We may extract from the opening of this letter a specimen of its tone towards the king.

"Unless I am deceived, your lordship will have to 'fight with beasts ;' for, if he perceives that with promises and smooth words he is unable to circumvent you, he will bring forth his bishops and abbots, and wise men, to assail your constancy.

"And, since you will not easily detect the varied disguises of this prodigy, look with suspicion on all he says, every shape he assumes ; always believe a fraud to be intended, unless his acts manifestly vouch for his sincerity. If he once finds that either by threats or promises he can make an impression on you, that very instant you will lose all authority in his eyes, and become a jest to him and his court. If, however, he finds that he cannot divert you from your purpose, he will swear and forswear, and imitate Proteus ; but at last will return to himself, and from that time forward, unless by your own mismanagement, you will be for a God unto Pharaoh⁸."

The charge given to the commissioners was, that they should endeavour to mediate between the king and the archbishop, and to procure the restoration of the exiles, with compensation for their losses ; that they should prevail on Henry to give the kiss of peace, or, if this were impossible, that they should persuade the archbishop to receive it from the king's eldest son, as representative of his father—an expedient by which Henry had proposed to get over the difficulty of his oath, while the pope, on his part, offered him a dispensation from it. If their attempts to effect a peace should fail, the commissioners were to threaten an interdict at the end of forty days ; but this threat was not to be executed, if within the interval Henry should show *any* signs of a better mind. They were to absolve the excommunicates if there were a prospect of a reconciliation ; but on condition that the

⁷ P. 466.

⁸ Ep. v. 12. Froude, 467, 468.

excommunication should revive unless a settlement actually followed.

The Bishop of London was not included in the general absolution; for Becket had always treated him as the mainspring of the opposite party's movements, and had insisted with all his energy that the sentence against him should be confirmed. By personal solicitations at Rome, and other means, however, Foliot procured a special letter⁹, empowering the commissioners, or either of them, if the other should be *unable* to attend (*interesse non poterit*), to absolve him on his swearing to obey the pope's mandate as to the matters in question. A clause, not easy to understand, required them, on granting the absolution, to notify it to Becket, and to charge him in the pope's name to keep it secret "until it could be published without danger to the Bishop of London himself."

The absolution was pronounced by Rotrou at Rouen on Easter-day; and Becket felt it as a token that his enemies prevailed at the papal court. He wrote to the Archbishop of Rouen, remonstrating against it as informal, because there was no evidence of the other commissioner's *inability* to be present; and because the Bishop of London, instead of keeping it secret, had forthwith done his utmost to blaze it abroad. The first of these objections appears somewhat captious, and the other utterly unfounded; for the pope's letter did not bind Foliot to secrecy, and allowed the absolution to be published as soon as might be consistent with *his* interest. But the archbishop's indignation burst forth more remarkably in a letter to a cardinal, which, for furious invective against ecclesiastical superiors, could hardly be paralleled by any thing in the writings of our modern ultra-churchmen. He characterizes the letter by which authority was given for the absolution, as an order that "Satan might be let loose for the destruction of the Church."

"I know not how it is," he continues, "that in the court of Rome the Lord's side is always sacrificed; that Barabbas escapes, and Christ is put to death. With you, the wretched, the exiles, the innocent, are condemned, and for no other reason than because they are the poor of Christ, and weak, and would not go back from the righteousness of God. And, on the other hand, you absolve the sacrilegious, the murderers, the robbers, the impenitent, whom I openly declare, on the authority of Christ, that Peter himself, if he were in the papal chair, could not absolve in the sight of God. Let any one who dares, and who dreads not the sentence of the Judge who is to come, absolve the robbers, the sacrilegious, the murderers, the perjurers, the men of blood,

the schismatics, without repentance. I will never remit to the impenitent the things which have been taken away from the Church of God. Is it not our spoils, or rather the spoils of the Church, which the king's emissaries lavish on the cardinals and courtiers of Rome? For my own part, I am resolved no longer to trouble the court. Let those resort thither who prevail in their iniquities, and, after triumphing over justice and leading innocence captive, return with boasting for the confusion of the Church. Would to God that the way to Rome had not caused, for no purpose, the death of so many poor and innocent persons¹."

There are those who would use the history of Becket as an argument in favour of Rome! There are those who represent the temper of his latter days as that of a man purified by suffering to calm and saintly resignation!

Henry, meanwhile, was busy in preparations for the coronation of his eldest son, now a youth of about fifteen years of age. This, according to some writers, was an expedient intended to ward off the threatened interdict from his subjects, by nominally transferring them to the prince, while others represent it as having originated merely in a wish to annoy the primate by invading the privileges of his see; among which was that of crowning the sovereigns of England. It is very possible that one or both of these motives may have been concerned in the matter at the time which we have now reached; but it ought not to be forgotten that the idea of crowning the prince had been entertained long before; for in the end of 1163, shortly after the council of Westminster, John of Salisbury is found writing of it as having been *deferred*, in order that it might be performed by the pope in person².

In the beginning of the quarrel, the Archbishop of York, who was then advancing pretensions in rivalry of Canterbury, obtained a letter from the pope³ by which the right of crowning kings was recognized as belonging to his see. Of this Becket had since procured the revocation; and he now obtained from Rome letters forbidding the Archbishop of York and all other bishops to proceed to a coronation in the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the privilege of crowning rightfully belonged. These letters, however, were ineffectual; partly through Becket's remissness in making use of them⁴, and partly through the care which was taken to prevent their reaching those for whom they were intended. It is said that some copies were introduced into

¹ Ep. v. 20. The next letter in the collection, addressed to Gratian, "alludes obviously to the suspicious deaths of some former envoys at the Roman court."—Froude, p. 481.

² Ep. i. 24.

³ Ep. i. 10.

⁴ Ep. v. 33.

England, but that no one would venture to deliver them; and it is also said, that some of the bishops refused them, or pretended not to have received them⁵.

The coronation took place at Westminster, on Sunday, the 14th of June⁶,—the Archbishop of York officiating, with the assistance of the Bishops of London, Salisbury, and others. No oath to preserve the liberties of the Church was required of the prince; but the bishops swore to observe the articles of Clarendon. Immediately after the ceremony, the elder king returned into Normandy⁷.

The Archbishop of Rouen and his colleague now renewed their efforts at mediation. They found Henry much inclined to peace,—partly by the knowledge that an interdict⁸ was hanging very closely over his kingdom, as the pope had entrusted Becket with the power of issuing the sentence, and letters to the bishops of England were already prepared, with a view of putting it in force⁹. Becket was prevailed on to attend a meeting of the kings of England and France, which took place in a meadow

⁵ Ep. iv. 36. Quadr. ii. 31. We say nothing in the text of a letter which is said to have been written *at this time* by the pope to the Archbishop of York, conveying authority to crown the prince, because Dr. Lingard states that it is shown to be a forgery in Berrington's *Life of Henry II.* The letter was first published, from a MS. in the Bodleian, by Lord Lyttelton, who supposes that Lupus omitted it on account of the evidence which it furnishes of shameful duplicity on the pope's part. We know that Lupus was capable of such a suppression; and Dr. Lingard's statement (ii. 234), that the Archbishop of York was deceived by a pretended letter, seems extremely improbable; but, as we have not at present the means of examining Mr. Berrington's arguments, we let the matter pass.

⁶ Nicolas, *Chronology*, p. 299. This date is confirmed by Ep. v. 11 and 33. Lord Lyttelton gives the 15th, and Dr. Giles the 18th. Mr. Froude is also in error, p. 489. William of Canterbury (Quadr. ii. 31) would lead us to suppose that it was on St. John the Baptist's day.

⁷ Herbert in this place tells a story of a vision, from which it appears that Becket "wanted the accomplishment of verse." He was warned in sleep that two of the king's sons would die before their father, and the warning was in the form of a hexameter; whence it is argued, that it must have been really supernatural, since his schoolmasters had never been able to instil into him the art of making a line.—S. T. C. vii. 300.

⁸ Dr. Giles somewhat exaggerates the horrors of this sentence, where he tells us, that "every church throughout the country would be closed, every bell silent, no one to *shrive the dying*, or to bury the dead; the marriage rite no longer to be obtained, and infants doomed either to die under the Church's curse, or to live without her benediction." (ii. 244, 245.) The pope's words, however, are "*omnia divina prater baptismum parvulorum et poenitentias morientium prohibeatis officia celebrari.*" (Ep. v. 3.) The same exceptions are made by Becket himself, in a letter which is given in Dr. Giles' own English work, ii. 271; and these, *at least*, seem to have been always made. See Schmid's *Liturgik*, i. 723, 724, Passau, 1840.

⁹ Fitzstephen reports that some one said to the king, "*Ut quid tenetur exclusus [archiepiscopus]? melius tenebitur inclusus quam exclusus;*" and that on this hint Henry acted, with an intention of entrapping Becket. But we do not see the force of the story, since Henry had always declared that he had not driven the primate away, and that he wished him to return.

between Freteval and La Ferté Bernard; and on St. Mary Magdalene's day (July 22), which was the third day of the conference, he had an interview with Henry. The old subjects of offence were avoided on both sides. Nothing was said of the constitutions; nor, according to Herbert, was the kiss of peace mentioned. Fitzstephen, however, states¹, that the archbishop requested Henry to give it, as the pope had absolved him from the oath which had before been an obstacle; and that the king professed himself willing to kiss Becket a hundred times, on mouth, hands, and feet, but wished, for the sake of saving his honour, to be excused until he should be in his own dominions, where the act might have more the grace of appearing voluntary. The two rode apart together. The archbishop desired that he might be allowed, without offending the king, to inflict ecclesiastical punishment on the bishops who had been concerned in the coronation. Henry answered, that he had not supposed their act to be an invasion of the privileges of Canterbury; and referred to the coronations of William the Conqueror and Henry I. as precedents. The archbishop replied, that when the Conqueror was crowned by the Archbishop of York, the throne of Canterbury had no legitimate occupant, as Stigand had not received the pall from Rome; and that Anselm was in exile when the urgency of affairs required that Henry I. should be crowned by one of his suffragans as his representative. On receiving the permission which he had requested, Becket dismounted, and threw himself at the king's feet; whereupon Henry also alighted from his horse, and held the archbishop's stirrup, in order to assist him to remount. And thus, at length, a formal reconciliation was effected.

Very soon, however, it appeared that the harmony was only superficial. The king had promised a restoration of the property belonging to the archbishop and his adherents; and there is a letter, in which he desires his son, who was then administering the government of England, to see that all should be put into the same condition in which it had been three months before the exile²; but the execution of this was impeded in every way by those who had present possession. Some of the clergy, on resuming their benefices, were again violently driven out; the revenues of the see, which fell due at Michaelmas, were seized by the king's officials; the agents whom the archbishop despatched into England in order to make arrangements for his entering again on his possessions, found themselves industriously thwarted by young Henry's advisers, among whom the Arch-

¹ S. T. C. i. 276.

² v. 43.

deacon of Canterbury was prominent. They reported to their master, that all his friends in England united in advising him not to return until his relations with the king should be on a better footing; that Ranulph de Broc (who was especially interested in the matter, inasmuch as his very castle of Saltwood was at stake³) had sworn that the archbishop should not live to eat a whole loaf on English ground; that a scheme had been devised for filling up the vacant sees without his assistance, by sending the bishops-elect to receive consecration at Rome; and they added other rumours of equally unpromising character.

The archbishop, on finding that there were difficulties in his way, sent off John of Salisbury and Herbert of Bosham to press for the fulfilment of the king's promises as to restitution, and among other things, to urge the old claim to the custody of Rochester Castle. "The king," says Herbert, "as his manner was, put off, put off, and again put off⁴;" and at length replied to John of Salisbury, who was the spokesman, "O John, I shall certainly not give up the castle to you, unless I first see a change in your behaviour towards me." It does not appear to what behaviour the king here alluded; and, without the knowledge of this, we cannot think it fair to charge *him* with all the blame of the disagreements which followed the accommodation at Freteval.

The archbishop again met Henry at Tours, and hoped to draw him into giving the kiss of peace in the service of the mass; but the king eluded the attempt by ordering that the mass for the dead should be said, in which the *pax* is omitted⁵. They parted on this occasion with mutual reproaches.

Their next meeting, however, was friendly. In the course of conversation the king said, "Why is it that you will not do as I wish? I would put every thing into your hands;" "and," said Becket in relating the story to Herbert, "I remembered the words, 'All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me'⁶."

While Becket was complaining that the restitution of his property was delayed, the king complained of his lingering so long in France. At length, however, he resolved to set out on his return. It is said that both the French king and the Archbishop

³ It was said to have belonged to the see until it fell into the hands of Henry de Essex. The king's letter, v. 43, makes special mention of Saltwood, and directs that the claim should be settled by the evidence of some "de legalioribus et antiquioribus militibus." For the history of this castle, see Hasted's History of Kent, iii. 405.

⁴ "More suo distulit, distulit, et redistulit."—S. T. C. vii. 307.

⁵ There are some unimportant variations in the accounts of these interviews.

⁶ S. T. C. vii. 309.

of Paris endeavoured, at parting, to dissuade him from venturing into England without receiving the kiss of peace; and that to both he expressed a belief that he was going to his death. Henry had promised to meet him at Rouen, but excused himself on the ground of political business, and sent the Dean of Salisbury—John of Oxford, who has so often been mentioned as obnoxious to Becket—to act as his escort. He had also expected to find at Rouen a supply of money from the king, for payment of his debts, and for the expenses of his journey. None was forthcoming, however, and he was obliged to borrow three hundred pounds of the archbishop, Rotrou.

Since the date of the violent letter which we lately quoted, a change had taken place in the policy of the Roman court. The majority of the cardinals was, it is said, now favourable to Becket; and the pope, shamed out of his former timid courses, on hearing of the coronation, empowered the archbishop to inflict the censures of the Church on all who had been concerned in it. The reconciliation had already taken place when this commission reached Becket; and at his request it was modified in such a manner as to authorize his punishing the bishops without touching Henry. Letters were prepared, by which the Archbishop of York and other prelates were suspended from their office, and the Bishops of London and Salisbury were again placed under the excommunication which had been pronounced against them. On arriving at Witsand, near Calais, where he intended to embark for England, Becket heard that the obnoxious prelates were preparing to cross into Normandy for the purpose of claiming the king's protection; and he despatched the letters of suspension and excommunication across the channel, that they might be delivered before his own landing in England⁷. He remained at Witsand long enough to hear that the letters had been delivered to the bishops at Dover; that his enemies were exasperated beyond measure in consequence, and had beset the English coast with the intention to seize him, or, perhaps, to murder him, on his landing; but his resolution to return to Canterbury was not to be shaken by this or by other warnings which now reached him. He declared that for six years he had been an exile, and his Church had been without a pastor; that no danger should any longer keep him from his post.

After a favourable passage⁸, he landed at Sandwich, a port

⁷ Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Froude, and Dr. Giles, suppose that the letter to Idonea, a nun, encouraging her to perform a dangerous task in delivering a mandate from the pope to the Archbishop of York, (v. 70,) was written on this occasion. In our opinion, it rather refers to the letters prohibiting the coronation.

⁸ If it be true that the return to England was on a Tuesday, like other critical events in his life, (as some of the biographers say,) the day was Dec. 1, 1170. Dr.

belonging to the see of Canterbury. As the vessel approached the town, the banner of the cross—the ensign of the archbishopric—was displayed, and a multitude flocked forth at the sight to welcome their spiritual father; some rushing into the water, that they might be the first to receive his blessing, while others prostrated themselves by the way-side where he was expected to pass, and the air was filled with the cry, “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!”

His enemies had expected him to land at Dover; but soon after his arrival at Sandwich, a party of them appeared in arms, headed by the sheriff of Kent. The presence of John of Oxford, however, prevented any violence. The sheriff and his companions asked whether there were any foreign clerks in the archbishop’s party, and wished to exact from the Archdeacon of Sens, who appears to have been the only person of this description, an oath, that he had no design against the peace of the kingdom. They also required Becket to absolve the bishops; to which he replied that he had the king’s licence for pronouncing the censures on them. After some high words on these subjects, the sheriff and his party retired.

On the following day the archbishop proceeded to Canterbury. As he passed along the road, he was met by the clergy of the neighbouring parishes, each at the head of his flock. The people stripped off their clothes, and spread them on the way, and the cry, “Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini,” passed from one party to another in succession⁹.

At Canterbury, the primate was received with processions, music, ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of rejoicing. He entered the cathedral, took his place in the choir, and received every one of the monks to the kiss of peace. He preached on the text, “Here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come¹.”

Next morning, the sheriff of Kent, Ranulph de Broc, and some clerks sent by the excommunicated and suspended bishops, appeared. They remonstrated against the censures, and required

Giles, in remarking the variations on this point, omits to tell us that he himself in one place dates it on the 2nd, and in another on the 3rd.—Life, ii. 297, and table at the end of S. T. C. i.

⁹ Herbert’s “*Diceres profecto, si videres, Dominum secundo ad passionem appropinquare*,” S. T. C. vii. 317—(*i. e.* one aware of what was at hand might have said so)—is not quite the same as M. Michelet’s “*Tous disaient que*,” &c. iii. 185.

¹ Heb. xiii. 14. Messrs. Thierry (p. 182) and Michelet (p. 186) tell us that his text was “*venio ad vos mori inter vos*.” Unfortunately they do not give a reference to the place in Scripture where these words are to be found; and Hoveden, to whom they refer for the fact, says only that the archbishop used this *expression* on some occasion[†] after his return.—Rer. Anglic. Scriptores post Bedam, Lond. 1596, p. 298.

that they should be recalled. The archbishop answered, that he did not plot against the bishops, but they thirsted for his blood. "Would," he added, "that they might drink it!—and they will²." He said that the censures had been inflicted by the pope, not by him; if, however, the delinquents would bind themselves to abide a judgment for their offences, he would take it upon himself to absolve them. It is said that the Bishops of London and Salisbury were disposed to accept these terms, but were overruled by the Archbishop of York, who declared himself ready to spend eight thousand pounds, in order to put down Becket's insolence³; and the three proceeded to the king's court in Normandy.

After spending a week at Canterbury, Becket set out with the intention of visiting the younger Henry at Woodstock, and presenting him with three horses, on the beauty of which Fitzstephen dilates with great relish. Richard, prior of St. Martin's, at Dover, and afterwards his successor in the primacy, had been sent before him to announce the visit, and had met with a cool reception; but the archbishop persevered in his intention. In passing through Rochester, he was received with great honour by the bishop—that same Walter, brother of Archbishop Theobald, who a quarter of a century before had protected him against the malice of his constant enemy, Roger of York⁴. Crowds of clergy and laity of all ranks flocked to meet him on his arrival in the capital; but in the midst of their rejoicings, a mad woman repeatedly cried out, "Archbishop, beware of the knife!" He lodged in the Bishop of Winchester's palace, close to St. Saviour's church, in Southwark.

Next day, he received an order from the court to return to his diocese. He declared that he would not have regarded it, were it not that he wished to keep the coming festival at his own cathedral; but he prepared to obey⁵. As he was about to set out homewards, he received intelligence that a vessel laden with

² Fitzst. Becket's fondness for such language will, of course, be observed. On one occasion, he speaks of William of Pavia as "thirsting for his blood,"—meaning that the cardinal had a scheme for becoming his successor by procuring his translation to some other see!

³ William of Newbury (quoted by Godwin, *De Præsulibus*, p. 673,) describes Roger as a very grasping prelate, who paid no attention to his spiritual duties.

⁴ Walter held the see of Rochester from 1147 to 1182. "Ad hunc episcopum P. Blesensis scribit epistolam 56, quem jam octogenarium a venandi studio dehortatur."—Godwin, 577.

⁵ Herbert describes him as having intended, after visiting the young king, "to make a circuit of his province, panting to run up and down in all directions, that he might pluck up and root out whatever during his absence had grown up crookedly and disorderly in the garden of the Lord." (S. T. C. vii. 321.) But even without the check from the court it seems unlikely that he should have entered on this before Christmas.

French wines for him had been seized by Ranulph de Broc, who had beaten the sailors, and imprisoned some of them in Pevensey Castle. A representation of this was sent to the young king, and orders were given that the wine should be restored. The archbishop on his way to Canterbury performed some miracles⁶; and there is a strange tale of an interview at Wrotham with a priest, who, by a story of a revelation as to the relics of some saints, procured himself a nomination to a benefice.

The interval until Christmas was full of occupation. The archbishop heard causes in his court; he turned out clerks who had intruded into livings; and his devotion and saintly exercises are described as surprising, even to those who had attended on him during his exile⁷.

During this time his enemies in the neighbourhood, and especially the family of de Broc, were unremitting in their endeavours to annoy him. They attacked and beat his people on the high-ways; they hunted in his chase, killed his deer, and carried away his dogs; they intercepted supplies of food which were on their way from his estates for the use of his household; and Robert de Broc, brother of Ranulph, a priest who had forsaken his calling, instigated his nephew, John, to cut off the tail of one of the archbishop's sumpter horses.

At high mass, on Christmas-day, Becket preached on the text, "In terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis⁸." He told the people that there had already been one martyr among the archbishops of Canterbury (St. Alphege), and there might soon be a second: he spoke of himself, with tears, as about shortly to leave the world; and the hearers were deeply affected. After a time, however, he changed his tone; and in a style which Herbert describes as "fierce, indignant, fiery, and bold," he uttered a vehement invective against the courtiers in general, and his other enemies, and pronounced sentence of excommunication on Nigel de Sackville, a court chaplain, for retaining a living into which he had been intruded, and against Ranulph and Robert de Broc, for the oppressions and outrages of which they had been guilty against the Church⁹.

⁶ Grim, in S. T. C. i. 67.

⁷ Roger, in S. T. C. i. 159; Grim, *ibid.* 66.

⁸ We might be startled at Dr. Giles' statement, that "On earth peace, good will towards men," was "his favourite text," and might think it a strange prelude to the scene which followed; but Becket took the passage according to the wording of the Latin Vulgate, and his application of it may be gathered from the account of his interview with the emissaries of the censured bishops on the day after his return to Canterbury, where he is said to have told them that "peace was not promised *except to men of good will.*" (Froude, 543.)

⁹ Lord Campbell erroneously says, that he "pronounced the excommunication of the three *prelates*" on this occasion. i. 91.

On St. John's day, he sent off Herbert and the cross-bearer Llewellyn on a mission to the French king and the pope.

In the mean time, the Archbishop of York, with the two excommunicated bishops, had repaired to the king, who was in the neighbourhood of Bayeux. He had already been informed of the censures pronounced on them; and on their repeating the story, he exclaimed, that if all concerned in the coronation were to be excommunicated, he himself would be one of them¹. The archbishop's movements were reported with malicious exaggeration. The popular demonstrations with which he was every where received were represented as of a seditious tendency; an escort of five horsemen, by which he was accompanied on his return from London to Canterbury, was multiplied into a formidable force. The king was wrought up to a fury, which the Archbishop of York in vain attempted to moderate. He asked the bishops to advise him. They professed themselves at a loss; but one observed, "So long as Thomas lives, you will never enjoy a quiet day." The king burst out into a passionate exclamation against his courtiers as thankless cowards for suffering him to be so long exposed to the insolence of a low-born clerk.

These hasty and most unhappy words were caught up by four knights of the household—Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, and Richard Briton². They set out for England by different routes, and on Innocents'-day they are said to have all arrived at the same hour—by a miraculous providence, as the biographers tell us—at their destination. "They landed," says Grim, "at Dog's Haven³,—they who from that time deserved to be called dogs and wretches, not knights or soldiers." Ranulph de Broc received them into his castle of Saltwood; and now, if not before, they must have learnt the fresh offence committed by Becket on Christmas-day.

After the departure of the knights, the king held a council of his barons, to advise on the course which should be pursued

¹ "The king," says Dr. Giles, "seems to have forgotten, or, worse still, to have kept back from them the permission which he had given Becket previous to his departure, to punish those who had offended against the privileges of his see." (ii. 312.) But surely it is not to be supposed that Henry could have ever knowingly consented to such measures as had been taken against prelates whose fault consisted in complying with his own desire; nor, in so far as we can understand, did the archbishop intend to use the powers entrusted to him in such a manner, until immediately before he acted.

² Foliot, in his 221st letter, asks a favour of the Bishop of Lincoln for one "R. Brito," who appears to have been a favourite with the king, and Foliot's brother-in-law. If this were the same person, or one of his family, the connexion with the Bishop of London would have been a special cause for enmity against Becket.

³ *Portus Canum*, S. T. C. i. 65, probably a name for Hythe, which is close to Saltwood.

towards the primate. The general feeling was one of violent anger, and it is reported that some of the barons advised his death⁴. The absence of the knights had attracted notice in the court, and it was feared that they were bent on some violent design. The Earl of Mandeville and two others were despatched into England, with an order to overtake them, if possible, and a warrant to arrest the archbishop. But this measure was too late.

The knights, having collected a force in the king's name, arrived at Canterbury on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 29th of December. The archbishop's dinner was over; but some of his retainers were still at table, and offered them refreshment, which they, "thirsting, not for food but for blood," says Grim, declined. They were then introduced into a chamber where the archbishop was conversing with his clergy. At their entrance, no salutation passed; but after a short silence the archbishop saluted them, and Fitzurse returned the greeting in a contemptuous and ironical tone. Another period of silence followed, which was broken by Fitzurse saying, that he and his companions were charged with a message from the king, and asking the archbishop whether he would hear it in private or publicly. At the desire of John of Salisbury, the clergy were dismissed; but they were again called in when the knights had begun to state their business, as the archbishop declared that such matters ought not to be discussed in private. One of the four is said to have afterwards confessed that while left alone with him they had thoughts of murdering him with the shaft of his crosier—the only weapon which was within reach.

They remonstrated with great vehemence against his late proceedings;—the censures on the prelates concerned in the coronation, which they represented as an attack on the young king's sovereignty—the excommunication of the king's ministers and friends—his going about the country (as they asserted) with formidable troops of attendants, and exciting the people to demonstrations dangerous to the peace of the realm; and they demanded whether he would accompany them to the king's presence, in order to give an account for these and his other acts.

The archbishop replied that he had no thought against the young king's royalty, and heartily wished that it were multiplied threefold; that there was no just cause of offence in the peaceful welcome with which his people had received him after six years

⁴ Fitzstephen tells a story of a priest, to whom a servant of the court made a confession as to an order for the archbishop's death, written by Nigel de Sackville; and this is introduced into a note in Mr. Froude's work, p. 539. To us it seems worthy of Titus Oates.

of absence ; that if he had exceeded in any thing, he was willing to abide a trial ; that the bishops had been suspended and excommunicated, not by him but by the pope, and that he had been only the instrument in denouncing them ; that he had received the king's consent to their punishment ; that he had no jurisdiction over the Archbishop of York, but would absolve the Bishops of London and Salisbury if they would humbly ask pardon, and would give security to stand a trial according to the canons. The knights asked him of whom he held his archbishoprick. He replied that he held it of the king as to the temporalities, and of the pope in spiritual things. They asked whether it were not the king who had bestowed all on him ; he replied that it was by no means so ; that we must render to the king the things that are the king's, and unto God the things that are God's. On receiving this answer, we are told, they tossed about their gauntlets, and made other signs of rage. The archbishop questioned whether they had the king's authority ; he complained of the outrages which had been committed by the brothers de Broc and others of his enemies. They told him that the king commanded him to leave the kingdom, with the foreign clerks of his train and all that belonged to him. He answered that the sea should never again separate him from his flock ; that he would unsparingly inflict the censures of the Church on all who should infringe her rights ; and at last, appealing to the knights themselves, he reminded them that three of them had become his vassals in the time of his chancellorship.

These words goaded them to fury. They rushed out, charging the clerks and others who were present to see that the archbishop should not escape before their return. He declared that he did not intend to quit the spot where he was ; and repeatedly pointed to his neck, in token of his willingness to die. He followed them to the door, and called on Hugh de Morville, the most distinguished in rank, to return and speak with him ; but his words met with no attention.

While the knights had withdrawn to arm themselves, Becket employed the time in endeavouring to assure his terrified clerks, "with a manner as calm," says Grim, who was present, "as if his murderers had come to bid him to a wedding." John of Salisbury expostulated with him on his obstinate refusal of all advice, and on the violence which he had just exhibited. He replied, that his mind was made up as to the course which should be taken ; and John observed, "Would to God that it may be for good !"

The knights, on returning in their armour, found the door of the apartment shut. Robert de Broc (who had become familiar

with the intricacies of the palace, while his brother held the custody of it during the exile,) showed them a private approach; and, by passing through an orchard, breaking down a fence, and entering at a window, they gained admission into the cloister.

The archbishop's friends, in the mean time, earnestly urged him to take refuge in the church. Thirsting for what he regarded as martyrdom, he wished to remain where he was, lest a reverence for the holy place should deter his enemies from assaulting him; and he insisted on the promise which he had given that he would not attempt to flee. The clergy reminded him that it was the hour of vespers, and that his duty called him to the church: but even this argument is said by some writers to have had no effect. The monks and clergy laid hands on him, compelled him to rise, and hurried him along the cloister, while he struggled to get loose, reproached them for their fear, and vehemently desired them to unhand him. The cross was borne before him by Henry of Auxerre⁵.

The door between the cloister and the north transept of the church had long been closed, and the key was not at hand. We are told by one author that two cellarers of the monastery wrenched off the lock⁶; while, if we may believe others, it fell off at the first touch, to the admiration of all men, "as if it had only been glued to the door⁷."

As the archbishop entered the cathedral, the knights were seen at the further end of the cloister in pursuit of him. The vesper service had begun, when two boys ran wildly into the choir, "announcing," says William of Canterbury, "rather by their affright than by their words, that the enemies were at hand." The monks left the choir, and gathered around the archbishop on his entrance, expressing great joy at seeing him alive, as they had supposed him already slain. He ordered them to resume their office, saying, that otherwise he would again leave the church. Some of his followers began to fasten the doors behind him; but he charged them to leave them open, declaring that God's house ought not to be made a fortress, but was sufficient for the protection of its own. He was now urged

⁵ It is much in this manner that Benedict of Peterborough tells the story; harmonizing, as far as possible, the reports of Grim and Roger, who speak only of the forcible measures and of the struggle, with that of Fitzstephen, which would lead us to suppose that the archbishop proceeded along the cloister slowly, and with the greatest composure, "like a good shepherd, driving all his sheep before him." (S. T. C. i. 299.)

⁶ Bened. in *Quadr.* iii. 14.

⁷ Grim; Roger. The reader may perhaps remember that there was an earlier lock-miracle at Northampton. That, too, is not related without variations.

to make his escape, which he might easily have done, as night was coming on, and the church had many outlets and secret corners; but this he firmly refused.

The monks had hurried him up four of the steps which led from the transept to the choir, when the knights entered with drawn swords, crying out, "Where is Thomas Becket, that traitor to the king and kingdom?" Receiving no answer, they again asked, "Where is the archbishop?" He descended from the step on which he was standing, and answered, "Here am I, no traitor to the king, but a priest of God;" and he added, that he was ready to die for the cause of his Redeemer. He then moved towards the north, and placed himself in front of a blank wall, close to the opening of a small chapel, in which stood the altar of St. Benedict. The knights required him to absolve the excommunicated and suspended bishops. "Never," he replied, "will I absolve those who have not made satisfaction for their offences." He again declared himself ready to die, but desired that no injury might be done to those about him. The knights then assaulted him, trying to place him on the shoulders of Tracy, with the intention of removing him from the church. He threw off the first who laid a hand on his dress, and afterwards shook Tracy with such force as to throw him down. The monks and clergy had all fled at the beginning of the struggle, with the exception of the biographer Grim, and Robert of Merton, the archbishop's confessor; with whose names Fitzstephen joins his own. Becket again provoked Fitzurse by reminding him of the fealty which he owed him, and called him a pander⁸. The knight waved his sword over the archbishop's head, exclaiming that he owed no fealty inconsistent with his duty to the king.

The archbishop then bowed his head, and commended his cause to God, the blessed Virgin Mary, St. Denys⁹, and the patron saints of Canterbury. Fitzurse rushed on him, wounded him in the head, cutting off a part of his tonsured crown, and almost severed the right arm of Grim¹, who had been with all his might holding Becket back, while they endeavoured to drag him away. Grim, being thus disabled, took refuge at the nearest altar.

⁸ Words of this kind appear to have risen very readily to Becket's lips on occasions of violent excitement. We have already noted an instance, in the case of Earl Hamelin, at Northampton. (p. 75.) The provocation addressed to Fitzurse was, indeed, the immediate cause of the murder.

⁹ The special invocation of this saint was perhaps connected with the support which he had found from the French king.

¹ "Le porte-croix Edward-Grim, le même qui avait parlé avec tant de franchise après la conférence de Clarendon." Thierry, iii. 189. We have already (p. 69) noticed this attempt to enforce the Saxon theory. M. Thierry's account of the murder is very incorrect; and it has been closely followed by M. Michelet.

Fitzurse cried out to his companions, "Strike! strike!" A second blow on the head was given by Tracy, and a third, from the same hand, brought the archbishop to his knees. As he fell, with his hands joined in prayer, exclaiming that he was ready to die for Christ and his Church, and commending his soul to God, Briton inflicted on him a fourth stroke, which cut off the remaining part of his tonsure, and lighted on the pavement with such force that the sword was broken². Morville was employed in keeping off interference, and did not strike the archbishop. One Hugh Maucclerc³, a subdeacon, who had accompanied the murderers, in a military dress, put his foot on the neck of the body, and with the point of his sword drew out the brains, and scattered them on the pavement, saying, "This traitor will never rise again⁴."

When their deed was completed, the murderers rushed out of the church, shouting out, "For the king! for the king!" which

² In assigning the blows, we follow Dr. Giles. The original authors are not agreed.

³ "An accursed man, Hugh of Horsea, known by the appellation of the Ill Clerk," says Southey (Book of the Church, 143), apparently following Fuller. But it was evidently a surname. Benedict of Peterborough ascribes the act to the fourth knight (Morville), whom he also describes as the one whose sword was broken. (Quad. iii. 18.) Herbert says, that "ut dicebatur" it was Robert de Broc. (ibid.) M. Thierry (iii. 190) quotes from a note in Hearne's edition of William of Newbury:—

"Willelmus Maltret percussit cum pede sanctum
Defunctum, dicens; Pereat nunc proditor ille,
Qui regem regnumque suum turbavit, et omnes
Angligenas adversus eum consurgere fecit."

The historian, however, appears to overrate the value of this as a confirmation of his Saxon theory. For (1) the incident most likely never occurred in the manner described. The most authentic writers do not mention any other insult offered to the lifeless body, than that which we have related in the text; and this was probably the foundation of the verses, in which the name of the actor, his act, and his words are all altered. (2) We are not aware of any insurrection, Saxon or other, which could have given occasion for such a speech. (3) Even if the versifier's story were true, it would be absurd to lay any especial stress on the sense of the word *Angligenas*—brought in, as it evidently is, for the sake of the metre.

⁴ The popular story represents the archbishop as having met his death at the altar. Some say, the high altar; others, with a greater appearance of precision, that of St. Benedict. The fact, however, is as we have stated; he died on the spot which is pointed out in Canterbury Cathedral, but there was no altar behind it. One was afterwards erected in that place in honour of him; but the altar of St. Benedict stood in the cathedral of those days, (which was burnt four years after,) not on the site of that later erection, but in a small chapel near the place. (See Willis's Architectural Hist. of Canterbury Cathedral, pp. 41 and 140.) Ancient representations of the murder depict Becket as falling at the very foot of an altar; but this, as Professor Willis observes, "is only introduced to heighten the sacrilege." There are in the old writers general expressions, which countenance the common story; but they are corrected by the more particular statements. Thus Diceto has "coram altari," and afterwards, "a dextris altaris Sti. Benedicti." Fitzstephen's "*secus altare*" is not quite fairly rendered in Mr. Froude's volume, "before the altar." (p. 557.)

appears to have been the cry raised on a battle-field after a victory⁵. They hastily searched the palace for money and papers, and carried off as much spoil as they could. A multitude of people flocked in to the cathedral, and gathered around the body, kissing the hands and feet, smearing their eyes with the blood, dipping their garments in it, and each endeavouring to secure some relic of the saint.

"His pall and outer pelisse," says Benedict⁶, "were, with a somewhat inconsiderate piety, bestowed on the poor for the good of his soul; and happy would their receivers have been, had they not forthwith sold them, preferring the little money which they fetched."

After a time the monks turned out the crowd, shut the doors of the cathedral, and placed the body of the archbishop in front of the high altar; and they spent the night in watching around it with sorrow and anxiety. Then it was, according to Fitzstephen, that the confessor, Robert of Merton, thrust his hand into the bosom, and drew out the shirt of hair, which had been worn in secret; and the monks lifted up their voices in admiration of this proof of a sanctity beyond what they had suspected.

In the morning an armed force appeared in the neighbourhood of the city; and Robert de Broc, in the name of his brother Ranulph, threatened that the body should be exposed to indignities unless it were buried forthwith, and without ceremony. The monks in haste proceeded to the funeral rites. They either washed the corpse, or, (for here again the accounts disagree,) they did not wash it,—thinking no further cleansing than that of its own blood necessary for a body which had so long been purified by fasting and discipline; and in preparing it for interment they discovered fresh evidences of holiness; for not only was the shirt of hair, but the drawers also—a mortification without example among English saints⁷; and these garments were filled with countless vermin, "so that any one," says Grim⁸, "would think that the martyrdom of the preceding day was less grievous than that which these small enemies continually inflicted." And thus, on the day after his murder, the body of Archbishop Thomas was buried by the Abbot of Boxley, in the crypt of the cathedral.

It is not for us to relate at length the sequel of the history;

⁵ Bened. in Quadr. iii. 18.

⁶ Quad. iii. 21.

⁷ "Quod antea apud nostrates fuerat inauditum."—Joh. Sarisb., in S. T. C. i. 338.

⁸ S. T. C. i. 82. The words have already been quoted, p. 53.

—the miracles wrought by the saint; his canonization; the wretched end of his murderers (in which the fabulous element appears pretty strongly); the penance of King Henry; the renown acquired by St. Thomas; the immense resort of pilgrims to the place of his martyrdom; the magnificence expended on his tomb⁹; the honours paid to him for three centuries and a half, until in the reign of Henry VIII. his shrine was demolished, his ashes scattered to the winds, his name erased from the service-books, and his memory declared infamous, as that of a traitor to the kingdom. Neither shall we detail the course of opinion as to his merits since that period;—the often grievously unjust and exaggerated censures of Protestants; the generally half-hearted and qualified apologies of Romanists,—until in our own days a re-action, begun in a just desire to discriminate between the deserved and the undeserved portions of his evil repute, has been carried out by paradox, affectation, and idle sentimentalism.

We could, indeed, wish, and we have all along intended, to express with some fulness our opinion as to the character and merits of Becket; but we must now be content with having indicated it in the course of our narrative, which has run out to an unexpected length. If the reader should consider us mistaken, we trust that he will not blame us as unfair.

⁹ For a description of this, when his honours were at their height, see Erasmus, "*Peregrinatio Religionis ergo.*" (Opp. Lugd. Bat. 1703, vol. i. 783—786.)

ART. V.—*The Supremacy Question, or Justice to the Church of England. An Appeal to British Justice for the removal of the Difficulties which at present impede the proper Exercise of the Royal Supremacy and the necessary work of Church Reform, &c. By the Rev. G. E. BIBER, LL.D. London: Rivingtons.*

THAT the connexion of Church and State gives rise to many embarrassing questions, and that it is liable to the incidental evils of encroachments and usurpations on the one part or the other, is undoubtedly true; and yet it is no such easy matter to put an end to this alliance, as some worthy men imagine it to be. Even supposing the total separation of Church and State to be a desirable event for the Church, and to be actually wished by the Church, it does not by any means follow that the other party interested should take the same view; and yet, without the concurrence of the State, a separation would perhaps lead to evils more serious than any which arise from the present arrangements. It is not impossible certainly that the clergy, if supported by the great body of the laity, might be able to refuse all interference, on the part of the State, in the organization of the Church, as a spiritual body. It might be very possible to resume the election of bishops; to hold synods, and enact ecclesiastical laws, without parliamentary or royal sanction or confirmation; to erect new sees; to effect reforms in ecclesiastical discipline, and to resume the practice of putting to penance notorious offenders. If the prelates, clergy, and people, were prepared to do this, without regarding the pains and penalties which they might incur as a consequence, they might undoubtedly succeed in a great measure, if not wholly, in establishing the independence of the Church. But the question is, whether the Church would not lose more than she gained in such a process? The temporalities would, we apprehend, be lost altogether, and with them the means of supporting the clergy in the rural parishes of England. But putting aside the consideration of the evils which might result from such a conflict, it would seem that, humanly speaking, there is little probability of its occurrence; for, clearly as some men may discern the evils which arise in connexion with the present system, the clergy and laity of the Church do not generally concur in their views. On the contrary, the great mass of the community are persuaded, we

believe, that the relations of Church and State do not very urgently require re-adjustment; and, under these circumstances, nothing but a very gross practical violation of the rights, or the discipline or doctrine of the Church, would combine a sufficient number of churchmen, in opposition to the plans of Government or of Parliament, to render such an opposition a means of establishing the independence of the Church. Suppose any measure introduced by Government, which would so far obviously affect the interests of religion as to combine the Church generally in opposition to it, and to furnish a basis, on which it would be possible to influence the great mass of clergy and laity, and carry them on to the assertion of a complete independence, there cannot be, we think, any reasonable doubt that the Government would immediately *retire from the contest*; and thus those who might wish to carry it on would be left without pretext for its continuance, and would be immediately deserted by the great mass of their adherents.

As to getting up any system of opposition to the present relations of Church and State, we should look on the attempt as entirely without prospect of success, unless the public mind should become most widely different from what it now is. The only issue of such an attempt would be the formation of some insignificant sect of Nonjurors, probably without the support of any bishop.

While, however, we look on all attempts to dissolve the present connexion of Church and State in England as merely chimerical, we are far from regretting the occasional expression of very strong feelings and principles on the subject. No one, who looks on the present state of things as a churchman ought to do, can help feeling very deeply the practical evils which religion is suffering. When mere politicians—men without religious or moral principle of any kind, or even men of unsound principles—are invested with the great control which the ministers of the crown are now enabled to exercise over the Church in many ways, more especially in the appointment of its bishops and clergy, it is impossible that great practical evils should not ensue. There is a possibility that the offices of the Church may be filled by persons of unsound doctrine; but there is every probability that they will be disposed of as so many pieces of patronage, available for the promotion of political or merely secular interests, and without any regard whatever to the promotion of the cause of religion. And yet, on the right appointment of the bishops and clergy, every thing depends. An indolent, time-serving, or worldly hierarchy, and a secular priesthood, intent on maintaining its position in society, would extinguish any Church, even if it were

in the free exercise of its synodical action, and otherwise at liberty to act for itself: and, on the other hand, a devoted and apostolical priesthood and episcopacy will accomplish the ends of its mission, in spite of every difficulty that may be placed in its way. Administrative abuses in the system of patronage are liable continually to occur, unless public opinion is brought to bear on those who are entrusted with it. And, therefore, we confess, that, while we do not see our way quite as clearly as some people do, to improvements in the theoretical and established economy of the Church, we rejoice when the conduct of officials is made the subject of searching investigation, and held up to public view; nor do we regret to see even the imagined or real defects in the legal theory of the Church fully discussed and pointed out; because, if there be any faults in the actual working of the system, attacks upon the system itself are likely to improve its administration, and to diminish the amount of abuse and corruption.

The relations of Church and State furnish, confessedly, some of the most difficult problems which the politician and the Christian respectively have to solve. And yet arduous as may be the task of reconciling the action of these two powers, and impossible as it is to adjust them so as never under any circumstances to clash, or to create jealousies and dissatisfaction in any quarter, still it is not possible for a Government to remain altogether neutral, and indifferent to the presence of such an element in the social system as Christianity. It must either persecute or protect; be either hostile or favourable. Its own interests compel it either to strengthen its own influence by a friendly alliance with the Church, or to endeavour to make the Church a passive instrument in its own hands. The present state of every nation in Europe furnishes an exemplification of this. The United States of America, doubtless, acts on a different principle, and preserves a neutrality towards all forms of Christianity; but this arises simply from the fact, that there is no one sect whose numbers render it a matter of any importance to the State to enter into connexion with it. All communions are (relatively to the numbers of the population at large) insignificant. Any connexion of the State with one sect would draw down on it the hostility of the great mass of the population. In the United States, therefore, it is as impossible that the State should unite itself to the Church, as in England it is that the State should separate itself from the Church. A communion which includes seven-eighths of the population cannot be regarded with indifference by the Government of the country: that Government cannot afford to relinquish its power and influence over such a Church.

In the learned and thoughtful Essay which we have placed at the head of this article, the whole question of the connexion between Church and State is historically traced with ability and accuracy. Commencing with details of the temporal supremacy over the Church as exercised by Constantine the Great and his successors, it carries on the reader to the events which occurred in the reign of Henry VIII., the increase of the royal supremacy, and the suppression of synodical action by the State. The learned author is disposed to ascribe more of the evils of the existing system to the suppression of the Church's independent action, than we can quite concur in attributing to that cause. At the same time, we should be doing him very great injustice in leaving any impression that his views tend to the separation of Church or State, or to any infringement on the royal supremacy.

"To those who look for the severance of that connexion," he says, "as for a great social improvement to be achieved, it may be far from useless to be reminded, that that connexion is coeval both with the Christianity and with the civilization of this land; that the proposed separation would strike at the root of a principle which through all the changes through which this country has passed, both by foreign invasion and by internal commotions, has ever been a fundamental principle of our social life; no experiment can be conceived more directly opposed to the whole of our past history, no experiment, therefore, if there be any continuity in the life of nations as well as of individuals, more hazardous to the national welfare."—pp. 46, 47.

Dr. Biber thus briefly sums up the inferences to which he has been led by a survey of the existing state of things.

"This, then, is the sum of the difficulty: the Church must go to destruction unless her synodical action is restored, and made available for extensive reforms. The measures required cannot be submitted to the decision of parliament: the revival of the ancient convocation is both impracticable and objectionable: the episcopate is not in a situation to act synodically: the crown is disqualified from exercising its supremacy."—p. 112.

The remedy for this state of things, proposed by the author, is the institution of a privy council for ecclesiastical purposes, immediately subject to the sovereign, but not to the *political* advisers of the crown. This privy council to consist entirely of communicant members of the Church. The crown, with its aid, is to organize the representative system of the Church, and to prepare measures of reform in combination with the bishops. Dr. Biber, strong in the justice of the case, has no doubt of the

consent of the legislature to the general principle on which such measures are to be founded.

"This cannot, of course," he says, "be effected without the concurrence both of the political ministry and of the parliament; but as far as this co-operation is either required or admissible, it extends no further than an act of common justice, which it is scarcely conceivable that a British ministry should hesitate to propose, or a British parliament refuse to sanction. After the principles of religious toleration have been carried out so far, as not only to secure to religionists of every description the most perfect freedom in the organization and government of the bodies to which they respectively belong, but to admit them, however hostile to the Established Church and the ancient constitution in Church and State, to a participation in all the functions, legislative and administrative, of the body politic,—it would be a monstrous injustice to deny to the Church, which still constitutes the majority of the nation, the same freedom of organizing and governing herself according to her own principles . . . And, therefore, it may be confidently anticipated, that if the case be pleaded on the simple ground of its intrinsic justice, it will meet with consideration and with effectual support."—pp. 113, 114.

We regret that we cannot entertain the same expectations as to the cogency of arguments of this kind when addressed to statesmen in the present day. If the Church herself could *agree* in putting forward such views, we should think there might be more prospect of success. But is it not probable, that if the Church is without synodical action, the State is not to be held responsible altogether for the deficiency? What has prevented, and what still continues to prevent, the deliberations of convocation, except the disinclination of the heads of the Church and many of the clergy? There never has been any combined expression of opinion in the Church, on a large scale, in favour of reviving convocation. In this case it really seems that the Church herself must bear the responsibility in a great degree. She has never asked for convocation. There has been no unanimity on the subject. So again, in regard to the great ecclesiastical question of the day—we mean, an increase in the episcopate—there can be, we think, no reasonable doubt, that if the Church were unanimous in seeking for this increase, it would be accomplished. Why is it that the Welsh Church has experienced such extreme difficulty in preserving its ancient bishoprics? Merely because one or more of the heads of the English Church were not favourable to the preservation of the Welsh bishopric. This apparent want of unanimity in the Church seemed to render the destruction of the Welsh see inevitable. On the other hand, its preservation would have been

morally certain, if certain heads of the Church had concurred at once with the great majority of the prelates, and with the whole body of the clergy. The present position of this question of the Welsh sees is, however, such as to afford the strongest possible encouragement to persevere in calling for an increase in the episcopate generally. It is very satisfactory to remember, that the prelates have, for the most part, expressed themselves favourable to the principle. In the last discussion on the subject of the Welsh sees, the Bishop of London remarked, that the decision of the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1835, against any increase in the episcopate, was arrived at under circumstances altogether different from those in which the Church now finds herself. When one of the most influential of the original ecclesiastical commissioners has thus openly relinquished the decision of the commission, it cannot but materially weaken the authority of that decision. We believe that almost all the bishops, whatever may be their political views, have concurred in the opinion that an increase in the number of bishops is necessary. In that opinion they are supported by the sentiments of the whole body of the clergy, and of great numbers of the laity. All that is requisite now to accomplish this great work, is to obtain parliamentary advocates of the measure, and to support them well by petitions from the clergy and laity in all parts of the country. Let Parliament and the Government only be satisfied that it is really the wish of the Church to obtain an increase in the episcopate on a large scale, and it will be done. We are not apprehensive of any failure, even if one or two of the heads of the Church should oppose themselves to the proposal, as they have done in the case of the sees of Bangor and St. Asaph. However much such a difference of opinion might be regretted, there can be little fear, we think, that a Government which had become aware of the fact, that the Church in general was desirous of a particular measure which would not impair the influence or patronage of the crown, and the concession of which might render a ministry popular with the Church, would be very likely to adopt any such measure.

Now in the question of an increase in the episcopate, there is really nothing chimerical, nothing which interferes with any received principles. What has been done before may be done again. There is no reason why Queen Victoria should not establish new bishoprics, as Henry VIII. did, and Charles II. promised to do. There is nothing more of a revolutionary character in such a measure than in the division of extensive parishes. The colonial bishoprics are divided without any scruple when they are found to be too large for the superintendence of one bishop; and

if it be right to divide sees in the colonies where the clergy and churches are comparatively few in number, and where the bishops have no parliamentary duties to take them away from their dioceses, it must be at least as right to divide English dioceses where the multitudes of clergy and laity are so great that a bishop cannot possibly discharge his duties, and where those duties are year by year becoming more onerous.

The increase of the episcopate is one of the principal objects which the author of the interesting pamphlet before us contemplates, as results of the proposed alteration in the present relations of Church and State. His argument in behalf of that measure is as follows :

“Touching the other measure of Church reform before alluded to, the increase of the episcopate, its necessity may easily be demonstrated. Inevitable as is the mention of King Henry VIII., whenever the reformation is in question, it is not often that he is referred to in the way of a pattern to be imitated ; yet in regard to this matter his example fairly puts to shame all that has been done since. For at a time when the population of England and Wales amounted scarcely to four millions and a half, Henry VIII. considered the number of bishoprics, which then was twenty-two, insufficient ; accordingly he added five to the number, and a further increase, to the number of twenty altogether, was contemplated by him. Upon an average calculation, therefore, it appears that Henry VIII. considered the charge of 200,000 souls much too heavy for one bishop, and would have reduced it to about one-half ; he actually did reduce it to from 160,000 to 170,000. By the census of 1841 it appears that the population of England and Wales then amounted to 16,035,804 ; that is, nearly four times the population of the time of Queen Elizabeth, when the census alluded to was taken : and yet the episcopate has not since been increased by a single member. When the erection of the new see of Ripon became a matter of urgent necessity, it was accomplished by the sacrifice of the see of Bristol : the second city of the kingdom was deprived of its chief pastor, and that although its population considerably exceeds¹ what was considered by King Henry VIII. as the largest number of souls that might be put under the charge of one bishop. The average number of souls at present committed to the oversight of one bishop is nearly 600,000 ; and as there are several dioceses in which the number is not nearly so large, there are others in which it greatly exceeds that average ; the population of some being above 2,000,000, or ten times the number of souls which Henry VIII. thought so excessive, that he contemplated doubling the episcopate². In order to bring the amount

¹ The city of Bristol, and the parishes of Clifton and Bedminster, which adjoin it, contained, in 1841, 146,640 inhabitants, for whose spiritual wants there are at this time 36 churches, with 46 clergymen.

² There are cases where one town or parish, or two adjoining parishes, are more than sufficient for the charge of one bishop, according to the calculation of

of episcopal responsibility within the limits to which Henry VIII. actually reduced it, the number of bishops ought to be ninety-six instead of twenty-seven; and in order to bring it within the limits which he contemplated, 160 would be required.

“And what is the ground upon which so glaring a neglect of so evident a duty, as that of increasing the episcopate in proportion to the population, is defended?”—pp. 121—123.

There are, we believe, few, if any, avowed opponents of an increase in the episcopate. The real opponents of the measure, if there be such, have hitherto not ventured openly and directly to express their dissent from the general opinion of the Church. Whenever the question has been brought forward, as in the case of the sees of Bangor and St. Asaph, and the proposed see at Manchester, it has been got rid of, by pretending that so important a question ought not to be introduced indirectly, but should be made the matter of a substantive measure; when the substantive measure was introduced by Mr. Frewen (to whom the thanks of the Church are eminently due for his laudable, though somewhat defective effort), it was again got rid of by Sir Robert Peel and his friends on points of detail, and was treated as a subject of ridicule, not of grave discussion. We trust that Mr. Frewen will not be prevented by any taunts from bringing forward his measure again and again, in such a shape that it may receive the support of Churchmen generally. Certain provisions were introduced in his proposed bill, which could not, of course, have met the concurrence of the Church. We allude to the clause for putting an end to the election of bishops by the deans and chapters, and more especially to that which would empower the crown to remove bishops from their sees at pleasure. This latter clause could never for a moment be tolerated: nor has it any thing whatever to do with the question of increasing the episcopate. We are very far from wishing that the bishops should not be held responsible for the discharge of these duties; they ought, on all sound views of their office, to be quite as much subject to ecclesiastical penalties as any others of the clergy, when they are guilty of offences, and irregularities, and gross neglect of duties. But to render the crown, or the ministry of the day, the judge of the episcopate, would only increase the influence of the ministry (already too great) over the prelacy, and would deprive the ordinary ecclesiastical tribunals of the authority which they have always exercised from the very earliest ages of the Church. If Mr. Frewen, or some other friend of the Church, would introduce

Henry VIII.; *e. g.* Almondbury and Huddersfield, pop. 109,578; Walton-on-the-Hill and Liverpool, pop. 155,744; Ashton and Birmingham, pop. 225,641; Bristol and Leeds, pop. 267,782; and Manchester, pop. 461,277.

a measure free from such details, which are at once superfluous and obnoxious to the Church, we think that it would afford an opportunity for the expression of public opinion on this most important subject, which could not fail of leading to salutary results. The great, we may say, the only danger in regard to it is, that public attention should not be directed to the point. Only let the national mind be fairly brought to bear on it, and the question will be carried. The case is one of such evident and urgent necessity, that when it is once considered it must be provided for. The difficulties and objections which some people make to an increase in the episcopate, cannot stand before open discussion. They will be got over, if the country becomes satisfied that there ought to be a greater number of bishops—that the Church is in a state of inefficiency for want of them. But we are perfectly satisfied, from the events that have passed before us in the last ten years, that if the measure is to be carried at all, it will not be by depending on any government, or any political party, or even on the heads of the Church to bring it forward. The heads of the Church evidently shrink from any such responsibility. Governments and political parties are indifferent; and therefore, it depends on the friends of the Church generally to press forward the measure, and bring it under the consideration of the rulers of the Church and the State. Those rulers will, probably, not originate; but they will consider, and support what is in itself right, especially if it be urged on them by the voice of the Church at large. Let governments be convinced by the expression of public feeling, that the measure would be popular, and it would undoubtedly obtain their eventual support.

The pamphlet before us thus deals with the objection to an increase in the episcopate founded on the want of funds.

“The plea of that want in the wealthiest country of the world, making no small profession of religion, is a national disgrace, the shameless confession of a great national sin. But this, as has been already said, is an evil which it is reasonable to expect will be remedied by the very fact of the Church being put upon an efficient footing. ‘The labourer is worthy of his hire;’ and a master who refuses to increase the wages of his servants while he has reason to complain that his establishment is badly conducted, may after all not prove illiberal, if he finds that a spirit of order and activity has succeeded to sloth and confusion. It is not credible, that if an episcopate adequate to the wants of the population were provided, the towns and districts which require such a provision, some of which are the richest marts of our national commerce and industry, would not come forward with the means of supporting a chief pastor of the Church. Besides, there are means in existence which might be applied to this purpose. To say nothing of the surplus reve-

nues put under the management of the ecclesiastical commissioners, there are in the different dioceses more than one hundred livings of the annual value of 1000*l.* and upwards, in public patronage: these might, as they fall vacant, be annexed to the modest bishoprics, which are all that is required for securing to the Church the spiritual benefits of the episcopate; and being so applied, they would, it is not difficult to believe, be bestowed quite as much for the interest of the individual parishes, and of the Church at large, as they are under the present system of disposing of those pieces of preferment.”—pp. 123, 124.

There are abundance of funds for an increase in the episcopate to any extent that could be desired. The episcopal lands and possessions furnish a natural and obvious resource. The increasing value of those possessions, and their management by the ecclesiastical commission, afford reasonable grounds for expecting aid from this source, while the tithe property in the possession of the crown, the wealthier benefices in public patronage, and even the existing incomes of some of the sees, all might be made to contribute very effectually, by degrees, to the support of additional bishops. The difficulty founded on want of funds is plainly untenable. Let the subject be fairly and fully investigated by some competent tribunal, and if it shall be proved that means cannot be provided for any more bishops, then the advocates of the measure must either acquiesce, or provide the means. But it would be most unreasonable to decide, without investigation, that no incomes could be obtained. The rational course would seem to be, to examine, in the first place, what the wants of the Church really are, and then to look for the means of supplying them. If these wants are never investigated, and if it be decided, without any discussion, that nothing *can* be done, it is pretty certain that nothing *will* be done; but it would be really in the highest degree criminal, to deal thus with the most sacred and solemn interests of the Church. How could such a mode of proceeding operate on plans for Church building, or Church extension? We turn to the reply of this pamphlet to another difficulty, which is sometimes raised by well-meaning persons.

“ The other objection turns upon the injury which the dignity of the existing episcopate is likely to suffer from the multiplication of the number of those invested with the episcopal office, and especially the danger to the seats of the bishops in the House of Peers, by an increase of the episcopate, which could not find admission there, and would establish the precedent of English bishops not being lords of parliament. Unreasonable as the objection to an increase of the episcopal bench in the upper House of Parliament is, considering the increase that is constantly taking place in the temporal peerage, it is quite clear that after the alterations which have taken place in the political con-

stitution of the country, an increase of the spiritual peerage is not to be expected. The question, therefore, reduces itself to this, whether, to avoid the possible danger of losing the episcopal representation of the Church in the House of Lords, the Church is justified in incurring the certain loss, to an extent untold and unknown, of the spiritual blessing of the episcopate. And this surely no man will contend for, that looks with a single eye to the spiritual welfare of the Church, and the spiritual work which lies, at present in a great measure unperformed, before her."—pp. 124, 125.

With all the respect which is due to the motives and feelings of individuals who have objected on such grounds as these to an increase in the episcopate, surely it seems that they spring, after all, from a want of reliance on Divine Providence. If the Church does her duty spiritually,—if she looks, in the first place, to the promotion of the spiritual welfare of the souls entrusted to her care, she need not fear temporal dangers or evils; or, if they do come, she will be amply repaid for enduring them. How earnestly do we wish that this simple view of the Church's responsibilities could be taken,—that men of worth and of piety would judge and act for the Church in the same spirit of faith in which, we trust, they act for themselves. But why should these apprehensions about seats in parliament still continue to haunt the minds of sensible men? On what legal right do the parliamentary seats of the bishops depend? On *prescription*. Would that title be invalidated by creating more bishops without seats? Or, again, would the argument from the fitness of retaining in parliament some representatives of the Church, be in any way affected by creating some bishops without seats? The apprehensions on this subject really seem to us to be amongst the most unfounded that we have ever met with. And for the objection on the score of "dignity;" it is most lamentable to find any one in the present day urging such difficulties as these. It has been prophesied, that the Church of England "will die of dignity;" and if dignity of this kind, which consists merely in temporal state, and in selectness, were really to be the characteristic of the episcopate,—if it held itself aloof in lordly state, depending on its outward grandeur and station for influence and position,—it would gradually die away; because it would be essentially worldly, and would, in fact, cease to be Christian. It would lose the affections of all the more earnest and serious minds; and would prepare the way, at no distant period, for its own overthrow. Alas! how much do men mistake the real nature and influence of the episcopal office, when they imagine, that to bring the chief pastors of the Church into more close and cordial union with their clergy and people than is now possible, would do any thing but increase their influence and authority.

We extract the following just and striking remarks on this subject from the pamphlet before us :—

“ If, instead of the present system, under which each bishop ordains at once a large number of men, who are sent out with licences in their pockets to serve in congregations to which they are often total strangers, the moderate size of the diocese made it possible for the bishop, in the first place, to make himself personally acquainted with the candidates, who might be usefully employed for a season, during their preparation for holy orders, under the bishop’s eye ; and, after that, to ordain the ministers in the church, and in the presence of the congregation, where they are to serve ; if, instead of sending ‘ a mandate to induct,’ in the case of a minister already ordained being appointed to a new charge, the bishop were to come down in person to introduce the minister to his flock ; if this were done in all simplicity, without ostentation or display of any kind, but with prayer and exhortation, in how much more profitable a manner would many a ministerial career be commenced, how much ignorance might be prevented or dispelled, how much cordial co-operation secured, instead of the opposition which in the present state of things a minister has often to encounter before he has had time personally to know, or to become known to, his flock !

“ Again, on the important subject of Confirmation, how different would be the condition of our Church, if a sufficiently numerous episcopate rendered it possible for that holy rite to be ministered with all the solemnity it deserves ! What a painful sight is a confirmation now, in spite of the best efforts, both of the bishop and clergy, to make it what it ought to be ! The body of the church crowded with young people, brought together from all parts of the country round,—the galleries filled, not with devout worshippers, but with spectators, as for a show ; the candidates marshalled up by an apparitor, with paper certificates in their hands, before the bishop, who is an entire stranger to them ; kneeling for a few moments, feeling the touch of his hand pass over them in the process of wholesale confirmation ; and then marshalled back again by the same apparitor to their pews, there to wait till scores upon scores have been so marshalled and confirmed ! Instead of which, if there were a sufficient number of bishops, confirmations might be held annually or triennially in every church ; the young of each congregation might be called upon before their parents and friends, and before the whole congregation assembled, not for a show, but for a solemn act of worship, to render some account to the bishop of the instruction they had received ; they might then be solemnly consecrated to Christ one by one, with all the decent tranquillity prevailing in a devout congregation on an occasion so singularly touching, and be charged by the bishop to give proof hereafter of their conversation, and, by their diligent attention upon God’s word, and upon his holy sacrament, of the reality of the profession they had now so publicly made before all their neighbours, their relations, and friends. And can it be doubted that such a confirmation would have

upon the minds of the parties confirmed, and upon the whole congregation, a very different effect from that which can be reasonably expected from the present mode of administering that ordinance?"—pp. 125—127.

The author proceeds next to show the benefits which would arise in regard to the discipline of the Church from a multiplication of bishops—a discipline not founded on mere canons and acts of Parliament, but on personal influence and example, persuasion and friendly counsel. Most entirely do we feel with the writer that a discipline founded merely on authority, and supported by penal enactments, is far less valuable and effective than one which is based on sympathy, and example, and persuasion. This is what is essential to the character of a truly Christian discipline; not merely Christian and apostolical in its outline and framework, but in its work and details. The Church requires pastors who are not merely in place and in name successors of the Apostles, but who are willing to do the work of Apostles; men who will spare no labour in ministering directly to the spiritual wants of the souls entrusted to their care; men who will look on themselves as missionaries, distinguished in nothing from the clergy who minister along with them, except by the greater extent and variety of their labours, and by their humility. The Church requires bishops, who, looking simply and singly to the performance of the spiritual duties of their calling, will disengage themselves as much as possible from all temporal affairs, that they may give themselves wholly to the work of the ministry. The tendency of the present state of things is to restrain the prelacy from their highest duties, and to absorb them in matters of inferior importance. Withdrawn from their dioceses for a considerable part of the year by attendance on parliament; occupied in attendance on committees of the London societies and of public charities; which might be otherwise provided for; engrossed by railroad committees in the House of Lords; by voluminous correspondence on the temporalities of the Church; and on other topics which are burdensome only because of the small numbers of the hierarchy—how, we ask, is it possible that the prelacy can devote much time to the higher and more essential parts of their duties? An overburdened prelacy cannot, for instance, exercise that practical influence and control over the education of the young, which is desirable and even essential to the proper working of Church education.

It would be in vain, at present, to expect that bishops should visit and inspect the schools throughout their dioceses; encouraging the deserving, and stimulating the indolent. It would be in

vain to expect from them parochial visitations, personal examination of the state of churches and parsonages, administration of the holy sacrament to the people, preaching the Word of God, examination of the spiritual and moral state of the laity, personal and frequent intercourse with the clergy. All this is out of the question now. The episcopate has become little more than a jurisdiction, a tribunal, an office for the administration of temporalities and funds; its pastoral and ministerial character as an order in the Church has been, in a great measure, overlaid. Under existing circumstances, a bishop is, immediately on his appointment, obliged to become non-resident for the purpose of acting as chaplain to the House of Lords; an office which is confided to the junior bishop. The effect of this regulation is, to remove the prelate from his diocese precisely at the moment when it is most essential for him to devote himself to its care. It may fairly be supposed, that after a bishop has been for several years resident in his diocese, and has arranged its administration, he may without very great inconvenience leave it for a time; but to call him away from his diocese at the moment when he ought to be busied in becoming personally acquainted with the whole of it, and in forming his arrangements for its government, seems to be an arrangement altogether at variance with reason and justice. Surely the House of Lords would, if this matter were rightly represented, make some other arrangement, so as to relieve newly appointed bishops from a duty which must be felt as a most heavy burden by every conscientious and devoted prelate.

In taking our leave of the pamphlet from which we have derived so much materials for thought, we beg to thank the author for his well-timed and most interesting publication. Discussions such as those which he has so ably treated, cannot fail to be eminently serviceable to the Church.

ART. VI.—*Les Arts en Portugal. Lettres adressées à la Société Artistique and Scientifique de Berlin, et accompagnées de documents, par le COMTE A. RACZYNSKI.* Paris ; Jules Renouard.

IT is not often in these days that an author is fortunate enough to treat on a subject wholly, or in great measure, new to the reading public: such, however, is the case with the writer indicated above. We may possibly be displaying our own ignorance; we will, nevertheless, hazard the assertion of our belief, that even in these sight-seeing days, and in spite of the small puffy-looking "Treasures of Universal Knowledge," teeming apparently to repletion with something about every thing (shall we add, and not much about any thing?), nineteen out of twenty, even of better informed persons, are profoundly ignorant of the fact, that the fine arts have made any notable progress in Portugal. Englishmen have, indeed, been too much engaged in that country during the last half-century, not to have made observation of a venerable cathedral here, or a fine painting there. But that Portugal can boast her 'schools' (we allude more particularly to painting) — this, we believe, but few persons have dreamt of. And yet so it is; nor do we know why this need be matter of surprise to us: for it is very observable, whether in the history of individuals or of nations, that successful efforts of mind and enterprise in one direction have generally been attended with success in other directions. Raphael, so great in painting, was not contemptible in architecture; Michael Angelo, so gigantic in sculpture, was professor alike in architecture and painting; and the immortal discoverer of the Binomial Theorem was no less eminent as a mechanic and a chemist, than as a mathematician. So in the case of the nation before us: it is no great wonder, if a people, who can boast the names of a Dom Joam II., of a Bartholomeo Diaz, a De Gama and Cabral, be also able to range beside them those of Garcia de Rezende, Alvaro di Pietro, Vasco, Gonzales, Bento Coelho, and a host of others. To quote from the "mélanges" of the first-named painter, as we find it cited at p. 86.

"Nous avons vu le grand Michel,
Albert et Raphaël:
Et en Portugal il y en a
De si grands et de si naturels,
Qu'ils atteignent presque à leur hauteur."

And yet we have in vain searched the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique*, as well as *Pinkerton's* and *Bryant's Dictionaries* of

Painters, for the name of any one of the artists of whom Portugal is so proud! At pp. 211 and the following of the work before us, we have notices of no fewer than thirty-seven painters, of whom eight flourished anterior to the reign of Emmanuel the Great, *i. e.* anterior to A.D. 1495, and the remainder between that and 1557. And these thirty-seven are by no means the whole number of those of whom Portugal can boast; for it could not be supposed (even in the absence of proof to the contrary) that a country, so fertile in those early times, would be barren in days when the rest of Europe was most productive. “J’ose affirmer (is our author’s remark) que jusqu’ici on n’a eu que des notions très vagues sur la nature et sur le degré de l’activité artistique dont le Portugal, à toutes les époques, a été le théâtre.”—Of all epochs, however, that of the reign of Emmanuel was perhaps the most brilliant; he gained for the fine arts on the banks of the Tagus, what the patronage of Leo X. effected on the shores of the Tiber.

The form of the work before us is that of a series of letters addressed, after “a year and a half’s researches,” to the Société Artistique et Scientifique of Berlin, in accordance with their request. The letters of the Count himself are, for the most part, short; indeed, many of them serve for little more than introductions to the papers which accompany them. These papers consist of long extracts from old authors (such as Francis of Holland), public documents, and communications from living Portuguese of acknowledged taste; as the Vicomte de Juromenha, M. François de Sousa Loureiro, directeur de l’Académie, and others: and these, therefore, form the chief value of the book, to those who are neither familiar with the pictures in question, nor upon the spot to compare them with the remarks of the Comte Raczyński. As he himself modestly observes—“Ces préludes seront probablement bien plus longs que le morceau principal, peut-être seront-ils aussi plus intéressans, *car je les recueille et je ne les fais point.*” The first seventy-three pages are occupied by an extract from, we had almost written, a transcript of a work by Francis of Holland (who, in spite of his name, was born in Portugal; *vide* p. 444), written in 1571, and dedicated to John III.; who, like a good Catholic, submits in a postscript all that he has written “à être corrigé par la foi catholique et orthodoxe, selon le décret du concile de Trente.” The Comte Raczyński professes to have had the most lively interest excited by this work; an impression which he desires to transfer to his friends at Berlin. And yet, amusingly enough, he seems (in Letter III.) but little satisfied with him: “Il a fait tout un livre rempli de projets et de dessins d’architecture, tandis qu’il convient lui-même qu’il n’a jamais fait de tableaux.” He is a prejudiced complainer:—“Il

ne voit pas de peinture en Portugal ; à l'en croire il n'en existe pas ; et cependant il fait lui-même mention de quatre peintres . . . Il est bien étonnant, qu'étant lui-même architecte il n'est pas trouvé l'occasion de parler des monumens dont un si grand nombre avaient déjà été exécutés dans son pays, et s'exécutaient encore sous ses yeux." In his next letter the Count proceeds to refute him by extracts from Garcia de Rezende.

The fifth letter introduces the reader to several pages of extracts from the Memoirs of Friar Luiz de Sousa, a writer of the early part of the 17th century, which bear upon certain pictures and other national works of art ; his writings are highly esteemed in Portugal, as expressing the opinions of a man of talent, a courtier, and a scholar. By the way, this same friar's history involves a little romance, which we will relate for the amusement of our readers. He was (as we have stated) a courtier and of noble birth, and had married the widow of Dom João of Portugal, whom common report had slain at the disastrous battle of Alcaça-Kebir. De Sousa being absent from home one day, a pilgrim presented himself, and thus addressed the dona Magdalena :—

"Je suis Portugais, et j'arrive de Jérusalem. Au moment de partir pour mon pays, je fus visité par un de mes compatriotes, qui me pria et me recommanda fortement de passer en ce lieu, et de vous dire (si vous étiez en vie) qu'une personne qui se souvenait de vous, existait encore en ces lointaines contrées. Tel est le motif qui m'amène ici." "Frappée de ces paroles," continues the narrative, "ainsi qu'on peut le croire sans peine, dona Magdalena s'enquit des traits de celui qui lui envoyait ce message. Tous les renseignemens s'accordaient parfaitement avec le souvenir qu'elle gardait de son premier mari, dom João de Portugal. Une épreuve leva tous les doutes sur le pèlerin. Conduit dans une salle où le portrait de dom João se trouvait parmi beaucoup d'autres, il le reconnut sans peine. Il prit ensuite congé de la dame et partit. Manuel de Sousa, de retour chez lui, non seulement il prit sur le champ la généreuse résolution de se séparer pour toujours de dona Magdalena, d'abandonner les vanités de ce monde et d'entrer dans l'ordre de Saint-Dominique, mais encore il y a décida sa femme. . . . Sousa entra dans le couvent de Bemfica, le 8 Septembre, 1614. Dona M. de son côté entra dans le couvent de Saint-Sacrement. Depuis ce moment les époux ne se virent plus et vécurent saintement."—pp. 83, 84.

But to return. The friar's Memoirs seem, in our author's eyes, to be more curious than useful ; for while they do not mention a single fact capable of throwing light upon the history of the arts in Portugal, they "forment un tableau précieux de l'esprit des couvens, au temps où ils ont été écrits." . . . The friar saw every thing through the medium of his vow. "Luiz de

Sousa veut absolument que les images soient nées d'un miracle ou qu'elles en aient fait."

One main object of the Count's researches was the settlement of a disputed question. Of all the painters whom Portugal has produced, one appears to hold the chief place in the estimation of his countrymen. To the brush of Vasco an almost innumerable collection of paintings have been attributed. Now, as on the one hand there have been no fewer than four artists of this name, and as on the other hand it is physically impossible that a tenth part of the pictures which vulgar tradition has assigned to the one Vasco, can be the handywork of a single artist, it was a matter of no small interest, even as it was a task of some difficulty, to distinguish which were the genuine works of the renowned master; and conversely, to settle which of all the Vascos was rightfully entitled to the appellation of "Vasco the Great."

The inquiry, so far as one can judge at this distance, appears to have been conducted with impartiality and skill; of the former position, indeed, we think no doubt can be entertained, when it is known that at the close of it, the author retracts several opinions which he had advanced at an earlier period and with smaller experience. We have not, of course, space to follow him step by step throughout his investigation; which, together with the documents appended, occupies no fewer than 184 pages of his work. We must content ourselves with giving the result, with a brief outline of the process by which it was arrived at, and leave the reader to judge for himself. An antiquarian of the city of Vizeu, Manoel Botelho Ribeiro, who flourished at the junction of the 16th and 17th centuries, and whose testimony is therefore invaluable on such a point, has reported that one of the Vascos lived in the reign of John III. The researches which M. Berardo (who appears to have already written upon this subject of national interest) instituted at the request of the Comte Raczynski, were crowned with unlooked-for success: in the archives of a church at Vizeu he discovered the baptismal register of one Vasco-Fernandez, son of François-Fernandez, a painter, under date of September 18, 1552, which the reader will remember would correspond with the 31st year of the reign of John III. And further, this same Ribeiro declares that a picture of the Crucifixion, in the cathedral of Vizeu, is the work of Vasco the Great. This picture (writes our author) is one of great merit; and though (as he owns) he should have taken it to be of a somewhat earlier date than 1570 (nearly the earliest at which it is possible Vasco-Fernandez could have painted), yet the costume of the figures and architecture of the buildings accord well enough with

the style of the epoch alleged. In the sacristy hang four other paintings, evidently by the same hand; and if *le Calvaire* went far towards establishing the truth of Pereira's assertion, one of these others, *le Saint Pierre*, was indeed decisive as to the identity of the artist of Vizeu with Vasco the Great. "Je ne peux pas" are the Count's words—

"Je ne peux pas vous dire quelle joie j'ai éprouvée, lorsque en entrant dans la sacristie j'ai aperçu aussitôt, en face de la porte, la superbe tableau de *Saint Pierre*. L'impression était décisive; en un instant la question fut tranchée pour moi. Je dis pour moi, car je n'impose ma manière de voir à personne."—p. 369.

Vasco's style inclines to that of Albert Durer and the old German school, notwithstanding the current that had lately set in towards Italy. With this remark we must finish our observations upon that part of the work before us which relates to *painting*: the Count we apprehend to be a man of taste and experience; though we feel bound to say, that in some of his remarks we think he rather confounds the Flemish and the Dutch schools.

An inquiry into the state of the arts generally, must doubtless embrace several branches of art besides painting: accordingly we have letters dedicated to architecture, sculpture, and to what the Portuguese call *azulejos*, which seem to resemble, as nearly as possible, the old blue and white Dutch tiles, of which we all have a vision, lining the ample sides of the old-fashioned chimney-corners, into which we snuggled in days of yore. In Portugal they find themselves employed in a much more exalted use, than that homely one to which our fathers applied them:

"Il y a peu d'églises, peu de maisons qui n'en renferment. Tantôt ils encadrent les portes des édifices, tantôt ils ornent les vestibules et les escaliers. Dans la plupart des maisons, même dans les plus pauvres, les murs intérieurs en sont garnis jusqu'à la hauteur de trois pieds ou davantage. Il y a des maisons qui en sont recouvertes extérieurement depuis leur base jusqu'au toit."—p. 427.

The designs on them are in *relief*; and the character of these, together with the form of the *azulejo*, afford a clue to the date of the manufacture. Those of the 17th and 18th centuries are considered the finest.

Of the *sculpture* of the Portuguese the Count is unable to speak highly, with the exception of carving in wood. *Architecture*, however, has been more fortunate; yet in regard to this there is one curious feature (if we understand our author right), that the largest buildings not only do not exhibit any regularity of construction, but remain, many of them, in an unfinished con-

dition. The palace at Mafra is a notable exception. The various buildings partake of the same characters of style as were common in the rest of Europe, during the 13th and 14th centuries. We do not know whether we be correct in the surmise, but we gather from a remark which the author records with approbation, that the buildings of that period present the eye with occasional glimpses of a later (perhaps we should say, of an *earlier*) style. The remark is touching the architecture of the time of Emmanuel, *C'est la résistance du style gothique contre le style de François I^{er}*: in other words, there are indications of a struggle going on between the old pointed style which had issued from Germany, and the resumption of the ancient orders. If, however, he merely mean by this, to intimate that Portugal was slower than France to abandon the one, and revive the other, this is no more than was to be expected; for the cinque-cento tide-wave, which was first raised on the shores of Italy, however early it may have set towards the other countries of Europe, can only be said to have reached these in succession, as they lay further removed from the centre of motion. Thus Spain did not feel it in its full force, till the time of Charles V.'s addition to the palace of the ancient kings of Grenada; and in England we were strangers to it till the 17th century.

In his 14th letter the author enters into a discussion upon the *masons' marks* to be found on the stones of the old buildings¹, with the great variety of which he seems much struck; and this leads to some remarks (chiefly from the pen of M. Falkenstein, of Dresden) upon the freemasonry of the middle ages, and the authorship of the beautiful convent of Batalha, which owes its origin (as is well known) to a vow made to the Blessed Virgin by John I., before the glorious battle of Aljubarrota, in 1385. It has been asserted by Murphy (who travelled in Portugal at the close of last century), that Batalha was commenced under the superintendence, if not upon the plans, of one Stephenson, an Englishman, invited to the Portuguese court by Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt and queen of John I. of Portugal. That this monarch did invite from distant countries the most celebrated architects and most skilful masons, we know on the authority of Luiz de Sousa; or, as we should rather have expressed it, he invoked the assistance of some of the great corporations of free-masons; corporations which, we know, had planted their lodges in, and enrolled among their members natives of, every European kingdom from England to Greece. Murphy professes, indeed, to have derived his information from the *employés* in the royal

¹ This discussion is accompanied by two pages of plates.

archives at Lisbon; but however proud we might be to have the name of an Englishman associated with a building so magnificent and unique, we must hesitate before adopting this opinion as matter of fact; for the present learned cardinal-patriarch of Lisbon has proved the want of exactness with which Murphy wrote, (see the extracts from his *Mémoires Historiques*, quoted in Appendix III. to Letter X.,) and we find no such name as that of Stephenson in the list of directors of the works at Batalha, given in L. de Sousa's history. On the other hand, it is a curious fact that this superb convent bears so strong an analogy to our Minster, at York, that Comte Raczyński records his persuasion of their common origin.

“Que le plan de l'église de Batalha soit l'œuvre d'un Portugais ou d'un Anglais, tant il y a que les deux édifices sont nés d'inspirations artistiques analogues, homogènes et contemporaines, le style des deux églises me paraît identique.”—p. 336.

But we must bring this notice to a close. The author promises us a dictionary, and a résumé of the whole, containing such corrections or additions as subsequent information may seem to render necessary, accompanied by plates. We cannot, however, conclude without tendering our thanks to the Comte Raczyński (who is, we understand, the Prussian ambassador at the Court of Lisbon) for his very interesting work. We shall always be glad to welcome more from his pen; especially while he acts up to his motto:—“Chercher la vérité, rejeter les absurdités, et douter tout qu'on ne sait pas.”

ERRATA IN NUMBER XI.

PAGE

- 48, note 3, for 10 read 46
 49, — 2, add iii. 15—16
 58, line 25, for “may have acted as he did solely from an unwillingness to appoint” read “acted as he did solely from an unwillingness to appoint”
 66, — 20, for a flamen, read an arch-flamen, and add reference, Ep. iii. 19
 71, — 1, for 5th read 6th
 110, — 11, for unavoidably read unaccountably
 111, — 7, for so long as $A = a$ and $B = a$ read so long as $A = a'$ and $B = b'$
 115, — 3, for produce in money read produce or money
 — 8, for lower on C read lower than on C
 123, — 27, for not unquestionably read most unquestionably

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. Prynne's Sermons. 2. Harvey's Sermons. 3. Margoliouth's Lectures. 4. The Retrospect—Hooper's Translation. 5. Anthologia Davidica. 6. Dr. Moore on the Body in relation to the Mind. 7. Groves' Pasilogia. 8. Gurney's Charles I. 9. Bickersteth on the Creed. 10. Tales of Female Heroism. 11. Trench's Portrait of Charity. 12. Bishop of Barbados Charge. 13. Galloway on the Revelation. 14. Biber's Sermons for Saints' Days. 15. Napier's Florentine History. 16. The Abbess of Shaftesbury. 17. Stories of the Crusades. 18. Rev. Tunstall Smith on the Sacraments. 19. Theodore, edited by Rev. W. Nevins. 20. Festivals and Fasts explained. 21. Meditations by Gerhard—Heylin's English Church—Manual of Devotions. 22. Bohn's Standard Library. 23. Reverence due to Holy Places. 24. Blackburn's Hand-book round Jerusalem. 25. Paley's Manual of Gothic Architecture. 26. Songs of the Wilderness, by the Bishop of Montreal. 27. Miscellaneous.
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I.—*Sermons, preached at the Parish Church of St. Andrew, Clifton.* By GEORGE RUNDLE PRYNNE, B.A. London: Burns.

WE very much like these Sermons. They are published "by request," as the title-page informs us; "with a view of forwarding the erection of a new church in a poor mining district, in the county of Cornwall," as the advertisement speaks. They are just what sermons should be—short, practical, sound, and earnest. The author loses no time in long-winded introductions, but goes straight to his point at once; and, though the writing is by no means offensively rugged, he is evidently more careful for the matter than the manner. We will present the reader with an example or two, selected almost at random. His third sermon is entitled "The Magi, examples of Christian wisdom;" and having pointed out their courage, perseverance, and promptitude, in following the indications of God's will, he says—

"Self, if not fought against, will soon convince us that the heavenward path is not so narrow or strait as it really is, and so will relax our energies, stifle our holy desires, chill our souls, and make us lax and languishing in an affair which demands all our ardour and zeal. We are not generally so easily checked when in pursuit of some worldly

good. We can easily then persuade ourselves to make sacrifices in order to its attainment. But when it is for the things invisible the struggle is to be made, we are apt to be easily frightened, and turned aside, and persuaded that the task is too hard for us. Such a state of mind cannot surely be that in which we would wish to die; and if not to die, then not to live, 'for in the midst of life we are in death.' . . . We must not take it for granted that all is right because all goes on easily and smoothly with us. The converse is nearer the truth, and we should rather fear that that way cannot be a safe one for us which requires no sacrifices or efforts, on our part, to enable us to persevere in it: 'for strait is the gate, and narrow the way, which leadeth unto eternal life, and few there be that find it.'"—pp. 39, 40.

Of all the subjects treated of in Holy Scripture few are more awful than that of spiritual blindness; and none, we fear, to the signs of which in themselves men in general are more blind. We extract with pleasure the following passage, bearing upon this subject, from Sermon XI. :—

"Now, of all the sins of which a man is capable, none seems to run more directly contrary to salvation than that of wilful blindness. It excludes that divine light, without which we cannot advance a step in the way of salvation. If we reject this light, we have nothing to walk by. We throw a moral obstacle in the way of receiving any further graces. These God reserves only for those who profit by what He gives, and seek more. . . . If, by wilful sin, we have changed the light that was in us into darkness, our case is, indeed, a desperate one; for not only do we lose the light, but also all desire of it. . . . What I mean may be illustrated by the case of the blind man of Jéricho. . . . Instead of saying, 'Lord, that I may receive my sight,' we secretly pray that we may see nothing that will serve to trouble or disturb us. 'What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?' might our Lord reply to the prayer of such. 'Wilt thou that I should save thee without grace? that cannot be. Desirest thou grace without light? I have none such to bestow. Or, dost thou expect that I should overpower your will, and sanctify you, in spite of yourself? That is contrary to the laws of my providence, and justice forbids my altering them.'"

Should these sermons reach a second edition, we think their author would not do amiss to revise them in point of language, as here and there they bear marks of rather careless writing. Such as, for instance, "too puffed up," for "too much puffed up." Again, in the last quoted passage, "dost *thou* expect that I should overpower *your* will, and sanctify *you*?" He spells the past participle of to "dim," *dimmed*; we should be glad to know, by what analogy? However, these are small matters; and it is only a pity that a blemish of any sort, however trifling, should be found in such excellent sermons.

II.—*Discourses, preached in the Parish Church of St. Mary's, Truro. By the Rev. W. WOODIS HARVEY, M.A.* London: Rivingtons; Burns.

THE author of these Discourses tells us, in his preface, that—

“They were written with the endeavour to make them specially suitable to the congregation before whom they were delivered; and, to this end, he always considered, in regard to every subject discoursed upon, what topics might be properly omitted,—what might be most usefully and appropriately chosen,—and in what manner most fitted to his audience his thoughts should be expressed.”—pp. vi. vii.

We never were at Truro, and have no means, therefore, of knowing the temper, wants, and capabilities of the people there; but, judging from this specimen of the dietary administered to them by their spiritual physician, as that “most fitted to his audience,” we should say that they must be suffering under considerable weakness of the digestive organs. They evidently cannot bear much “strong meat;” and we must do Mr. Harvey the justice to say, that he appears to have laboured most conscientiously, and with considerable success, in determining “what topics might be properly omitted,”—and consequently (we suppose), under these circumstances, “what might be most usefully chosen.” “*Line upon line; here a LITTLE, and there a LITTLE,*” is manifestly his rule. For instance, the fourth Discourse is what he calls “Short practical Reflections on the circumstances and results of the destruction of the Ancient World by the Flood.” The “reflections” are five in number, averaging three pages each; and consist of an amplification—*i. e.* a dilution—of the sacred narrative, with a sprinkling of moral sentiments, rendered somewhat imposing by a plentiful supply of “notes of admiration.” Let us not be mistaken. We find no false doctrine or heresy; so far as doctrine goes, the author appears to be sound. We are not offended by any lax principles; we do not complain of any thing inherently bad, but rather of (as it appears to us) the want of very much that is good. What little there is, having any pretensions to the hortatory and the practical, is so lamentably tame and *uninterestingly* put, that we much question whether it would catch the attention of any of the good folk at Truro. These Discourses are just of that common-place, *safe* description, that we make no doubt the preacher is a great favourite: his hearers, we should think, cannot complain that they ever have a single prejudice offended.

The volume is published (we see) in order to assist “towards the improvement of the church in which they were preached, and

of a small chapel belonging to his parish." This being the case, some of our readers may possibly think we have been unnecessarily severe upon them. *We* do not think so. We are weary of the heaps of common-place sermons under which our library-table is for ever groaning afresh. We cannot prevent men *preaching* trash, but if they *will* publish their trash, our duty to the public and themselves constrains us to tell them that good intentions, even when backed by the regular announcement of the sermons having been "written without the least intention of their publication," can lay no just claim to exemption from "the severity of criticism." Had we thought this volume formed an exception to the general run of sermons in these days, we should have said less about them: but is this the case? For our own parts, we avow our conviction, that the standard of preaching in our churches is *below par*. It is seldom that one hears a sermon which is not made up of the merest common-places; and when one does stumble upon something better on the subject, it is nearly certain to be spoiled by the mode in which it is expressed. Preaching is not every thing, nor the chief part in the services of God's temple; but it is nevertheless a great instrument in His hands for good: and we speak advisedly when we say, that there is a culpable neglect in regard of this part of ministerial duty, and ministerial education. No wonder that so many of our people wander from the dulness of the Church to the excitement of the conventicle!

III.—*An Exposition of the Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah, being a course of six Lectures delivered in Glasnevin church. By the Rev. MOSES MARGOLIOUTH, Incumbent of Glasnevin.* London: Hatchard. Dublin: W. Curry.

WE have not been able to bestow upon this volume the attention which it demands, and which is absolutely necessary, if we would critically investigate its merits. It is prefaced by an extract from a letter to the author, written by the late Bishop Lindsay, of Kildare, suggesting that "it would be unjust to withhold from the public at large" this series of sermons: and we have no doubt that the judgment of the deceased prelate will carry with it its due weight.

The author is of opinion,

"That this chapter is to be at some future time a penitential hymn, which the Jewish people shall use with contrition of heart, soon after their national conversion to the truth as it is in Jesus; mourning, as it were, over their long obstinate unbelief."—p. 12.

An opinion which has been hinted at by Bishop Horsley, in his

“Biblical Criticism.” Not that by this view he would “deprive this chapter of its prophetic import.” Indeed, his whole aim is to demonstrate its vital importance in this last point of view; for which purpose he takes it verse by verse, and comments upon each expression critically, historically, polemically, and practically. This translation differs from the authorized version, from Bishop Lowth’s, and, indeed, from all which have been heretofore proposed, in some respects: and while we cannot, with the hasty glance which alone we have been as yet able to give to it, perceive any thing manifestly wrong in his renderings, we are bound to acknowledge that some of them render intelligible what has hitherto been obscure. Thus, by way of example, his fifth lecture opens with the eighth verse, which, in the authorized version, runs as follows:—

“He was taken from prison, and from judgment:
And who shall declare his generation?
For He was cut off out of the land of the living:
For the transgression of my people was He stricken.”

A passage which (as our author observes) “has embarrassed *all* commentators, philologists, and critics.” The reader may compare with it Mr. Margoliouth’s rendering:—

“Without restraint, and without sentence, was He taken away,
And who can speak of his habitation?
But He was cut off from the land of the living,
Because of the transgression of my people—
Because of the stroke that should have been to them.”

Perhaps the reader will thank us for transcribing here, in juxtaposition with these two versions, that from the pen of Bishop Lowth:—

“By an oppressive judgment He was taken off;
And his manner of life who would declare?
For He was cut off from the land of the living:
For the transgression of my people He was smitten to death.”

Of these it may be remarked, that the first is a literal translation of the LXX., and the last of the Vulgate. Bishop Lowth has a long note upon the second part of the first hemistich, in which he endeavours to explain it by a reference to the custom (as the Mishna alleges) of making proclamation, before any one accused of a capital crime, for any to come forward and declare what he knew of the prisoner’s innocence; which was not done in the case of Jesus. But we confess, that this has always appeared

to us a frigid explanation. With respect to the authorized version, Mr. M. justly remarks that the passage,

“ Even as it is quoted in the New Testament, (Acts viii. 33,) does by no means lead us to suppose that Jesus was in *prison*. He was, indeed, *bound* and placed under a *guard*, and was thus secured, but never incarcerated, as one would be inclined to conclude from the text, according to its present translation. Moreover, no judicial sentence ever passed upon Jesus. It was because of the excited and wicked populace demanding the death of Jesus, that Pilate impiously consented to it, and delivered Him to be crucified ; but not under any form of law, which the following expression implies :—

‘ He was taken from prison and from judgment.’

But read the text according to the literal translation, and we find at once a comment on it in the Gospel history of our Lord’s suffering. We shall now, therefore, simply proceed to expound our text, line by line, according to the original.

‘ Without restraint, and without sentence, was He taken away.’

Instead of preventing or restraining the Jews from carrying into effect their murderous purposes against our Lord, Pilate ‘ delivered him to their will.’ Instead of pronouncing a formal sentence upon Him, the governor, occupying the judgment-seat, declares Him ‘ a just man,’ and yet ‘ delivers him to be crucified.’ Not only did the Gentile judge not interfere in using his authority to prevent such a wicked and unprecedented perpetration, but also his brethren after the flesh forsook Him and denied Him ; no one uttered a syllable in his defence as soon as He was taken to the judgment-seat, which the Psalmist was instructed to describe—long ere the awful scene happened—‘ My lovers and my friends stand aloof from my sore,’ &c. (Ps. xxxviii. 11—13.) He was thus, as it were, an outlaw ; He had no home, whose inmates, who would certainly be his relations, might interfere at all hazards, on such a desperate occasion, to prevent his being put to death without a proper investigation. But,

‘ As for his dwelling-place, who can speak of it ?’

The comment on this line you will find in Matt. viii. 20 :—‘ The foxes have holes,’ &c. The same word which is rendered in our text ‘ *generation*,’ occurs in Isaiah xxxviii. 12, where it is rendered ‘ *age*,’ as also in Ps. xlix. 19, where it is rendered ‘ *generation*.’ But almost all philologists have properly substituted, in the two last places, ‘ *habitation*.’ I am at a loss to account why they did not substitute the same proper word in our text, especially as all acknowledge that it ‘ is by no means easy to fix the right meaning’ of the text as it reads at present, namely :

‘ And who shall declare his generation ?’

Whilst the literal translation, which I have suggested, removes all diffi-

culties at once, and throws a great deal of light on the chapter before us."—pp. 97—99.

We had marked for transcription his observations upon the next hemistich ; but we have already exceeded our limits. Mr. Margoliouth, we gather from some passages here and there, is himself a son of Abraham after the flesh ; and, whatever his critical powers may be, is evidently very familiar with the Hebrew tongue, and with the various arguments and objections of Jewish writers against Christianity. There is an Appendix, which appears to contain much rabbinical information. However, the investigation of the true value of the work, would imply a far longer and more minute examination than we have yet bestowed upon it. Still, we feel that we are quite safe in commending these lectures to the attentive perusal of all who are interested in this most wonderful prophecy.

- iv.—1. *The Retrospect : being an inquiry into the fulfilment of prophecy during the last twenty years ; and also how far the Church is thereby furnished with any good grounds for expecting the instant coming of the Lord. With a Chart. Vol. I.* London : Painter.
2. *The Translation : or, The Changing of the Living Saints, and their deliverance from the judgments which are coming on the earth. By the Rev. JOHN HOOPER, Rector of Albury.* London : Painter.

IT is, we believe, somewhere about twenty years ago, that Mr. Faber, not content with the interpretation of fulfilled prophecy, began to exercise his ingenuity in that which is yet to have its accomplishment. He turned prophet himself, and had the temerity to predict, that in a certain year, then at hand and now gone by, a given event would come to pass. The year came, but not the event ; so, in a succeeding work, Mr. Faber was compelled to confess that he had made some unaccountable blunder in casting his horoscope ; whether or not he uttered a fresh vaticination we really forget. The author of the *Retrospect* appears to be emulous of distinction in the same line ; but, having Mr. Faber's discomfiture before his eyes, deems it more prudent to prophesy without a name. He informs us at the outset, that he addresses "those, and those only, who profess to believe, or are disposed to admit" certain "leading points which it is considered" a controversy, which, in the author's opinion, has lately been waged among us, "left as established truths." Whether the reader is desirous of being included in the number

of these, and may, therefore, consider *himself* as one of the “addressed,” he will probably have no great difficulty in determining, when we inform him, that—

1. Notwithstanding the unanswered arguments of Mr. Maitland, and the still later volumes of Dr. Todd, the author of the *Retrospect* starts with the assumption that Daniel’s “days” are *years* :—

2. That the expiration of the 1260 days of Daniel, or the pouring out of the First Vial, synchronized (according to him) with the French Revolution, A.D. 1792; a period which “it is well known to all students of prophecy,” is to be reckoned “from the Edicts of Justinian, A.D. 532,” (the issuing of which edicts the author looks upon as the commencement of “the Papal ‘little horn’” !):—

3. That the commencement of the Seventh Vial *is to take place in* A.D. 1847, “which synchronizes in all Scripture with the coming of the Lord, the resurrection of the dead saints, and the change of the living :”—and,

4. That the pouring out of this Vial will continue for twenty years; during which, “from A.D. 1847 to A.D. 1867, the various acts in the drama of the coming of the Lord shall take place.” So that

“In little more than twenty years from the present time, the final acts of judgment upon Christendom and the world will have passed, and all the kingdoms of this world have been brought into subjection to the Lord Jesus Christ.”

This truly is bold; this is handsomely done! As old Dr. Eachard quaintly says, “I hate all small ambiguous surmises, all quivering and mincing conjectures: give me the lusty and bold thinker, who, when he undertakes to prophesy, does it punctually.”

The other work named at the beginning of this Notice is a pamphlet of fifty-six pages in length, in which Mr. Hooper attempts to soar likewise on the wings of unfulfilled prophecy. They prove, however, to him, no less than the former author, to be the wings of Icarus.

v.—*Anthologia Davidica; or, a Metrical Translation of the whole Book of Psalms, selected from our published Versions, with alterations: being an Essay towards the compilation of a National Psalm Book. By PRESBYTER CICESTRENSIS. London: Rivington—*

Is a work, the object and the manner of whose execution is sufficiently indicated by the title-page. We confess we were not

prepared for the fact announced in the Preface, namely, that "from the era of the Reformation down to the present time, there have appeared no fewer than sixty-five versions of the whole Psalter; and of translations of selected parts of it, from a single Psalm to a very considerable portion of the entire Book, it is hardly possible to ascertain the number." It would be useless to give any extracts from a work like the present, as they could not do more than manifest the excellence of particular Psalms; whereas the difficulty is not to find versions of individual Psalms of even very great merit, but to find a translation of the whole, of sufficient goodness throughout, by one and the same hand. We like what we have seen of the book.

VI.—*The Use of the Body in relation to the Mind.* By GEORGE MOORE, M.D. London: Longman.

DR. GEORGE MOORE is already favourably known to the public by his previous works, and the present volume will fully maintain him in his high position. His aim is one of great importance, namely, to prove that the right use of the body is essential to the well-being of the mind. Dr. Moore shows that true wisdom consists in identifying in one purpose our bodily and mental powers, and that to elevate one at the expense of the other, is but to depreciate the end for which we are created, and to lessen our powers of happiness both here and hereafter. In the words of the Preface, "the right use of the body involves the whole doctrine of human economy in regard both to sociality and self, not only in relation to time, but also to eternity." Some minds are so formed, that the simple words of Scripture produce conviction and faith; but there are others who yearn for evidence corroborative of revealed truth in the things of the material world—in the present social condition of man—or in the discoveries of science; the former class cannot fail to derive pleasure from the present work, and the latter will also find much assistance to aid them to go on their way rejoicing. Nothing, in our opinion, tends more to elevate the soul to high aims and endeavours than a due appreciation of the wonders of our corporeal existence—an existence, which will be prolonged beyond the grave. Apart from the utility of the work before us, we are led on from page to page by interesting illustrations of the subject. As a good example of intellectual exaltation, in keeping with moral character, under the influence of a medicinal agent, the

author quotes the following case from Dr. O'Shaughnessy's account of the effects of Indian hemp :—

"In a lad of excellent habits, ten drops of the tincture induced the most amusing effects. A shout of laughter ushered in the symptoms, and a transition state of cataleptic rigidity occurred for two or three minutes. He enacted the part of a rajah giving orders to his courtiers ; he could recognize none of his fellow-students or acquaintances, all to his mind seemed as altered as his own condition ; he spoke of many years having passed since his student days, described his teachers and friends with a piquancy which a dramatist would envy ; detailed the adventures of an imaginary series of years, his travels, his attainment of wealth and power : he entered on discussions of religious, scientific, and political topics, with astonishing eloquence, and disclosed an extent of knowledge, reading, and a ready apposite wit which those who knew him best were altogether unprepared for. For three hours and upwards he maintained the character he at first assumed, and with a degree of ease and dignity perfectly becoming his high assumption."

And on the influence of exercise and air on the nervous system we find the following :—

"When the Honourable C. A. Murray had been living for some time entirely on buffalo beef among the Pawnee Indians, his body got into the true savage training, and in the excitement and liberty of the wilds he enjoyed the perfection of his animal nature. The kind of intoxication arising from over-stimulating blood is well expressed by him : 'I have never known,' he says, 'such excitement in any exercise as I have experienced from a solitary walk among the mountains ; thoughts crowd upon thoughts, which I can neither control nor breathe in words ; I almost feel that I am a poet, but' (as Byron beautifully expresses it) 'I "compress the god within me ;" 'all the beloved dwellers in the secret cells of my memory walk by my side ; I people the heights of the hills and the shades of the forest not only with those I have known, but with all my friends from fairy land ; and in these illusions of my waking dream I forget time, fatigue, and distance, and sometimes lose my way.'"

The horrors of the Black-Hole of Calcutta, so well known to every one, lead the author to observe,—

"That there is great probability that the temper of an assembly is often vastly influenced by the state of the air which it breathes, and to talk of a moral atmosphere is not altogether a figure of speech. A physiologist may reasonably inquire whether the foul air of St. Stephen's have contributed to intensify the ill-feeling of parties, and by causing bad humours, have led to the enactment of bad laws."

We recommend the consideration of this passage to the re-

formers of Birmingham and Manchester. We think, too, that it would be no uninteresting matter for experiment on the part of the clergy, to ascertain in our churches the exact conditions of the atmosphere which induce certain tempers in the congregation. It would then be easy to construct a barometer, the indicator of which should point to the various states of DOSING—ATTENTIVE—EXCITED, and so on; and it would doubtless often be a valuable guide if this could be suspended in the study during the previous composition of the sermon.

But to pass to something of a more serious and tangible nature, to persons desirous of carrying out the instructions of the Church respecting fasting, the chapter on this subject will be found very useful. The following is a curious fact:—

“ True religion enjoins abstinence only in connexion with meditation and prayer. That fasting even when under the supposed authority of religion kindles the murderous passions in those who are not habituated to self-control, and the devotedness of holy motives, is largely exemplified by the information of those who have travelled in superstitious countries. Thus the author of *Eothen*, who though anonymous is evidently well informed, states that the fasts of the Greek Church produce an ill effect upon the character of the people, for they are carried on to such an extent as to bring on febrile irritation with depression of spirits and a fierce desire for the perpetration of dark crimes. Hence the number of murders is greater during Lent than at any other time of the year.”

The chapter on the stages of life is written in very beautiful language; and we cannot refrain from extracting the following passage, no less eloquent than true:—

“ Christians, in this land of parishes, where is the proof that you deem children heirs of immortality and the special charge of the Church? Remember that the soul of man and woman when left to the working of untaught nature must ripen into desolation and misery. And it is in early youth that your most strenuous efforts are most demanded, and most effectual. If the attention be not then duly employed on suitable objects, which the wise alone can present in their true shape and colour, the mind will fix itself upon the body, and either a morbid consciousness will spring up in the place of happier activity, or else sensual propensities will speedily entrance the captive and ignorant soul, and fling a spell over all its powers, not to be broken but by a miracle of divine interference to restore it from the ruin which the godly discipline of Christian institutes was intended to prevent.”—p. 123.

The following also is well expressed:—

“ The wisest and best productions of the human intellect have proceeded from those who have lived through the bustling morning and

meridian periods of their day, and calmly sat down to think and instruct others in the meditative evening of life. Even when the brilliancy of reason's sunset yields to the advancing gloom, there is an indescribable beauty haunting the old man still, if in youth and vigour his soul was conversant with truth; and even when the chill of night is upon him, his eye seems to rest upon the glories for awhile departed, or he looks off into the stars, and reads in them his destiny with a gladness as quiet and as holy as their light. When our little day is folded up in shadows, the darkness must be deep indeed which does not reveal eternity by the rays of light which reach us from afar;—but the soul that can rise above the clouds of the earth can always behold the infinity of heaven, and perhaps every rightly taught man, before God takes him, ascends to a Pisgah of his own, from whence to look farewell to the wilderness he has passed in the leadings of Jehovah's right hand,—and to catch a glimpse of the promised land lying in the everlasting orient before him." —p. 131.

In conclusion, we cannot do otherwise than recommend this volume for perusal. We do not perhaps agree with the author in every sentiment he has uttered, and we think his mode of expression is not always the clearest. The scientific man, however, will be interested, and the young receive instruction and amusement. We see, with pleasure, that the author promises the public another volume of a more precisely practical character, concerning the discipline of the will.

VII.—*Pasilogia: an Essay towards the formation of a system of Universal Language, both written and vocal; with suggestions for its dissemination throughout the world: including a succinct review of the principal systems of similar character heretofore published. By the Rev. EDWARD GROVES. Dublin: McGlashan.*

WE remember to have seen it reported not long since, that Mons. Guizot (we think it was M. Guizot) had propounded to the wise men of France his opinion, that an universal language would, one day, prevail throughout the world; and, added he with truly national grandiloquence, *that language will be French.* Mr. Groves' work, while he assents to the French minister's *major*, is at variance with his *minor*. That an universal language will prevail, he believes—and so do *we*; and that the system which *he* offers to the world stands a fair chance of reaching that proud distinction, he thinks probable—so do *not* we. Mr. Groves' book is well and clearly arranged, and a large portion of it is occupied in a review of the systems already proposed. "The only portion of the Essay," says he in his Advertisement, "for

which he claims the merit of originality, is that which treats of the system devised by himself;" and we feel bound to record our deliberate conviction, that *this* is the least useful portion of his book.

He tells us, that his proposed universal language

"Consists of a series of vocal sounds connected with a corresponding series of written characters; each sound forming a monosyllable, and each character being capable of being delineated by a single act of the pen."—p. 88.

And again, at p. 96:—

"Every word should express one idea; or, if more than one, each should be totally distinct from the other."

We object to this, *in limine*. In the first place, Mr. Groves is attempting an impossibility; he is attempting to construct *proprio Marte*, what, there is good reason to believe, was the gift of the Creator in the nucleus (Gen. ii. 19); and which—in each of the 2000 modifications of the original, which Balbi declares to exist in the world—has arrived at its present state by the force of circumstances, and by means of a slow progression. In the next place, we hold it to be "a true conclusion of experience," (as Lord Bacon has it,) that mankind will not hazard an outlay, whether of money or of labour, except there be a reasonable prospect of corresponding advantage in return. Men must have a *quid pro quo*. Now we ask whether the advantage to be derived from the adoption of a language, whose fundamental principle is that which we have just quoted, is likely to be such as to repay men for the trouble of learning it, and for all the confusion which must for a while result from this unsettling of the constituted customs and relationships of the world? Let any one analyze the process which takes place, under ordinary circumstances, in the mind of the listener or the reader, as the case may be; and he will not fail to perceive, that neither in the one case nor in the other does the mind stop to examine each word, still less each letter; nor generally does it wait for the entire sentence to be placed before it, ere it catches and comprehends the meaning; though the degree in which this takes place depends, doubtless, upon the position of words according to the genius of each particular language. We feel persuaded, that no system has a chance of succeeding as an universal language, which is based upon the principles enunciated by Mr. Groves. We are of opinion that any language, to ensure adoption, must, among other requisites, include this one: viz. *that the characters employed shall express ideas and not words*. Who, that is much

in the habit of writing, but has often wished for some means of expressing by two or three dashes of the pen that which, as things are, require such an expenditure of time and labour to commit to paper? Our present mode of communication must be felt to be cumbersome to the last degree; unworthy of these days of invention: we require some means of bringing the operations of the mind and of the hand into closer correspondence.

There are several other points to which we are unable to assent, in the plan before us; as for instance, the author lays it down at starting, that

“The characters should be arbitrary; neither hieroglyphical nor emblematical.”

Now we do not profess to understand the exact meaning which he intends to convey by so vague a term as *hieroglyphical*: does he lay any stress upon the *first* portion of the compound? or does he use it carelessly for *symbolical*? But taking for granted that he means the latter, we ask *why* the characters must not be symbolical? We believe that symbolical or pictorial characters would have a far better chance of commending themselves to the adoption of mankind; for the simple reason that they would be much more easily remembered, than a set of arbitrary lines and curves, which were destitute alike of all connexion with that which they were meant to express, and consequently of all reason why the adoption of one should be preferred to that of any others. Thus, we cannot well imagine a more herculean or hopeless task, than the committing to memory such a language as that which Mr. Groves proposes: a language, “the basis of whose written character is a straight line with a circular projection at one end;” and the variations of meaning in which characters depend upon the roundness or pointedness of the head of each—or upon the exact position of the character in regard to a supposed “centre, so as to correspond with” one of “the eight principal points of the mariner’s compass.”—(p. 90.) Imagine a man stopping to take a mental *observation*, to ascertain his *bearings*, before he can decipher the meaning of every half-dozen words! How much superior to this would be characters like the Chinese, which are nothing more in their present form, than “running-hand” representations of the ancient symbols (such as *e. g.* an ear under a gate, to signify a listener); or even the Egyptian hieroglyphics (as an asp for royalty, or a jackall for a priest).

But we must have done. We feel obliged to Mr. Groves for his attempt, although we are compelled in candour to find fault with it. He does not appear to us to have yet sufficiently studied his subject. His views are too unpractical and confined: and, as

one proof of this, he appears evidently to take the *English* language, certainly not constructed on the most philosophical principles, for his model, and to *translate* English into Pasiloge.

VIII.—*King Charles the First ; a Dramatic Poem in five acts.* By ARCHER GURNEY. London: Pickering.

WE are of opinion that the author's purpose has been more felicitous than his execution. His purpose was to draw a parallel between the times of the first Charles and our own, and by the past to warn us of the future. It is

"His ardent desire, on the one hand, to awaken the friends of the Church and State, and the protectors of the rights of labour, from their melancholy and long-continued lethargy; and, on the other, to yield some aid (however slight) to the enthronement in the hearts and souls of Englishmen of their murdered patriot king."—p. xv.

He is a most uncompromising Tory, and utters in no veiled and obscure language his opinion of the late premier. He pronounces King Charles I. "to have been one of the noblest of all mere human creatures that have breathed the air upon this earthly planet." Falkland and Sidney Godolphin he surnames the "Young England" of those days, "well-meaning, but semi-liberalizing, consorting with smooth Hampdens." And of Hampden himself he avers, that he fully believes "that remarkable man to have been more supreme for vile and infamous cunning, veiled beneath the mask of excessive honesty and single-mindedness, than any one of his factious contemporaries." However much we may sympathize with the author in *many* of his feelings respecting men and measures, both of the present and the past, we cannot go along with him in *all*. We are assuredly no admirers of either Cromwell's politics or character, especially after reading the memoirs of his contemporary Ludlow; but we think, nevertheless, that the day is past for representing him quite as Mr. Gurney has painted him. In the second scene of the fifth act he visits the king in prison, and their interview ends thus:

"KING CHARLES.

" I have no more to say.

Thou call'st *me* tyrant; I will think thee *true*.

May the great judgment-day prove thee in error,

And me not over-lenient! Fare thee well!

H h 2

"CROMWELL [*after a long pause hesitatingly*].

"Farewell! . . . Charles . . . I . . . [*collecting himself*]

Soul, arm thee! Even now

Hell tempts thee only.—King! despair and perish!"

Having referred to Ludlow's memoirs above, the reader perhaps will not be displeased if we extract a passage therefrom, which he will find it rather difficult to reconcile with the angelic character which it is becoming the fashion to endeavour to attach to the regicide Cromwell. It is to be found at p. 85 of the 4th edition of the memoirs, published in 1771; and we are not aware that it has been quoted by any of the modern writers upon the times to which it relates.

"He [Sir John Barkley] gave him [the king] also a relation of what had formerly passed between himself and Cromwell, whom he met near Causum, when the head-quarters were at Reading, where Cromwell told him, that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the king and his children; that he wept plentifully at the remembrance thereof, *that never man was so abused as he in his sinister opinion of the king, who, he thought, was the most upright and conscientious of his kingdom*: that they of the independent party had infinite obligations to him, for not consenting to the propositions sent to him at Newcastle, which would have totally ruined them, and which his majesty's interest seemed to invite him to; concluding with this wish, 'that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards the king.'"

There are in Mr. Gurney's poem some good lines here and there; but, on the whole, we are disappointed with the work. As a poem, it is very bald: the measure of the lines being often almost the only indication that we are reading verse and not prose. We would recommend the author to revise his work before a second edition appears. There is good in it in point of matter, but it should be wrought out differently; and the verse must be polished: all the lines do not scan at present; and in one page which we opened at random, out of twenty-one lines, no fewer than eleven were eked out by a monosyllabic ending.

IX.—*Catechetical Exercises on the Apostles' Creed (chiefly from the exposition of Bishop Pearson). By the Rev. EDWARD BICKERSTETH, M.A., Curate of Holy Cross and St. Giles, Shrewsbury.* London: Rivingtons.

THIS is one of those proofs of the growing zeal of our clergy,

which are now springing up on every side; and one of those attempts to teach the Church's children in the Church's way, which we are always glad to hail. Mr. Bickersteth is already known to the public by a similar work upon the Thirty-nine Articles, and we think this, his second publication, an improvement upon the former. Drawing, as he does, from Bishop Pearson, he could hardly go wrong. Still there was the difficulty to be overcome, of adapting that admirable work to the capacities of catechumens; and in this we think he has not been always *quite* as successful as could have been wished. Some few of his questions, or rather the answers to them (which he prints at the foot of the page), strike us as not being altogether as plain as they might be. But to do this well, is the most difficult part of a teacher's office: "a child may preach (as it has been said), but it must be a man to catechize." Mr. B. will, no doubt, improve. In a work of this kind there was likewise room for ingenuity in leading the minds of his auditory by easy steps from the subject ostensibly before them to its correlatives: and in this we feel pleasure in awarding to the author our praise. We may instance the way in which, under the head "*Suffered*," he fortifies them against that difficulty, which will always propose itself to the mind, and which led in early days to the error of the Patripassians. So, again, under the next head, he introduces the typical sacrifice of Isaac, and tells them that most curious (we might say, providential) rabbinical comment on Gen. xxii. 6:—"Abraham laid the wood upon Isaac his son, *as a man carries his cross on his shoulders*." We can conscientiously recommend this little *brochure*.

x.—*Tales of Female Heroism*. London: Burns—

CONTAINS nineteen tales of various lengths, interest, and merits. The greater part of them are very good, and well adapted to the end in view; viz. "to show the fortitude and devotion of which women are capable, rather in a feminine and domestic aspect than a brilliant one; and to exhibit acts of courage and presence of mind in characters distinguished by their conscientious fulfilment of the quiet, unobtrusive duties of every-day life."

The Miller's Maid may be instanced as a beautiful tale, and admirably told. The stories of *Mrs. Jane Lane* and *Flora MacDonald* are, perhaps, rather too stale to have been included in the volume; and we question whether that of *Madame la Rochejaquelein*, beautiful as it is, be not an example of cheerfulness under suffering, involuntarily inflicted on her, rather than of "female

heroism." The compiler has been "tempted to subjoin Mrs. Hemans's touching poem" on the subject of *Gertrude Von der Wart*;" a temptation which, we think (like most other temptations), he would have done better in resisting. It could (as he himself observes) "add nothing to the pathetic beauty of the wife's original record," were it ever so good; and we confess to thinking the poetry to be of an inferior stamp. We can, however, on the whole, well recommend the volume, which will be found an acceptable little Christmas present.

XI.—*The Portrait of Charity. By the Rev. FRANCIS TRENCH, Perpetual Curate of St. John's, Reading, &c.* London: Hatchards—

Is, evidently, a series of eight small sermons upon the 13th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; setting forth the "absolute and indispensable necessity" of "charity or holy love;" its "characteristic features," and "its excellency and perpetual continuance." They seem to be plainly and affectionately done.

XII.—*Three Charges, delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Barbados, in the years 1843, 1845, and 1846. By THOMAS PARRY, D.D., Bishop of Barbados.* London: Rivingtons.

MANLY, straightforward, and earnest, these charges fully maintain the character which the Bishop of Barbados has earned for himself. The second of the three commences with a sketch of the history of the Church in Trinidad, and presents, alas! a tale which meets with too many parallels in our history.

"By some strange inadvertency, not altogether unaccountable or unprecedented, but by no means honourable to our national piety, the duty was omitted [*viz.*, of supplying an adequate number of clergy of the Church of England, to offer the means of grace and salvation, in conformity with the national faith, to the population rapidly increasing by accessions from without, since the capitulation of the island and the slave-emancipation]. The additional multitudes were either destitute of all religious care, or were left to the ministrations of the Church of the Capitulants; even English proprietors urging their people to become members of the Romish communion! . . . For the thousands and tens of thousands who had been brought into this island from Protestant or heathen lands, in this wide country, with all its difficulties of moving from place to place, there was still in 1835 only one English pastor. [The capitulation of the island, it will be remembered, had taken place in 1797!]"—p. 50.

When will our governors learn that *ecclesiastical responsibility* keeps pace with *territorial acquisition*?

We cannot resist the pleasure of extracting the following passage from his lordship's primary charge, delivered in Barbados.

"Viewing the question in this light, we cannot but observe a spirit of restless inquiry and unusual activity, extending itself to almost every department of human life. Wherever we turn, we see society in motion, full of excitement, full of energy, full even of conflict. In religion especially, is this excitement observable; and in religion, when the mind is awakened to any new degree of interest on the subject, there is almost always danger of seeking in mere *change* that which is to be found only in *improvement*. Men become dissatisfied, and, it may be, very justly dissatisfied, either with their own state, or with that of society around them; they look for a remedy, and find it, they imagine, not in acting more consistently upon the principles which they already avow, not in entering more thoroughly into the truths which they have been taught from their childhood, not in observing more faithfully the holy sacraments, and other ordinances of the Church, with which they are familiar, but in adopting new notions, fresh views, and strange practices. They blame their Church for not supplying their wants, when they should rather blame themselves for not acting up to the directions of the Church, or not entering into the full meaning of her creeds, or not understanding the true spirit of her liturgy. Excited minds look for novelty: to them, what is old, is unpalatable; nay, more, is carnal and worldly. Hence the attraction, to some, of the novelties of dissent; to others, of the novelties of Romanism. There is wanting in both the sound, well-disciplined taste, which would say, 'the old is better;' the old religion of the Church, better than the thousand forms of modern sectarianism; the old religion of the primitive times, which our Church retains, better than the additions which, at the Reformation, she rejected, as having been made to it in some subsequent generation.

"If this be, as I conceive it is, the great peculiarity of the present age, as manifested in our Church; if, with much for which to be thankful, there is much also to be viewed with apprehension; if, with an increased, and perhaps increasing zeal in the discharge of religious duties, whether private or public, there is also an increasing danger of unsettling the foundations of religion itself, and breaking up still more than ever the unity of the Church; if, even of those who have been most instrumental in recalling men's minds to the value of Church principles, and the paramount duty of a devotedness to God's service, some (I must not say all—that would be most unjust—but some few, for *comparatively they are but a few*) have excited suspicion and alarm by their apparent indulgence, if not approach, to some of the worst errors of popery; whilst others have caused disgust by their affectation of forms of an unmeaning or objectionable character; nay more, if some of those who have been most strenuous in decrying the use of private

judgment, have been among the most forward in pressing upon the Church their own peculiar notions; or if others of a different temper, under the influence of a religious panic, are disposed to rush headlong into all the extravagances of Puritanism, and, lest forms should be rested in, or antiquity idolized, or authority overstrained, or the Church too much exalted, at once to reject forms, to vilify antiquity, to despise authority, to abandon the Church, and, through fear of popery, to reject even whatever of Christianity the Church of Rome retains;—surely it becomes us to pause and consider how, with God's grace, we shall best meet the trials of such a state of things, and derive or promote the good which, doubtless, the present excitement was intended to subserve, without incurring the dangers to which it is evidently exposed."—pp. 21—23.

Would that these things might impress themselves on the minds of those unstable souls, with the account of whose restlessness or defection one is every day being pained! And would that our spiritual rulers were not so often implicated indirectly in the sin of these defections, by their almost systematic mode of *damping* instead of guiding, and *rebuking* instead of fostering, the enthusiasm of the younger members of the clerical profession!

XIII.—*The Gate of Prophecy; being the Revelation of Jesus Christ by St. John, theologically and historically expounded, &c. By WILLIAM BROWN GALLOWAY, M.A., Curate of Brompton, Middlesex.* 2 vols. London: Rivingtons.

AFTER all that has been written in exposition of the prophecies of the Revelation, one opens with a feeling somewhat akin to despair a work which professes to be a demonstration of the inspiration of this book of holy Scripture from the fulfilment of its predictions. Mr. Galloway very rightly condemns those who object to the study of prophecy, and who look on the various expositions which have been given, with indifference or contempt. Nothing can be more inexcusable than such a mode of treating so sacred a subject; at the same time, it is not possible in the nature of things to avoid feeling distrust of new interpretations, however ingenious and plausible, when it is remembered that numbers of different interpretations have been in turn put forth with equal plausibility. We feel assured that any one who should for the first time peruse the works of Newton, or Faber, or Irving, not to speak of more recent writers on prophecy, would be under the impression that the interpretation had been fully and satisfactorily made out. And yet, clear and demonstrative as may be the exposition in each case, other writers *will* dispel the illusion, and establish different interpretations, which are

themselves destined to destruction at no distant period. Mr. Galloway is sanguine that his researches have been rewarded by the only true interpretation. In his general views of prophecy, however, he concurs with the followers of Joseph Mede. His work, like most of our modern works on prophecy, is a compendium of modern history, the materials of which are derived from Gibbon and Alison. Ireland is, we perceive, to be the subject of some very dreadful catastrophe, according to this writer. His task appears to be executed with more than ordinary vigour and animation.

XIV.—*Sermons for Saints' Days: preached at different times, in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, Roehampton. By the Rev. G. E. BIBER, LL.D.* London: Rivingtons.

THE discourses included in this volume were preached only on the saints' days properly so called, excluding all festivals connected with the personal history of our Lord, which the author reserves for a distinct publication. We have been very favourably impressed by all that we have seen of this series of discourses. They generally enter at some length on the historical and biographical branch of the subject, and will thus be found to exhibit a series of valuable Scripture narratives, enriched by practical and devotional remarks, and terminating with moral and spiritual inferences. The diction is copious and eloquent; and the general tone of principle is that of fixed opposition to the tenets of Romanism, combined with the assertion of the distinctive doctrines of the Church of England. We can recommend this volume as furnishing materials for thought to the preacher, and as a useful manual for those who are desirous of observing the saints' days, though unable to attend Divine service in the Church.

XV.—*Florentine History, from the earliest authentic records to the accession of Ferdinand the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany. By HENRY EDWARD NAPIER, Captain in the Royal Navy, F.R.S.* In 6 vols.; Vol. I. London: Moxon.

THIS volume, which is to be followed by five others from the same pen, demands a far more extended notice than it is possible at this moment to give. From what we have seen of the volume, its popularity would seem to be a matter of certainty. The grace of the style, and the interesting and graphic details with which it abounds, combined with the research of which every page furnishes evidence, promise to obtain for this work a very exten-

sive circulation. The volume before us carries on the history of Florence from the earliest period to about the middle of the fourteenth century. We select the following passage as illustrative of the style.

“Amongst those sparks of liberty that burst from the smouldering ruins of Rome, few ascended more brightly or more rapidly than the Florentine Republic: it shone in arts and arms, in literature and science: and had internal union been maintained, scarcely a state in Italy could have long withstood the genius of its citizens. A fierce and insolent nobility was in the beginning as justly dragged from power as it was afterwards unjustly punished; yet the people fought not as in Rome, for equal rights, but absolute uncompromising power: they legislated in wrath, preserved a false level by unequal pressure, and the tyrannical and once formidable aristocracy became a degraded caste: its power terminated; its insolence stood rebuked; but much of its military spirit was also crushed, and finally ceased to animate the general mass of citizens. No longer trusting to native valour, licentious bands of strangers were hired to defend the commonwealth, and less as servants than as masters: the moral effect was pernicious, and assisted by other causes produced an indifference to military virtue, which without entirely destroying, depreciated personal spirit, and often exposed the country to humiliating exactions.

“Nevertheless we have an example in Florence of the power which even a petty state may attain by the innate force of free institutions acting on a manly energy of character: the first bounds of her authority were but a walk beyond the walls, and the republican territory, even in its most palmy days, did not exceed a third of the present dukedom; yet from that small centre the power of Florence gradually spread over all the neighbouring states, until the sea and the Apennines became its limits.”—pp. 2, 3.

Independently of the interest which attaches to this work as a narrative of events, its sketches of the manners, customs, and general state of Italy in the middle ages, appear to be admirably drawn.

xvi.—*The Abbess of Shaftesbury; or the days of John of Gaunt.*
London: Rivingtons.

THE object of this pleasing tale is to portray the monastic life of the fourteenth century, in its connexion with the feudal system, and the history of the times. The reign of Richard the Second is the period selected by the author; and the vacillations of this weak monarch, the bold and high-minded resolution of John of Gaunt, the perilous state of the Lollards, and the persecuting spirit of Archbishop Courtenay, successively pass before us in

connexion with the good and evil fortunes of a young knight and a lady who are betrothed. The Abbess of Shaftesbury, from whom the tale derives its name, is privately attached to the doctrines of Wickliffe, as is, also, the heroine of the story, who is compelled, by an avaricious and cruel uncle, to take the white veil in the Abbey of Shaftesbury, and only escapes from taking the vow of perpetual celibacy by the intervention of the abbess. The efforts of the ecclesiastical power to compel the return of the novice to conventual life, and the various adventures which this unhappy maiden and her friend the abbess are, in consequence, subject to, lend interest to the narrative, which, on the whole, is instructive and well written. We cannot say that it exhibits any great power, but it is pleasing in its tone, and its leading principles will render it a useful publication for the young, and somewhat of an antidote to Romanizing tendencies.

XVII.—*Stories of the Crusades.* 1. *De Hellingley.* 2. *The Crusade of St. Louis.* London: Burns.

THESE tales describe in a very lively and graphic manner the character and some of the leading events of the later Crusades. The author writes like one who is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his subject; more in the tone of a minstrel than of a historian. In his pages the Crusader becomes the model of all Christian and knightly virtues; the Roman faith and practices, the recognized form of true religion. The first of these stories narrates the history of Sir Rainold de Hellingley and the fair Edith de Warrenn; their expedition to the Holy Land in the reign of Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem; the malice of a disappointed suitor who nearly succeeds in procuring the dissolution of their marriage by alleging a pre-contract with himself, and the various adventures of the war with Saladin. The second tale also has an English knight for its hero, who accompanies King Louis to Egypt, and passes, with distinction, through the campaign which was terminated by the capture of the Christian forces. We must certainly say, that the author tells his story in a very interesting way. There are some poetical pieces in the volume, from which we select the following:—

The Battle of Campo d'Ourique.

“ A lay, a lay, good pilgrims !
How Portugal was won ;
The land that lies in cloudless skies
Beneath the western sun.

The Moors are up, the Moors are out,
 The Moors are clad in steel,
 From Ceuta and Morocco
 To Lisbon and Seville !

“ The downs are white with tents above,
 The vales are white below ;
 As on a hill, when night is still,
 Fast falls December’s snow :
 And when they come by thousands
 To reckon up their men,
 The crescent had three hundred,
 The Cross had only ten !

‘ All on the night afore the fight,
 On deeds of glory bent,
 The holy Count Affonso
 Was resting in his tent ;
 By the flashing bright of the camp-fire light,
 The lord of Sousa stole
 To the canvass door with a hermit hoar
 To cheer his chieftain’s soul.

“ Now hail ! now hail, Affonso !
 A wretched sinner I,
 For sixty years of grief and tears
 That dwell this mountain nigh :
 Yet thus to thee this night by me,
 Speaketh the Lord on high :
 Look that thou pass at morrow mass,
 And gaze upon the sky.

“ Day breaks upon the Serra,
 And the early rays are flung
 From peak to peak of dark Ourique,
 And morrow mass was sung.
 He clad him in his armour,
 He girded on his sword,
 And out went Count Affonso,
 At the bidding of the Lord.”

A vision appears in the skies, and announces to Affonso his approaching victory, and his elevation to the throne of Portugal.

“ The Christian lines of battle
 The holy count enfold,
 As standing in their centre
 That vision strange he told.
 From rear to van the war-shout ran,
 From wing to wing it came,
 ‘ God save our king Affonso,
 The first that bears the name !’

“ To battle, lords, to battle !
 The foe comes on amain ;
 The five kings of the infidels
 Are drawing towards the plain :
 They range their twelve battalions,
 Each in his several post,
 And every such battalion
 Triples the Christian host.”

Space forbids us to carry further the tale of the onslaught ; which is, however, told with energy and feeling.

XVIII.—*The Sacraments. Two explanatory Treatises. By the Rev. T. TUNSTALL SMITH, M.A.* London : Hatchards.

AT the opening of this work we meet with some positions which seem to be of rather questionable orthodoxy. “ Before the Incarnation of the Son of God, the Holy Ghost proceeded from simple Deity, and his rays had then *comparatively little power to renew our fallen nature.*” (p. 4.) “ The cistern, so to speak, out of whose fulness the Holy Spirit is now derived, is the *human nature of Christ.*” (p. 5.) These passages seem, as far as we can understand them, to imply that the Holy Spirit proceeds from *the human nature* of the Son, which seems to us to be not only a questionable, but an untrue doctrine. Where in Scripture, or in the creeds of the Church, can any such doctrine be found? If the Holy Ghost proceeds from the human nature of Christ, as well as from the divine, his nature is also human, and there is, therefore, more than one person in the Trinity who shares our nature. This seems to us to be highly erroneous doctrine ; in fact, as far as these expressions go, they involve the Monophysite and Macedonian heresies. The pretended procession of the Holy Ghost from the human, as well as from the divine nature of Christ, seems to involve the unity of nature in Christ instead of the unity of person ; and the doctrine involved in such language, as the human nature of Christ being “ the cistern ” from which the Spirit is derived, leads to the inference that the Holy Ghost is a creature, as the Macedonians and Arians contended. Such indiscreet statements on the prime articles of the Christian faith form rather an unfortunate introduction to a discussion on the Sacraments. On the subject of Baptism, the author maintains that a new nature is not infused by regeneration, but that the former nature is changed : that justification is given at baptism ; but, in the case of an infant, “ implies no more than an admission into a federal relation to God ; an adoption into his family : ” that sin after baptism is pardonable ; that the Holy Ghost is given at

baptism. On the whole, the language employed by this writer on the subject of baptism seems scarcely consistent with the baptismal formularies of the Church of England. On the Eucharist, he advocates the views of such writers as Zuinglius, in opposition to the more Catholic doctrines of Calvin and Bucer. This sacrament ceases altogether to be a mystery, according to such views, and becomes a mere figure or representation. These sentiments appear to be, at once, inconsistent with the simplicity of Scriptural truth, and with the formularies of the Church. We cannot recommend this work as a safe guide to the doctrine of the Sacraments.

XIX.—*Theodore, his Brother and Sisters; or, a Summer at Seymour Hall.* Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM NEVINS. London: Sharpe.

A PLEASING little tale, in which the education of a Christian family, with continual reference to the baptismal covenant, is described. The volume comprises several interesting tales, and is well adapted for children of eleven or twelve years of age. The Editor states that his task has been little more than that of standing sponsor for the sentiments and opinions expressed, so far as they are of a doctrinal character.

XX.—*The Festivals and Fasts familiarly explained. A new Edition.* London: Burns.

AN excellent little work, which may be circulated amongst children without any fear. Its language is familiar, and its whole tone unexceptionable in every respect. We view with pleasure the appearance of such works as this.

XXI.—1. *Fourteen Meditations for a Fortnight* of JOHN GERHARD.
2. *Doctrine and Discipline of the English Church*, by PETER HEYLIN. 3. *Manual of Devotions for Confirmation and First Communion.*

THESE little volumes form portions of a series of very cheap publications, of a religious and devotional character, published by Messrs. Burns, and J. H. Parker, of Oxford. The first and third of the works above-mentioned will be found generally useful, though we could have wished that in the latter the scholastic style and title of the "Seven deadly sins" had been omitted. Language of this kind, unnecessarily introduced, is calculated to convey mistaken impressions, which ought not to exist. The little work extracted from Peter Heylin is apparently above the comprehension of those for whom this series of publications is intended.

XXII.—*Bohn's Standard Library.*

THE most recent volumes of this interesting and extremely low-priced series, which we have seen, are the second and concluding volume of Beckman's History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins, with additions and corrections by Dr. Francis and Dr. Griffiths; and the second volume of translations from Schiller's works, including the remainder of the History of the Revolt in the Netherlands, and the Historical Dramas of Wallenstein's Camp, the Piccolomini, the Death of Wallenstein, and Wilhelm Tell. These translations have been executed by persons eminently qualified for this task, and the volume before us is amongst the most interesting which has yet appeared of this library. We sincerely hope that the publisher, to whom the public is indebted for his endeavours to provide instruction and entertainment for them at a cheap rate, will obtain some return for the large capital which must have been invested in the publications before us.

XXIII.—*On the Reverence due to Holy Places. By the Author of "Remarks on English Churches."* Third Edition. London: Murray. Oxford: Parker.

To few writers is the cause of Church restoration so much indebted as to the excellent Author of the little work before us, of which we are happy to observe the third edition with considerable additions and improvements. Mr. Markland has wisely directed his efforts to the removal of one of the great sources of irreligion in the present day, the want of reverence for holy places. It is his especial wish to address the younger members of the Church, that, to use his own words, "a reverence for holy places may, by God's blessing, even by this simple effort, be lastingly impressed, not only on a portion of the present generation, but on their posterity also, who may be led to 'know the same, and the children which are yet unborn;' so in the beautiful language of St. Augustin, 'in nido ecclesiæ tuti plumescerent, et alas charitatis alimento sanæ fidei nutrent.'"

The following passage expresses feelings and principles with which every genuine churchman will entirely sympathize.

"When the love of some members of our Church has waxed cold, and, faithless to their vows, they have forsaken the altars where they both received themselves and administered to others the bread of life, we may point out, as a beacon light, to all, and especially to those who are wandering in doubt and error, the bright example of a prelate of our Church, who, in days of rebuke and peril, was distinguished for his piety, his constancy, his meekness, his charity; 'one who boldly rebuked vice, and patiently suffered for the truth's sake;' one who, 'for his love to the Chief Shepherd, taught his flock how they might make the knowledge and love of God both their daily study and practice;'

and who in his last but undying declaration made a profession, which 'like a father's commandment and a mother's instruction,' should be 'bound about the heart' of every dutiful and loyal son of the Church of England.

" 'As for my religion, I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of east and west; more particularly I die in the communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrines of the cross.' "

We should be happy to see this excellent work circulated widely in every parish in England: its effects could not but be most salutary in all cases. The hints and suggestions which it supplies in reference to the arrangements and care of churches and cemeteries, and on matters concerning public worship, are most judicious and unexceptionable, and conveyed in a style so pleasing that they must have influence with all who may peruse them.

xxiv.—*A Hand-book round Jerusalem, or Companion to the Model.* By the Rev. JOHN BLACKBURN, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

THE value of this book is chiefly as an explanation of the Model of Jerusalem, executed by and under the superintendence of the Author. It embraces a compendious view of the information brought to light by the researches of modern writers and antiquarians.

xxv.—*A Manual of Gothic Architecture.* By F. A. PALEY, M.A. London: Van Voorst.

THIS Manual may be recommended to all students of Gothic Architecture as very beautifully got up, and as evincing a thorough knowledge of the subject.

xxvi.—*Songs of the Wilderness.* By GEORGE J. MOUNTAIN, D.D., Lord Bishop of Montreal. London: Rivingtons.

THE object of this little volume is one which must enlist the sympathies of every Churchman. It is designed to engage the interest of the public on behalf of the urgent spiritual wants of Canada, and to contribute towards the erection of a bishopric in that province. There is throughout these poems a tone of piety and of feeling, which inspires respect for their author, and will, we doubt not, render them acceptable to a considerable class of readers.

xxvii.—*Miscellaneous.*

THE Charge of the Lord Bishop of London, (Fellowes, Rivingtons,) recently delivered, is probably so well known to

our readers, that it can be scarcely necessary for us to do more than refer briefly to its publication. Considering the mode in which the bishop's suggestions on rubrical observances in his lordship's last Charge were received, it became a subject of some anxiety and interest, how the whole question would be treated on the present occasion. On the whole, as far as we can gather, the Charge has given general satisfaction. It is a very candid exposition of views and intentions which every one must respect, and of difficulties which, if fairly considered, will remove all those imputations of vacillation of principle, or want of sincerity, which it has been our lot to hear. We sincerely trust that there may be no more difference on questions of minute detail, but that, under the difficulties of the case, all parties may act in harmony for the promotion of the welfare of the Church, and the reasonable carrying out of her directions on all great points, without attempting compulsion in reference to minor points of temporary difference.

The "Form of Prayer used in laying the first stone of Trinity College Chapel, Glenalmond," &c., by the Rev. Charles Wordsworth, M.A., Warden (Rivingtons), will have afforded the highest gratification to the numerous class who are interested in the welfare of the Scottish Church, and of the seminary for the education of clergy, which has recently been erected at Glenalmond. The Address of the Warden on the occasion, is worthy of his reputation as a scholar, a divine, and a sincere and earnest Christian.

"A Discourse on the Necessity of providing an enlightened Education for the Christian Ministry," &c., by Edmund Kell, M.A. (London: Simpkin and Marshall), is a sermon by a Unitarian preacher, who inveighs against the system of instruction at Oxford and Cambridge, and urges the necessity of throwing open the Universities to Dissenters of all kinds. "Education for the People," by the Rev. Scott F. Surtees (London: Bell), proposes a plan of national education, in opposition to that of Dr. Hook. Mr. Surtees is of opinion that the religious education of Churchmen and Dissenters can very easily be conducted together, and is desirous of union between them in various ways.

"The Village Wake," a sermon by the Rev. John Boustead, M.A. (Painter), has the object of promoting a religious observance of the annual feast-day kept in commemoration of the consecration of churches, which has degenerated into an occasion of excess and immorality. "The Cause of Blight and Pestilence in the Vegetable Creation," by John Parkin, M.D. (Hatchards), adduces reasons for believing that the potato blight will continue, and that other classes of vegetables will also become infected, from whence the author takes occasion to suggest extensive

fisheries, as the only remedy against famine. His pamphlet is deserving of attention. "The Autobiography of Thomas Platter," from the German (Wertheim), is a very amusing history of the life of a contemporary of Zuinglius, and adherent of the Reformation. "Pauperism," by the Rev. R. B. Bradley (Whittaker and Co.), proposes the abolition of the present Poor Laws, and the substitution of a vast benefit society, supported partly by the poor, and partly by the rate-payers, and which would afford liberal relief to widows, and aged and infirm persons. "Sharpe's Magazine," the cheapest periodical of the day, continues to maintain its character for ability and general interest. Adapted for family reading, it supplies a greater quantity and variety of matter than other periodicals of four times the price.

Mr. Prowett, of Caius College, Cambridge, has published an English metrical translation of the "Prometheus Unbound" of Æschylus. It is preceded by some observations on the differences between the ancient and modern drama. The translation seems well and carefully done.

Four more little volumes of the "Devotional Library" have reached us, from the editorial pen of the indefatigable Dr. Hook. They bear the respective titles of—"Short Meditations for every Day in the Year:"—Part I. Advent to Lent. "The Crucified Jesus; a devotional Commentary on the 22nd and 23rd Chapters of St. Luke," by Anthony Horneck, D.D. "The Retired Christian exercised in Divine Thoughts and Heavenly Meditations," by Bishop Ken; and "Helps to Self-Examination," by W. F. Hook, D.D. The first of these four report assigns to a female pen, and we are specially pleased with it.

"The English Churchman's Calendar for the year of our Lord 1847, compiled from the Book of Common Prayer," is as distinct as red and black, Old English, Roman, and Italic types can make it. It really seems to be an useful publication. It adheres to what is expressed in our Prayer-book; suggests where that is silent; and "has nothing whatever to do with" the "Roman Catholic rules, whatever may be the intrinsic superiority of those rules."

Mr. Burns' "Illustrated Catalogue" is one of the prettiest books of the season.—We have to thank the authors for two or three more small publications, which the press of matter obliges us to defer a notice of, as we have been unable as yet to bestow on them the attention which they seem to deserve.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

AUSTRALIA.—*Visitation of the Diocese*.—We are delighted to find, by a Visitation Journal of the Lord Bishop of Australia, recently published by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, that the Church in that colony is fast recovering from the state of prostration which the Bishop had to lament over on the occasion of his last visitation ¹.

The bishop began his visitation tour in the last days of the year 1844, and continued it till the month of December, 1845. In the course of it he consecrated twelve churches, and laid the foundation, or otherwise provided for the commencement, of eighteen churches and chapels. Of the churches to which the Bishop referred in 1842, as remaining in an unfinished state, three only are now unconsecrated, one of them on account of the impossibility of procuring a minister to take charge of it. This, the want of clergy, seems now to be the great difficulty with which the Bishop of Australia has to contend, and for the removal of which he makes an earnest appeal to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, that they would consider the “destitute condition to which he is reduced by the want of additional clergymen, and the deplorable consequences which must arise unless that want can be by some means speedily removed.” He ordained two deacons in December, 1844; but since that time, says the Bishop, “no suitable candidates for admission have been presented. During the same interval the diocese has lost the services of several; others are at this time completely or partially disabled by sickness; and, in the event of any other casualties diminishing our remaining numbers, it would not be in my power to provide for the ecclesiastical services of the diocese, or to keep open the several churches, much less to occupy the additional ones, of the actual erection of some of which, and of the still further proposed augmentation of their numbers, I have now transmitted a statement.”

As regards the social condition of the diocese, the following observations of the Bishop will be read with interest:—“The transportation of felons to this colony has been discontinued six years; and the rapidity with which nearly all traces of the convict system have disappeared in that short interval, is as gratifying as it is surprising. Almost the only remaining mark of its existence is the stockade at Blackheath; and the number of prisoners does not at this time exceed seventy.” And at the close of his journal he adds:—“One other circumstance ought for the credit of the country to be

¹ See English Review, vol. ii. p. 224, 495, 496.

recorded. Although continually travelling through the most lonely and unfrequented parts of it by day, and sleeping by night in the remotest stations, exposed to every outrage, had there been the slightest disposition to commit acts of violence, being also perfectly unprotected, except on two or three occasions for a very short time by the attendance of a single mounted policeman, I never met with the slightest molestation, threat, or rudeness; but experienced in all places, and on the part of all persons, from the highest to the lowest, the most perfect attention, civility, kindness, hospitality, and respect. It is right that this should be mentioned, in order to correct any impression that may prevail to the disadvantage of the general character of the people of this colony; my sincere persuasion being, that there can be no country in which an unprotected solitary traveller could have spent so much time, and passed over such an extended space, with a more perfect freedom from annoyance or injury. Some weight is due to this testimony, resting upon the experience of the sixteen years which I have now completed here, in journeyings often in the care of all the churches; but, thanks be to God, without attendant perils of any kind."

FRANCE.—*Protestant Religious Societies*.—The following summary of the receipts and expenditure of the Protestant religious societies in France during the year 1845-6, is taken from the reports read at their annual meetings, held at Paris in the spring of this year:—

	Receipts. francs	Expenditure. francs
Société Évangélique	231,077	239,270
— des Missions	104,173	162,035
— d' Instruction primaire	59,500	58,600
— biblique française et étrangère	46,034	46,945
— biblique protestante	32,897	29,281
— des intérêts généraux du Protestantisme français	31,075	33,270
— des traités religieux	29,082	25,496
— de Prévoyance et de secours mutuels	20,621	17,406
Total	554,459	612,303

The most important of them, the *Société évangélique*, whose proceedings have been noticed in a former number of our Review², employed during the last year 146 agents, of which thirty-four were ministers, and five-and-twenty evangelists or lay preachers.

GERMANY.—*Critical situation of the Evangelic Church of Prussia; the General Synod*.—The deliberations of this assembly, unexpectedly suspended at the end of August last, have had the effect of accelerating the crisis; the approach of which has been clearly indicated by the tendencies manifested of late years both among the clergy and laity of the evangelic communions of Germany. The fearful question, whether the

² See English Review, vol. v. pp. 493—503.

faith of the first, or the infidelity of the nineteenth century, is to have the ascendancy in these communions, has at last been brought to an issue in the representative assembly of the Evangelic Church of Prussia, and the victory, we grieve to say, is for the present on the side of infidelity. The suspension of the deliberations of the synod has thrown the conflict back upon the field of theological literature, and the more dangerous field of public opinion; there it may be left to rage for a time: but the situation of affairs has become such, that it will not be in the power of the king to delay the moment much longer when a decisive course must be taken, either for the expulsion of rationalism from the Church, reducing the latter, it is to be feared, to a small minority of the nation, or for its legal recognition, and the consequent extinction, at no distant period, of the "United Evangelic Church" as a communion entitled to bear the Christian name.

Before we enter into the particulars of this unexpected, though by no means surprising, result of a measure intended by the king to open the way for the recognition of the Church and the restoration of orthodoxy within her, we will resume our report of the proceedings of the synod, at the point at which it was broken off in our last³, and continue it as far as the notices of the proceedings of the synod, which have also been interrupted, will enable us to do so.

The subject of deliberation in the last sessions reported by us was, it will be remembered, the course of training for the ministry, and the employment of the candidates. In connexion with this point the following statistical data, furnished by the *Berliner Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung*, will be read with interest, as they present a clear view of the actual state of things to which the discussion of the synod applies. The population of Prussia, belonging to the Evangelic Communion, amounts to 9,428,911, the number of ministers to 5839, which gives an average of rather more than 1600 souls under the charge of one clergyman⁴. At the close of the year 1845 there were 1072 candidates who had passed their "examination *pro venia concionandi*," and 1446 candidates who had obtained their certificate *pro ministerio*, that is to say, altogether 2518 young men destined and qualified for the ministry, equal to nearly one-half of the acting clergy; of these only 120 were employed by the Church in the capacity of catechists; all the rest being thrown back upon secular employments, and that for an average period of fourteen years; a period which, under the present arrangements, is likely to be still further protracted, as during the six years from 1839 to 1844, the average number of candidates promoted to ecclesiastic offices was only 180 annually, while the number of expectants was swelled at the rate of 230 candidates examined *pro venia concionandi*, and 261 *pro ministerio*. Even if all those who have passed

³ See p. 212 of the present volume.

⁴ According to the same authority, the number of Roman Catholic subjects in the Prussian dominions is 5,820,123; the number of clergymen, 5577, of which 3559 are incumbents, and 2018 curates; the average of souls under the charge of one clergyman being 1040.

their examination, were at once brought into service, as assistant ministers, agreeably to the wish expressed by the synod, the number of souls under the charge of one clergyman would still be upwards of 1100.

From the consideration of the present system of preparation for the ministry, the synod passed on, in its 16th and 17th sessions, (July 10th and 13th,) to the question of superannuation. In the report of the committee the subject was divided under two heads: 1, the rules to be observed in removing a minister from active service to the superannuation list; and, 2, the provision to be made for him in the way of pension. On the first point the committee was desirous of securing to the ministers themselves the right of retiring after a certain period of service, and to the authorities the power of removing them without incurring the imputation of harshness, and therefore proposed to fix the completion of the 75th year as the "canonical" period of retirement from ministerial functions; giving to the consistory the power of extending beyond that period the active service of any clergyman, whom his patron or his parish might wish to retain. To this proposal many objections were raised in the course of the debate. It was urged that the connexion between the pastor and his flock was not to be regarded in the same light as a civil employment, and that actual incapacity alone could justify its dissolution; that the prospect of being dependent on the good pleasure of his patron or his parish for his continuance in office, after the attainment of his 75th year, was likely to interfere with the free and fearless discharge of his functions; that many clergymen were quite equal to their duties at the age of 75, and that although as mere men of business they might not be as able as younger men, the weight of their spiritual influence was likely to be increased, rather than diminished, by their years. More particularly it was insisted on, that in the earliest and best times of the Church, aged clergymen were looked up to with more than ordinary veneration; that in those days a system of superannuation was not even dreamt of; and one speaker aptly remarked, that when the Apostle St. John, by reason of his advanced age, could say no more to his flock, than, "Little children, love one another!" this would scarcely have been considered a sufficient reason for proposing that he should retire from the apostolic office. It was further suggested, that the difficulties arising from the age and consequent infirmity of the minister might in most cases be met by providing an assistant minister, to lighten his duties; and it was pointed out, that in cases where the retirement of a clergyman might on other grounds appear desirable, the process of superannuation at a period of life arbitrarily fixed upon as a general rule, would prove a most inefficient remedy. Upon these and other less important considerations the proposal of the committee was rejected by a decided majority; and the whole subject was referred back to the same committee, with directions to add to their numbers, and to report to the synod upon the following two questions: 1, the best means of making the ecclesiastic authority acquainted with any case of incapacity which might arise; and, 2, the

best course of proceeding for establishing in a legal manner the fact of such incapacity, and the consequent necessity of superannuation.

On the second point, the provision to be made for superannuated ministers, the following questions arose: Whether the superannuated minister should continue to draw a part of his official income in the shape of retiring pension, thus crippling the resources of his successor, or whether the latter should come at once into full possession of the income attached to his office; and if the latter, or if the portion contributed from the official income towards the support of the superannuated minister were but small and insufficient, whether the pension was to be provided by the State, or by the parish, or from a separate pension fund to be formed by an annual tax upon all ecclesiastical revenues, or in what proportions those different sources might severally contribute. It was ultimately determined, that the present system, according to which the superannuated minister continues to draw from one third to one half of his official income, should be maintained, and that in addition to this, a pension fund should be established in each province, to be supported in part by the contributions of the clergy themselves, with assistance from the State, and to be administered by the public authorities.

The publication of abstracts of the proceedings of the synod had proceeded thus far, when in the 53rd session, on the 26th of August, the synod determined, that for the future only full reports of the proceedings, with the names of the speakers, should be given to the public. Agreeably to this resolution an official report of the acts of the synod is expected; and in the mean time the information respecting its deliberations is confined to certain documents which have been published, and so much of the history of their discussion and adoption by the synod as has transpired through private channels. The reasons for which the synod came to this determination, do not clearly appear; the *Berliner Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung* complains of it as an unwarrantable proceeding, which no one could have expected; the probability is, that such a course was deemed indispensable to avoid misrepresentation, considering the importance of the questions on which the synod deliberated during its later sessions, and the strong party feeling which its resolutions called forth.

The whole business transacted at the synod, up to the time of its dissolution or prorogation, forms but a very small proportion of the amount of business which was in course of preparation. No less than thirty-five reports on as many different subjects had been drawn up by the eight committees⁵; of which the synod had only had seven under its consideration, when its labours were brought to a close by royal mandate. The seven subjects in question are;—

1. The administration of oaths.
2. Alleviation of the administrative functions of the clergy.
3. Preparation for the ministerial office.

⁵ See p. 207 of this volume.

4. Superannuation of aged clergymen.

5. The obligation of the symbolical books as a rule of faith, for the maintenance of purity and unity of doctrine.

6. The union question.

7. Constitutional organization of the Church of the six eastern provinces of the kingdom.

It is the fifth of these subjects which created in the synod itself the warmest debates, produced the strongest excitement out of doors, and occasioned the interference of the king with the continuance of the synodical sittings. As far as we can gather from the different accounts which are lying before us, the synod brought this subject to a close in its 39th session, on the tenth of August, by adopting a form of ordination engagement, which virtually substitutes a new symbol of faith in the place of the Apostles' Creed; and on the 22nd of the same month the synod was surprised by the following communication from the president, Minister von Eichhorn: "The synod has now been in full action for the space of three months; 33 reports of committees are of themselves sufficient to attest the diligence and devotion of its members; besides which, their strength has been put in requisition by 49 plenary sessions. It would be almost cruel to impose on them a longer continuance of their labours, and a longer detention from their homes, and from the pressing official duties which await them there. It is, indeed, much to be lamented that there has not been sufficient time to deliberate upon the matters which are still in progress: this I feel the more, as I have learned by experience how much advantage is to be derived for the benefit of the Church from the intelligence and good feeling of an assembly of men so highly distinguished; and when I look at the matters which have been deliberated upon, my regret is still further increased. I have, however, yesterday made my report on the subject to his majesty the king, and he too is exceedingly grieved that an assembly, which has so greatly approved itself, and has worked together so well, should not have the opportunity of giving its counsel on the remaining questions also; but he too perceives, that both the ecclesiastical and the lay-members of the synod may not be detained any longer from their ordinary official duties, and those who are not public servants, from their private avocations; and he, therefore, permits this assembly to close its labours at the end of this month, but in such a manner as to be able to reconstitute itself at any time upon his majesty's invitation, in order to advise on the remaining subjects of debate; the time at which this may be done to be determined hereafter."

In pursuance of this intimation, the synod proceeded with all possible dispatch to bring the debate on the question then in hand—the project of an ecclesiastical constitution—to a close; and having finished it on the 28th of August, the 56th and last session was held on the 29th, when the president formally prorogued it, with an intimation that the king intended to convene it again in the course of next year; after which the synod was closed with prayer and a psalm. There was a plentiful exchange of farewell speeches and parting civilities; among

others, the synod presented to the president, Minister von Eichhorn, an album, to which each member had furnished a contribution. But even from this testimony of personal regard party spirit was not excluded; the burgomaster of Berlin having inserted, as his contribution, a passage from the famous rationalistic address, presented to the king, in August, 1845, by the municipality of Berlin, for which that body was personally reprimanded by the king⁶; the burgomaster expressly alleging the "address" as the source from which his quotation was taken. As an indication of the spirit in which this great religious conflict is carried on, it deserves to be mentioned, that for thus indirectly bearding the king, under cover of participation in an act of civility offered to his minister, the burgomaster was complimented, a few days afterwards, by a vote of the Gustavus-Adolphus association, as a man "in whose breast dwelt truth and freedom, fearlessness and courage, *even in face of the throne.*"

Having thus completed the history of the synod, we shall now lay before our readers the two most important documents, which it drew up before its dissolution; viz., the new form of ordination engagement, and the PROJECT OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION. The latter document is as follows:—

PREAMBLE.

§ 1. It is desirable to establish at length in the eastern provinces⁷ a constitution founded upon an amalgamation of the consistorial and the presbyterial systems, in the manner following:—

§ 2. This development of the constitution of the Evangelic Church to a state of greater independence on the part of the Church, is agreeable to the principles of the Evangelic Church, and is intended to promote the more perfect building up of the congregation on the ground of evangelic faith and confession.

CHAPTER I.

Of the local congregation, or parish, and the presbytery.

§ 3. Every parish is to have a presbytery, consisting of the minister, or, as the case may be, the whole of the ministers, of the Church, and a certain number of lay members (elders). The number of lay members is determined by the parish according to its wants, subject to the approbation of the consistory: the *minimum* being four members, i. e. two elders, properly speaking, one churchwarden, and one deacon.

§ 4. The lay members hold office for six years, go out by rotation from three to three years, and are re-eligible. Those who have served the office twice, are "honourable elders," and as such eligible for the diocesan synod.

⁶ See English Review, vol. iv. pp. 504—506.

⁷ The western provinces of Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia have been for some years in the enjoyment of an ecclesiastical constitution of their own.

§ 5. The parish elects the lay members of the presbytery by a majority of votes. The presbytery guides the parish in the election by making propositions, to which the parish, however, is not bound to adhere.

§ 6. Qualified electors are all Christian householders who do not live upon alms, and who are of unblemished reputation. Eligible are those only who, besides a blameless conversation, attest their Church feeling by attendance on public worship and on the Holy Communion.

§ 7. If in larger parishes (exceeding 1000 souls) inconvenience should arise, or be apprehended, from the congregating together of all the householders for election purposes, the election of the elders may be effected by deputy electors chosen by the whole of the householders, either conjointly or in sections. The arrangement of matters of detail rests with the diocesan synod.

§ 9.⁸ A set formulary is to be provided for solemnly introducing the elders elect, taking their official engagement, and assigning to them their places of honour in the Church.

§ 10. The duties of the presbytery are as follows :—

1. To maintain discipline and good morals, and to promote a Christian spirit in the parish.

2. To see to outward order in divine service and to the observance of the Lord's day.

3. To administer and superintend the local property of the Church, of charitable foundations and schools, within the limits of legal competency.

4. To exercise inspection and control over the buildings of the Church.

5. To take care of the poor and the sick, as far as falls within the province of the Church.

6. To take a part in superintending the school, and guarding the influence of the Church over the Christian education of youth.

7. To act and vote in the name of the parish in matters of alteration in the liturgy, in the introduction or abrogation of particular services, as far as the parish has a voice in these matters, and provided that they are not of such a nature as to require a direct reference to all the electors of the parish; to take the preparatory measures for the exercise of parochial rights, in the appointment of ministers, and the settlement of calls.

8. To represent the parish in all legal transactions, with the concurrence of the provincial authority; and to appoint the inferior officers of the Church, except in cases where the appointment is already vested in particular persons or corporations.

§ 11. For particular departments of these duties, the special offices of churchwarden and deacon are appointed within the presbytery; the churchwarden undertaking the financial administration of the Church,

⁸ § 8 of the draft of the committee was omitted altogether; it had reference to the election of ministers by the parish in some localities.

and the superintendence of the buildings and other property, the deacon the management of the poor. Additional deacons may be appointed in the presbytery for the various branches of Christian charity towards the distressed and the necessitous of every kind. In the smallest presbyteries of four members, one churchwarden and one deacon is appointed; in other cases the number of deacons is to be determined according to the wants of the parish, agreeably to the provisions of § 3.

§ 12. To the minister it belongs, 1. to preside in the presbytery, and in case of an equality of votes, to give the casting vote; 2. to direct the elders and deacons in matters affecting the cure of souls; 3. he is bound by the decisions of the presbytery in matters belonging to its cognizance; 4. he is independent of the presbytery in regard to the personal functions of his office, in matters of doctrine, cure of souls, administration of the sacraments, and all ministerial acts; 5. if the elders should see any thing amiss in the official conduct of the minister, they are entitled and bound to notify the same to the superior authority; 6. the consent of the presbytery is necessary for admission to the rite of confirmation.

§ 13. The use of Churches for other purposes than those of public worship and other means of edification recognized by the Evangelic Church, requires the consent of both the presbytery and the consistory, as well as in certain cases that of the patron. On the question, what acts, besides those prescribed in the liturgy, fall within the scope of the worship and other means of edification recognized by the Evangelic Church, the consistory decides.

§ 14. The presbytery may employ assistant deacons for specific services connected with the functions of the diaconate. These, however, are not members of the presbytery: still if they are employed permanently, though only during pleasure, they obtain an official character, and are solemnly introduced into their office.

§ 18⁹. The rights of patrons are not interfered with by the appointment of the presbytery; but if a patron reserves to himself the right of appointing a steward for the administration of the property of the Church, he nominates the churchwarden from among the presbytery; he is not, as patron, a member of the presbytery, but may become so by election, if he is willing to be elected, and to renounce, for the time being, the right of nominating the churchwarden.

§ 19. Questions respecting alienation of parochial property, parochial rates, and other like questions, on which the parochial officers are not competent to decide, as the law now stands, cannot hereafter be decided by the presbytery. In small parishes such questions are to be decided by the whole of the householders; in larger parishes (above 500 souls), by a body of parochial representatives, whose votes bind the parish; but all such decisions require to be confirmed by the provincial

⁹ Three paragraphs are omitted here, two respecting matters of parochial administration, registration, &c., and the third respecting ecclesiastical discipline.

authority. The number of these officers, and the time for which they hold office, is determined in the case of each parish by a resolution of the presbytery, subject to the approbation of the provincial authority, with the advice of the moderators of the diocesan synod.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Diocesan Synod.

The diocesan synod consists of the superintendent, all the clergy of the diocese who have an independent charge, not a mere assistant office, and a lay deputy for every parish which has a presbytery of its own. Several parishes united under the charge of one minister, may, at their option, either appoint a common representative, or exercise the right of appointment in turns. If there should be reason to apprehend too great an inequality in the number of the clerical and lay members of the diocesan synod, the provincial synod shall, with the concurrence of the ecclesiastic authority, be empowered to provide a remedy. The assistant ministers employed within the diocese, are to attend the deliberations of the diocesan synod, with the right of giving their counsel, but without the power of voting. The permanently appointed ministers of public institutions, and the military chaplains, have the full right of sitting and voting in the diocesan synod.

§ 21. The superintendent presides over the diocesan synod. He is appointed by the sovereign, from among three candidates, whose names are presented to him by the diocesan synod, acting on the suggestion of the moderators of the provincial synod; he holds his office for life. In addition to the superintendent, the diocesan synod elects, subject to the confirmation of the consistory, a clerical secretary for six years; the two together form the board of moderators of the synod.

§ 22. The diocesan synod meets at least once a year.

§ 23. Its functions are:

1. To discuss Church affairs.
2. To report on propositions made by the consistory.
3. To make propositions to both the consistory and the provincial synod.
4. To take a part in the supervision of the religious condition of the diocese.
5. To take a part in the exercise of discipline over ministers and elders.

§ 24. The superintendent is bound by the decisions of the diocesan synod, in regard to the matters above specified; but in all other respects he is considered as the organ of the consistory, and as such independent of the synod.

§ 25. The superintendent may, in case of need, with the concurrence of the synod, and subject to the confirmation of the consistory, employ the lay assessor of the synod as an assistant for the dispatch of external Church business.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Provincial Synod.

§ 26. The provincial synod consists of the following members:—
1. the general superintendent of the province; 2. all the superintendents of the dioceses and the military chaplains in chief; 3. a clerical and a lay deputy chosen by every diocesan synod; 4. in provinces in which there is an university, a professor of the faculty of theology, and a professor of the faculty of law, chosen by the evangelic members of the respective faculties; in the province where there is no university, a professor of law is to be deputed to the provincial synod by some neighbouring university; 5. the director of the theological seminary, which applies only to the seminary of Wittenberg; 6. the director of the schoolmasters' seminary; if there is more than one such seminary in the province, the directors attend in rotation; 7. an evangelic director of a gymnasium, chosen by all the evangelic directors of the gymnasia of the province.

§ 27. The general superintendent is the president of the province. He is appointed for life by the king; but before the appointment is made, the provincial synod is consulted on the subject. The synod elects, besides, an assessor, who is at the same time the representative of the general superintendent, and a clerical secretary for six years; these together form the board of moderators of the provincial synod.

§ 28. A royal commissary is entitled to be present at the synod, to watch over the rights of the royal supremacy. All the members of the consistory likewise may, with permission of their superior authority, take part in the deliberations of the synod; but without the right of voting.

§ 29. The provincial synod meets at least once in three years.

§ 30. The provincial synod has to watch over the religious condition of the province, in matters of doctrine, worship, and discipline; and to bring defects or complaints under the notice of the consistory. For this purpose the propositions made by the diocesan synods are to be communicated to it by the consistory. The synod deposes members of its own body to take a part in the examination of the candidates, with a right of voting. In proceedings against a clergyman on account of doctrine, or of conduct originating in his doctrinal views, the consistory is not competent by itself to pass final sentence; but after the evidence is closed, the consistory is to call in for this purpose a number of members of the provincial synod, equal to the number of the consistory; such members to be elected for this function by the synod from three to three years, in equal proportions from its clerical and its lay members; and, in addition to these, two members of the faculty of theology, one of which is to be the synodal member, and the other elected by the faculty from three to three years. These, together with the consistory, form the court of judicature in matters of discipline. The synod passes resolutions in Church matters; but such resolutions do not become the

law of the Church, until they have received the sanction of the provincial government. The synod reports on Church questions referred to it by the ecclesiastic authorities. The fundamental, peculiar, and legally recognized elements of the Church-constitution of the province in regard to doctrine, worship, and ecclesiastic organization, cannot be altered without the consent of the provincial synod. Nevertheless, in all general matters, the provincial synods are subject to the decisions of the general synod of the kingdom.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the General Synod.

§ 31. The general synod consists of the following members: 1. the presidents of the consistories; 2. the general superintendents and the army provost, or supreme military chaplain; 3. the four royal chaplains; 4. three clerical and three lay members of each province, chosen by the provincial synod from among its own members; 5. a member of the faculty of theology, and a member of the faculty of law, from each of the universities of the land.

§ 32. The president is chosen by the king, either in or out of the synod. The synod elects a vice-president and the secretaries.

§ 33. The general synod meets every nine years, and is convened on special occasions according to the king's pleasure. An extraordinary convocation may be suggested by the provincial synods.

§ 34. The general synod passes resolutions on Church matters, which, however, do not become the law of the Church until they have received the royal sanction. It reports on subjects referred to it by the supreme ecclesiastical authority. No alterations can be made in the fundamentals of the national Church, touching her discipline, liturgy, and constitution, without the consent of the general synod.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Consistories.

§ 35. To complete the constitutional system, it is desirable that a supreme consistory should in due time be appointed; in the first place, as a tribunal of appellate jurisdiction; and in the second place, as a council to be consulted on Church affairs, and empowered to exercise supreme administrative functions. It is to consist of a lay president, and of clerical and lay councillors, if possible in sufficient numbers for every province to be represented; the councillors to be chosen by the sovereign, with the advice of the supreme consistory, and on the suggestion of the Minister of Worship. The functions of the supreme consistory are: 1. to hear appeals from the decision of the consistories in cases of Church discipline; 2. to report to the minister of worship on matters of internal Church discipline, respecting the professors of theology in the Universities; no proceedings touching doctrine and Church life being allowable in those cases, without such report; 3.

to draw up the decrees founded on the resolutions of the provincial synods, which require to be confirmed by the Minister of Worship; 4. to report on the matters to be proposed to the provincial synods, and on general orders touching the doctrine, liturgy, discipline, and constitution of the Church; the Minister of Worship being restrained from acting in the matters aforesaid without such report; 5. to report on the filling up of appointments falling vacant in the consistories and the theological faculties of the Universities; 6. to interpose in the event of conflicts arising between the different ecclesiastical authorities, reserving the sanction of the Minister of Worship to its decisions; 7. to digest and dispatch any matters specially referred to it.

§ 36. The official engagement to be taken by the members of the consistories, and of the supreme consistory, to be so worded as to make it evident that they are ecclesiastical authorities.

CHAPTER VI.

Concluding enactment.

§ 37. The first organization of this constitutional system to be conducted on the principles set forth in § 17¹.

Such is the constitution which it is proposed by the synod to give to the Evangelic Church. Independently of the present state of religious parties in Germany, it is evident, on an attentive consideration of its provisions, that its character is far too democratic; and, what is still more objectionable, that it vests the power on which, practically and ultimately, the faith and the order of the Church would, under such a constitution, be dependent, in the hands of the laity at large, without any guarantee,—not even that of outward church communion, attendance on public worship, and participation in the Holy Eucharist,—for the correctness of their principles, or for their interest in the well-being of the Church, or in the maintenance of the truth of which the Church is the witness. To the dangers with which such an arrangement is pregnant, the consistorial power, which is nothing else than a system of demi-ecclesiastical, demi-political administration, deriving its power from the temporal sovereign, never could oppose a sufficient barrier; and nothing could more strikingly illustrate the evil consequences of the abrogation of Episcopacy, the divinely-ordained organ of church government, than this project of constitution.

But the imminent nature of the danger which the very proposal of such a project by the synod creates, becomes still more apparent, when regard is had to the existing state of religious opinion in Germany, as manifested by the proceedings of the synod on the fifth of the subjects before enumerated, viz., what engagements should be entered into on admission to the ministry, regarding soundness of doctrine. The victory of the rationalistic party on this subject, and the weak spirit of

¹ The paragraph in question having been omitted, it was resolved to leave the course to be pursued in the first organization to the discretion of the supreme ecclesiastical authority.

compromise for the sake of a hollow peace, which induced a large portion of the orthodox party to surrender, not only the distinctive symbolical documents of the German reformation, but the ancient catholic standards of orthodoxy, not excepting even the Apostles' Creed, are more significant, and more afflicting, as indications of the utter dilapidation into which the Protestantism of Germany has fallen, than all the previous evidences of that fearful fact put together. Hitherto, candidates for the ministry were, on their ordination, pledged, though not directly by an act of subscription, yet indirectly by an exhortation in which they were supposed to acquiesce, to the maintenance of orthodox doctrine, according to the standard of the Reformation, as expressed in the symbolical documents in force in the different communions and localities. The exhortation to this effect contained in the new Prussian *Kirchen Agende*² is as follows:—"You are to preach no other doctrine but that which is founded on God's pure and clear Word, the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testament, our only rule of faith; and contained in the three chief symbols,—(the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds, [*here, according to custom, the symbolical books are mentioned,*] and in the spirit of which the liturgy of our National Evangelic Church, to which you are to conform, is composed."

Loose as is this engagement, in the absence of any express assent, written or oral, to this exhortation on the part of the persons to be ordained, still it did substantially, and *in foro conscientiæ*, bind the clergy of the United Evangelic Church to these three several standards of belief: 1. to the three ancient Catholic Creeds; 2. to the symbolical documents of the Reformation; 3. to the doctrinal truths embodied and set forth in the public liturgy. But such an obligation is, as it now appears, in the opinion of the majority of both clergy and laity, an intolerable yoke, a restraint upon the liberty of "holding and teaching," altogether incompatible with the "free development" of the religious mind of the Evangelic Church. Accordingly, the synod adopted in its thirty-ninth session, on the 10th of August last, by a majority of 48 to 14 votes, the following formulary to be substituted for that hitherto in use, in the ordination of ministers:—

"Whoever is lawfully called to the office of public teaching in the Evangelic Church, and is to be consecrated to it by prayer and imposition of hands³, is to testify publicly, that he holds the common faith of the Evangelic Church; and therefore, first, that he takes for the rule of his doctrine neither his own opinions nor any other human traditions, but the word of God in the writings of the prophets and apostles; secondly, that he will, with the help of God, faithfully and diligently continue in that interpretation of Holy Scripture, which is given by the

² Compare the article on "Modern German Liturgies" in vol. iii. of the *English Review*, p. 297, &c.; and likewise the report of the proceedings of the provincial synods, in reference to this subject, in the same volume, pp. 493—495.

³ See, as to the light in which ordination is viewed in the Prussian Evangelic Church, our last number, p. 212.

Holy Ghost according to grammatical rule, in harmony with the confessions of universal Christendom, and with the confessions of the Evangelic Church, as testimonies of the fundamental facts and truths of salvation, and patterns of sound doctrine. (Here the assent of the candidate is asked and given.) And forasmuch as these facts and truths are chiefly the following: I ask you,—Whether, with universal Christendom upon earth, you confess God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit?—Further, Whether with the whole Evangelic Church you confess, in the first place, Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God, who made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, as the only Mediator, seeing that as a Prophet, mighty in deed and word before God, He preached peace, and was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification, and after that sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on High, and rules for ever as Head of the Church which He gathers together and sustains by the Word and the Holy Sacraments, through the Holy Spirit, which, sent by Him into our hearts, teaches us to call Jesus our Lord, and to know the grace which is given us in Him;—in the second place, Whether in the faith of that joyful message of the free grace of God in His blessed Son you will confess and testify that we all have sinned, but are made the children of God by faith in Christ, in whom being justified in God's sight by grace freely without works, we have the earnest of the incorruptible inheritance reserved in heaven, and that, by the same faith which working by love bringeth forth the fruits of the Spirit, we are in daily renewing of heart being prepared for the day of Jesus Christ. (Here follows the second affirmative answer of the candidate.)"

As it is said of affidavits, that they are more remarkable for what they do not contain, than for what they contain, so it is with regard to this new symbol. Leaving the symbolical books of the Reformation out of the question, there are in the three Catholic Creeds certain points which the modern theology of Germany either directly repudiates, or insists on treating as debatable questions; and which are skilfully omitted or evaded in the above formulary. Such points are the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the Eternal Godhead of the Son, the miraculous conception of Christ, His propitiatory death as an atoning sacrifice, His descent into hell, His personal ascension and advent, the final judgment, the resurrection of the flesh, and the inspiration and Divine authority of Holy Scripture. Special care is taken, accordingly, to provide a loophole for unbelief by the rejection of "all human traditions," under which term the symbolical books of the Reformation and the three creeds are of course included;—by the vague profession of general agreement with universal Christendom and the faith of the Evangelic Church, which, in the present day in Germany, may be understood to mean the far more numerous "enlightened" or rationalistic part of those who call themselves Christians, in contradistinction to the "pietists and obscurants;"—by the acknowledgment, not of the writings of the prophets, apostles, and evangelists, *as* the word of God, but of the word of God *in* the writings of the prophets and apostles (omit-

ting the evangelists); which leaves it open to the criticism of the rationalistic divines, to separate the genuine word of God in those writings from the alloy of human ignorance and prejudice with which, as they allege, it is mixed;—by the contradistinction between existing interpretations of God's Word, the ancient Catholic creeds and other standards of faith, which are received only as historical records of the way in which the Bible was understood in former ages, and “that interpretation of Holy Scripture which is given by the Holy Ghost *according to grammatical rule*,” which again means practically the critical theology of the rationalistic school;—by the confession of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, without asserting that the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit God, or, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three persons and one God;—by the confession of Jesus Christ as the only begotten Son of God, but avoiding the “God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God,” of the Nicene, and the “conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,” of the Apostles' Creed;—by the prominence given to the “preaching of peace” as the ground on which the mediatorial character of Christ rests, and the mention of His death in words of Holy Scripture in which the rationalistic school sees nothing but a statement that Christ sacrificed His life in His endeavour to benefit mankind by His purer doctrines, and which in that sense are perfectly compatible with a denial of the doctrine of the atonement, stigmatized by that school with the nick-name, “blood-theology;”—by the assertion of the exaltation and headship of our blessed Lord, again, in words of Holy Scripture, but words to which the German mind has long been accustomed to attribute no more than a figurative, or, as it is called, a “spiritual” sense;—by the admission that “we all have sinned,” that “we all are sinners,” but in such a manner as to blink the question of original sin, and to leave room for the notion that our sins are the result of a faulty education, and of the influence of ignorance and prejudice, (under which terms the orthodox belief is comprehended,) upon our convictions and our conduct.

We have thought it right to point out some of the insidious omissions and evasions which this formulary contains and provides for; because without a knowledge of the various subterfuges of German rationalism, the formulary cannot be appreciated in its true character, and in the bearing which its adoption by the synod has upon the prospects of the Evangelic Church. A series of able articles, exposing the dangerous tendency of the formulary, is contained in the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, the organ of the orthodox party; in which among other arguments, which our limits will not permit us to reproduce, the gross immorality is pointed out, of retaining the doctrines of the three creeds in the liturgy, so as to impose them as articles of faith on sponsors ⁴

⁴ Sponsors not unfrequently absolve themselves from the confession of the Apostles' Creed in baptism, by giving notice to the clergyman, that they do not wish the child to be baptized in the faith of the Apostles' Creed, but simply in the Christian faith, in a general way; a notice which is accepted and acted upon by some of the clergy.

and catechumens, and to make them the common lip profession of the congregation, with the minister at its head ; while the latter is, by his ordination engagements, specially absolved from belief in them and conformity to them in his own teaching.

The large majority with which the formulary was adopted, does not, it is said, afford a fair indication of the relative strength of the rationalistic and orthodox parties ; many of the members of the synod, who themselves hold orthodox opinions, having voted in favour of it, on the ground of its being a measure of "comprehension:" certain it is, that the minority too truly indicates, how small is the number of faithful witnesses prepared to oppose an uncompromising resistance to the progress of rationalism and latitudinarianism. That the practical results of the synod, as exhibited in this formulary and the project of an ecclesiastical constitution, are far, very far, from corresponding with the intentions and expectations of the king, as expressed in his speech at the opening of the synod⁵, is, indeed, most evident ; and what course remains now to be adopted, is a problem for the solution of which we are not surprised that his majesty desired to obtain some breathing-time.

INDIA.—*Success of the Missions in Southern India ; Seminaries for the Education of native Catechists.*—The accounts of the missions in Southern India, and especially the Tinnevely missions, contained in the *Madras Christian Intelligencer* for October last, are of a most gratifying and cheering character. During the last three years the number of baptized persons under the spiritual charge of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Southern India, has increased from 13,937 to 16,617. Independently of this accession of baptized members, the missionaries have under their instruction a large body of catechumens,—no less than 7144 at the date of the report, the end of June last,—who are subjected to a long probation previous to their admission into the Church. Of the 16,617 above mentioned, 4158 are men, 5129 women, and 7330 children ; the proportions among the catechumens are, 2035 men, 2099 women, and 3010 children,—the total number of the flock amounting to nearly 24,000 souls. For their spiritual guidance and instruction there are 20 missionaries, 10 East India catechists, 161 native catechists and readers, and 185 schoolmasters and mistresses. The number of schools is 198, the number of children under instruction 4421 boys and 1363 girls,—total 5784, with an average attendance of 4685. The number of baptisms during the half year ending June 30, 1846, was 154 adults and 324 children ; the number of converts received from the Romish Church,—32 men and 38 women, with 35 children. During the last three years ten new mission stations have been established in the interior of the country, and the work of church-building is progressing satisfactorily throughout the mission districts ; in that of Tinnevely alone, 18 larger and smaller churches, affording accommodation for 5340 persons, have been erected within the last three years. A great number of

⁵ See our last number, pp. 206, 207.

additional schools, one of them a model school, and twelve boarding schools, four for boys, and eight for girls, have been built, or otherwise established. For the education of native catechists, two seminaries have been established at Sawyerpooram and Vedarpooram, at the former of which there are at present 124, and at the latter 48, scholars; besides these there are five præparandi classes, or smaller seminaries for the education of subordinate native missionary agents, from which the more promising scholars are drafted off to the seminaries at Sawyerpooram and Vedarpooram. The *Madras Church Intelligencer* contains an interesting account of the examination held at the seminary at Sawyerpooram on the 12th and 13th of August last, in the presence of a large number of missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters, assembled on the occasion. The subjects of examination comprised Bible history, theology, logic, and English composition, history, and geography, the English and Tamil languages and literature, geometry, and arithmetic, and singing. The progress made by the pupils, all of whom had two years before been ignorant of English, was most gratifying.

Another very gratifying feature in the proceedings of the Tinnevely Mission is the grant of prizes by the Madras Diocesan Committee to be awarded to the best essays on given subjects, from catechists and schoolmasters. The first adjudication of these prizes took place in August last: the subjects of the essays were: 1. the internal evidences of the truth of Christianity; 2. what is justification, and how is a sinner justified; 3. the types of Christ.

ITALY.—*Pope Pius IX.: his history and character. Encyclic.*—Ever since the elevation of Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti to the pontifical throne, there has been a great diversity of opinions as to the tendency which in his hands the papacy would assume; and vague hopes have been entertained in various quarters, that a reformation of the Romish Church, opening the way for a reconciliation of all Christendom, might be contemplated by him. The measures of reform with which he began his political administration, the proclamation of a general amnesty for political offences, the re-organization of the civil government of Rome and the pontifical states, and the introduction of railroads into his dominions⁶, measures which procured for him a degree of popularity, such as few of his predecessors have enjoyed, seemed to give some countenance to the expectation, that in the Church also a like change would be effected by the same bold and energetic hand. This, however, it becomes every day more evident, was a fallacious hope; as the previous career of Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti afforded no just ground for it, so the whole tenor of his ecclesiastical government runs counter to it. It is true that Pius IX. continues to pursue a course which cannot fail to

⁶ The following anagram, published at Rome, neatly expresses the grounds of his popularity:—

A Giovanni-Maria Mastai-Ferretti.

Anagramma.

Grati nomi, amnistia e ferrata via.

render him generally popular; the simplicity of his personal habits, his affability, the interest which he takes in the success of every kind of institution, whether of an ecclesiastic character, or of a charitable nature, or else purely secular, devoted to the advancement of learning, of arts and sciences, and of industry, cannot fail to secure for him the momentary applause of the multitude, and the more permanent admiration and gratitude of the educated classes; while his determination to see every where with his own eyes, and his declared hostility to the system of nepotism, and to other abuses which have long prevailed in the ecclesiastical government of Rome, cannot but exercise a salutary influence; but all this furnishes no sufficient grounds for the conclusion, that he will abate one jot or tittle from the Ultramontane pretensions of the Roman see, or put the slightest restraint upon the system of imposture by which the errors and superstitions of the Romish Church are upheld.

On the contrary, judging from what has transpired of his history previous to his elevation, and the indications which he himself has since furnished, there is reason to anticipate that Pius IX. will be as firm and bold an asserter as any of those that have preceded him in the pontifical chair, of the most dangerous theories, and the worst practical superstitions of Rome; the only difference between him and his immediate predecessors being, that whereas they have feebly and timorously endeavoured to stem the tide of progress in the human mind, it appears to be the ambition of Pius IX. to follow that tide, with a view to domineer over it, in the interest of the papal usurpation. The policy which has for some time been followed with great success by the Jesuit order, the policy of adaptation to the spirit of the times, is the policy which, with Cardinal Ferretti, has mounted the papal throne.

Born at Sinigaglia, in the March of Ancona, on the 13th of May, 1792, of the noble family of the Counts of Mastai, he received his early education at the college of the reverend fathers of the *Ecoles pies*, at Volterra. He afterwards studied theology at Rome, having been determined to embrace the ecclesiastic career "by a signal favour," says the *Ami de la Religion*, "which his faith and tender devotion towards the Blessed Virgin had obtained for him from the Divine Mother of Jesus Christ;" and having received the order of priesthood, he devoted himself for several years to the service of the poor in the hospital of Tota Giovanni, in the quarter of Argentina. His superior at the hospital, Father Muzi, having been appointed Vicar Apostolic of Chili, took his young coadjutor with him on that mission; from which, however, they returned after a short time, in consequence of disputes which arose between the Vicar Apostolic and the government of the republic. Some time after his return to Rome, he was promoted to the post of governor of the hospital of St. Michael's, at Ripa Grande; in 1827 Leo XII. appointed him to the archiepiscopal see of Spoleto, from whence Gregory XVI. translated him, in 1832, to the see of Imola. He was appointed cardinal, but reserved *in petto* in the consistory of the 23rd December, 1839, and proclaimed in that of December 14,

1840. In both his sees, at Spoleto and at Imola, he proved himself the friend and patron of the Jesuits; a short time before his elevation to the pontificate he had paid a visit of "retreat" to the Jesuit establishment of Forli, and gone through the "exercises;" and after his accession he took the first suitable opportunity of publicly testifying his sympathy with the principles of the order. On the feast of St. Ignatius, the 31st of July, which was celebrated on this occasion with more than ordinary pomp, he proceeded in state to the church *del Gesu*, as the *Ami de la Religion* observes, from a feeling of particular devotion to the illustrious founder of the society. He prostrated himself before the altar which contains the relics of the saint, and after having paid his devotions, he proceeded to the convent, where he received the homage of the reverend fathers, and had a long and familiar conference with Father Roothaan, the general of the order. Another practical proof of his approbation of the peculiar system of the Jesuits, he gave shortly after by the beatification of Mary Margaret Alacoque, the notorious heroine of Jesuitism, and foundress of the association of "the Sacred Heart of Jesus⁷." On this occasion, Pius IX. not only presided in person over the congregation of rites, but on Sunday the 23rd of August he proceeded in state to the convent of the "Ladies of the Visitation," the order to which Mary Alacoque belonged, and after the official publication of the decree of beatification, he addressed to the nuns an allocution, in which he exhorted them to follow in the footsteps of their venerable sister. These marks of high favour are, it may be supposed, not lost upon the Jesuits, who testified "their affectionate admiration for the incomparable virtues which shine with marvellous splendour in the great Pontiff Pius IX.," as the *Diario di Roma* has it, by an academic exhibition of poetry and music, in the great church of St. Ignatius, the subject of which was, evidently with a view to take Pius IX. by his weak side, and to chime in with the popular feeling, "the triumph of clemency." The subject was divided into three parts, the triumph of clemency in the heart of the sovereign, in the hearts of his subjects, and in the hearts of strangers, and the poem was written in three languages, Greek, Latin, and Italian, and the third part besides in Spanish, French, German, and English. The verses were recited before a numerous and brilliant assemblage of cardinals and other dignitaries, and an audience of several thousand persons of all ranks, by the pupils of the college, and the intervals of recitation filled up by the execution of music composed for the occasion. The whole came off with great *éclat*, amid thunders of applause, and formed a suitable response to the special good feeling and sympathy which Pius IX. has ever shown to the Jesuit Order.

All these demonstrations could leave little doubt as to the spirit in which the new pontiff was likely to administer the affairs of the Church, even without the explicit attestation of a Spanish prelate, resident at Rome, who in a letter, dated August 31st, and published in the *Espe-*

⁷ See English Review, vol. v. p. 56, and note 2.

ranza of Madrid, complains of the strange notion set afloat by the liberal journals, as if Pius IX. was about to prove a "revolutionist," and "regenerator," of Italy and of all Europe. The writer, who has known Mastai-Ferretti for many years, before his elevation to the episcopate, and has been in constant and intimate intercourse with him up to the time of his election to the pontificate, pledges himself that the new pope is a staunch Papist, and mentions among other proofs, that in an interview which he had with him since his accession, he dwelt with particular interest on the religious orders, "from which such great men have issued forth, and which are so useful and even necessary to the Church." The writer conjectures that the object of the liberal journals is to shake the confidence of good "Catholics," and, by flattery, to win over the pope to liberal notions; but, he says, "I am firmly convinced that the revolutionist party will, ere long, be terribly disenchanted."

The most conclusive, however, of all the evidences of the tendency of the new pontificate, is the encyclic which Pius IX. addressed on the 9th of November last, to "all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops," and of which upwards of 10,000 copies have been dispatched from Rome into different parts of the world. On account of the great length of this document, we can make room for a few extracts only.

After some prefatory remarks on the critical period at which Pius IX. has been called to the office of chief ruler of the "Catholic" Church, the encyclic adverts in the first place to the "fierce and formidable warfare carried on against every thing Catholic," by the rationalistic and infidel schools of religion and philosophy. This part of the document contains many excellent observations, and ably exposes the folly and the fallacy of "appealing to, and extolling the power and excellency of human reason against the most holy faith of Christ," and the equally fallacious notion of "introducing human progress with rash and sacrilegious daring into the Catholic religion, as if religion itself were not of God, but of men, some philosophical conceit, capable of being improved by human methods;" a passage of the encyclic which clearly shows that the principles of the "Essay on Development" are as much at variance with those of the Church of Rome, as with those of the Church of England. From the rationalists the encyclic passes on to the Protestant controversy, putting forth the pretensions of the Roman Church in the most unqualified terms of aggression.

"Hence it appears plainly, under how great an error they also labour, who, *abusing reason, and esteeming the oracles of God as if they were human productions, venture to explain and interpret the same rashly, according to their own judgment*, whereas God Himself has appointed a living authority for teaching and establishing the true and legitimate sense of his divine revelation, and deciding all controversies of faith and discipline by an INFALLIBLE^{*} judgment, in order that the faithful may not be carried about with every wind of doctrine by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive. Which living and INFALLIBLE authority exists only in that Church, which, built by Christ the Lord, upon Peter the Head, the prince and pastor of the whole Church, whose faith He promised should never fail,

^{*} We mark with capitals the words put in Italics in the original; the Italics are our own, for the purpose of marking the different subjects.

has always its legitimate pontiffs deriving their origin uninterruptedly from Peter himself, and placed in his chair, as the heirs and defenders of the same faith, dignity, honour, and power with himself. And since, 'where Peter is, there the Church is⁹,' since 'Peter speaks through the Roman pontiff¹,' since he 'always lives and executes judgment in his successors²,' and 'furnishes the truth to them that seek after it³,' therefore the divine oracles are to be received simply in that sense which has been held and is held by this Roman chair of St. Peter, which is 'the mother and mistress of all the churches⁴,' and has always kept the faith delivered by Christ the Lord, whole and incorrupt, and taught the same to the faithful, showing unto all the pathway of salvation, and the doctrine of unadulterated truth. For this is the 'principal Church, whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise⁵,' this 'the metropolis of godliness, in which is to be found the entire and perfect substance of the Christian religion⁶,' in which 'the primacy of the apostolic see always existed⁷,' with which, 'on account of its superior pre-eminence, all the churches, that is, the faithful in all the world, must, of necessity, agree⁸,' with which, 'whosoever gathereth not, scattereth⁹.'"

And, further on, the encyclic adopts and renews the anathemas formerly hurled from the Roman see against all Protestant communions and associations, and more particularly the Bible Societies, which it charges with the endeavour

"To make war upon the Catholic religion, and the Divine authority, and the laws of the Church, and to tread under foot the rights both of the spiritual and the temporal power."

This, continues the encyclic,

"Is the object of all the wicked machinations against this Roman see of St. Peter, on which Christ has laid the impregnable foundation of his Church. This the object of those clandestine sects which have crept forth from darkness to the ruin and destruction both of Church and State, and which have been repeatedly condemned by the anathema of the Roman pontiffs our predecessors, in their letters apostolic¹, which letters we confirm in the plenitude of our apostolic power, and order to be diligently observed. This is the aim of the wily Bible Societies, which, renewing the ancient devices of the heretics, cease not to obtrude volumes of the Divine Scriptures, translated, contrary to the most sacred rules of the Church, into all the vulgar tongues, and often interpreted by perverse explanations, in an immense number of copies, at a great expense, upon men of all classes, even the unlearned, in order that, rejecting the divine tradition, the doctrine of the Fathers, and the authority of the Catholic Church, they may interpret all the oracles of God according to their private judgment, pervert their sense, and so fall into the greatest errors. Which Societies, following the example of his predecessor, Gregory XVI., of blessed memory, in whose place we have been substituted, although unequal to him in merit, has reprobed by his letter apostolic², and we likewise do hereby condemn them."

⁹ S. Ambros. in Psal. xl.

² Synod. Ephes. Act. III.

³ S. Pet. Chrysost. Ep. ad Eutyech.

⁴ Concil. Trident. Sess. VII. de Baptis.

⁵ St. Cyprian. Ep. lv. ad Cornel.

⁶ Litter. Synod. Joann. Constantinop. ad Hormisd. et Sozom. Hist. l. iii. c. 8.

⁷ S. August. Ep. clxii.

⁸ S. Iren. c. hæres. l. iii. c. 3.

⁹ S. Hieron. Ep. ad Damas.

¹ Clemens XIII. Const. *In eminenti*; Bened. XIV. Const. *Providas*; Pius VII. Const. *Ecclesiam a Jesu Christo*; Leo XII. Const. *Quo graviora*.

² Gregor. XVI. In litter. Encyclic. ad omnes Episcop. *Inter præcipuas machinationes*.

¹ Concil. Chalced. Act. II.

The encyclic next adverts to the "horrible system of indifference to every kind of religion," which is described as being "utterly repugnant even to the natural light of reason," to the attempts made by some parties in the Romish communion itself to get rid of the celibacy of the clergy; to the philosophical system of public instruction, inimical to religion, which has gained ground in universities and other public institutions; and to the "nefarious doctrine called Communism;" but, above all, it holds in abomination—

"That horrible plague of books and tracts which fly about in every direction, teaching men to sin; which, being cleverly written, and full of fallacy and artifice, and scattered at an immense expense throughout every place, for the destruction of Christian people, every where disseminate pestilent doctrines, deprave the hearts and minds especially of the unwary, and do the greatest injury to religion. It is through this overflowing of errors spreading themselves in every direction, through the unbridled license of thinking, speaking, and writing, that morals have been deteriorated, the most holy religion of Christ is despised, the majesty of Divine worship is impaired, the power of this apostolic see is called in question, the authority of the Church is disputed, and brought into ignominious bondage, the rights of the episcopate are trodden under foot, the sanctity of matrimony is violated, the rule of every power is shaken, and so many other injuries are inflicted, both on the Church and the civil state."

In opposition to all these adversaries of religion in general, and of the Roman Church in particular, Pius IX. pledges himself that he will "leave nothing unattempted, nothing untried, to promote with all his power the welfare of the whole Christian family;" and he exhorts all bishops to second him by their most strenuous endeavours,—

"Never at any time cloaking over or tolerating any thing which may seem but in the least degree to violate the purity of that faith, and with no less determination of mind promoting among all men union with the Catholic Church, out of which there is no salvation, and obedience to this chair of Peter, on which as on a most firm foundation the whole edifice of our most holy religion rests."

After some more exhortations in the same style, the encyclic inculcates "the duty of obedience and subjection to princes and powers," with this reservation, however, "unless something be commanded which is contrary to the laws of God and of the Church." Thence it passes on to the necessity of making the ministry of the Church efficient, in regard to both moral character and theological attainment; assigning as a reason why this point is at this time specially to be attended to, that

"There are many who, disgusted with the variety, the inconsistency, and changeableness of error, and feeling the necessity of professing our most holy religion, will, with God's help, be led the more readily to embrace and to reverence the doctrines, the precepts, and ordinances of that religion, the more they see the clergy distinguishing themselves above all others by piety, integrity, and wisdom, and by the example and brightness of every virtue."

The encyclic next invites the bishops upon all occasions to address themselves for aid and support to the apostolic see:—

"As nothing is to us more grateful, more pleasant, more desirable, than to assist you all, whom we love in the bowels of Jesus Christ, with all affection, counsel, and help, and together with you to devote ourselves with our whole soul to the maintenance and promotion of the glory of God and of the Catholic faith, and to the salvation of

souls, for which we are prepared to lay down life itself, if need require, come, brethren, we entreat and beseech you, *come with all boldness and confidence to this see of the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, the centre of Catholic unity, the summit of the episcopate, whence the episcopate and all the authority of that title has sprung,—come to us, as often as ye shall feel yourselves to stand in need of the aid, assistance, and protection of our authority and that of this see.*”

Lastly, the encyclic calls for united prayer for the increase of the Romish Church, and the conversion of the world, in an exhortation which contains at the close the following remarkable passage :—

“ And in order that the most merciful Lord may the more readily incline his ear to our prayers, and grant us our petitions, *let us ever employ as our intercessor with Him, the most Holy Mother of God, the immaculate Virgin Mary, who is the most sweet mother, mediatrix, and advocate of us all, our firmest hope, and mightiest confidence, than whose patronage nothing has greater weight and effect with God.* Let us also invoke the Prince of the Apostles, to whom Christ Himself gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whom He appointed to be the rock of his Church, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail, and his fellow Apostle Paul, and all the saints in heaven, who are crowned already, and have received their palms, that they may obtain for all Christ’s people the desired abundance of divine mercy.”

Such is the character of the document issued by the new occupant of the pontifical chair at this critical juncture : it contains abundant evidence of vigorous thought and determined resolution, such as cannot fail to render the phalanx of Romanism still more compact and powerful, for carrying on the most energetic warfare against any thing which, bearing the Christian name, does not acknowledge the lying pretensions and the usurped dominion of the Roman bishop. It clearly proves, that those who expected from the accession of Pius IX. any mitigation of the various causes of offence which have led to the great western schism, will indeed, to use the expression of his Spanish apologist, be “terribly disenchanted.”

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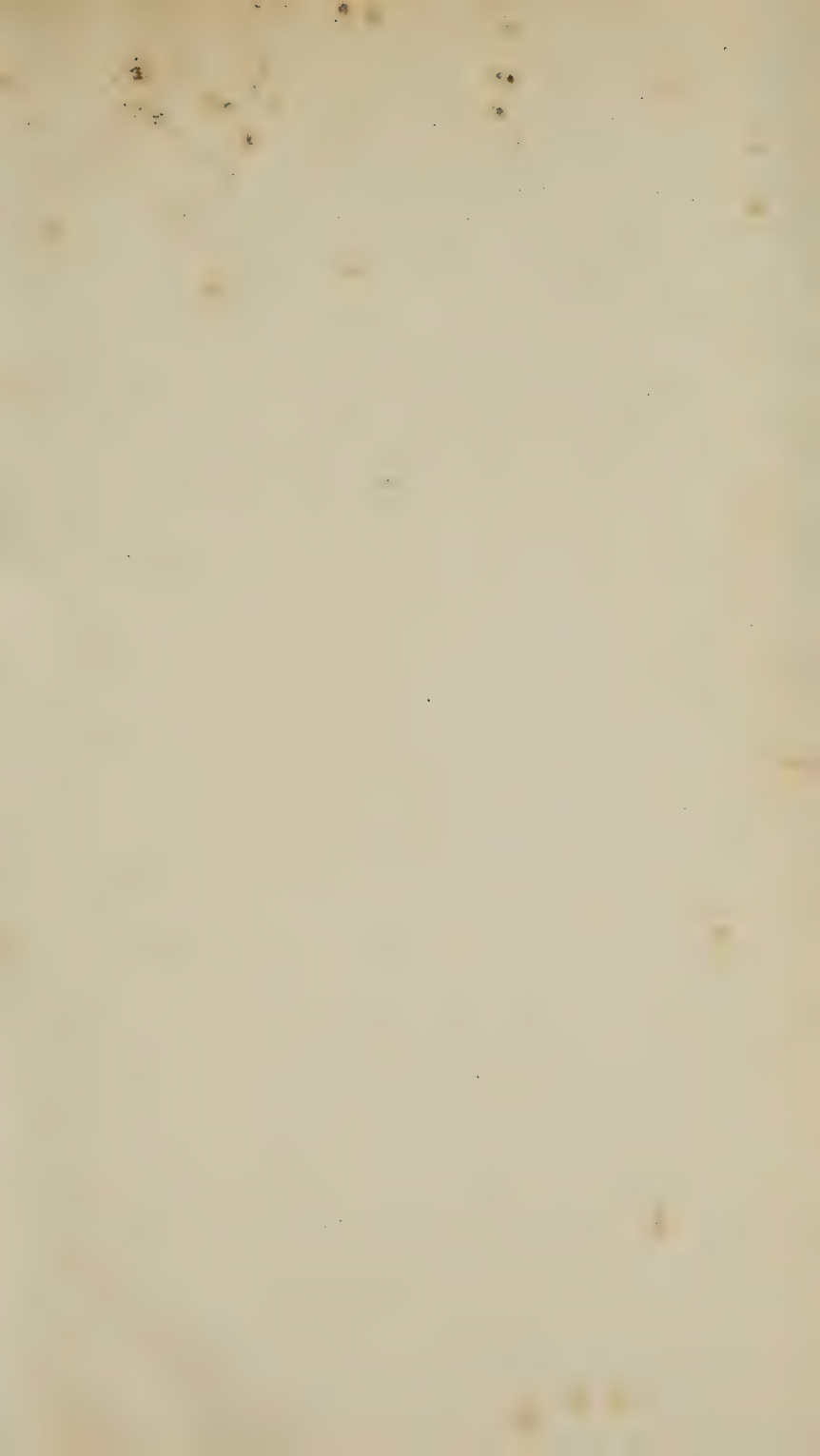
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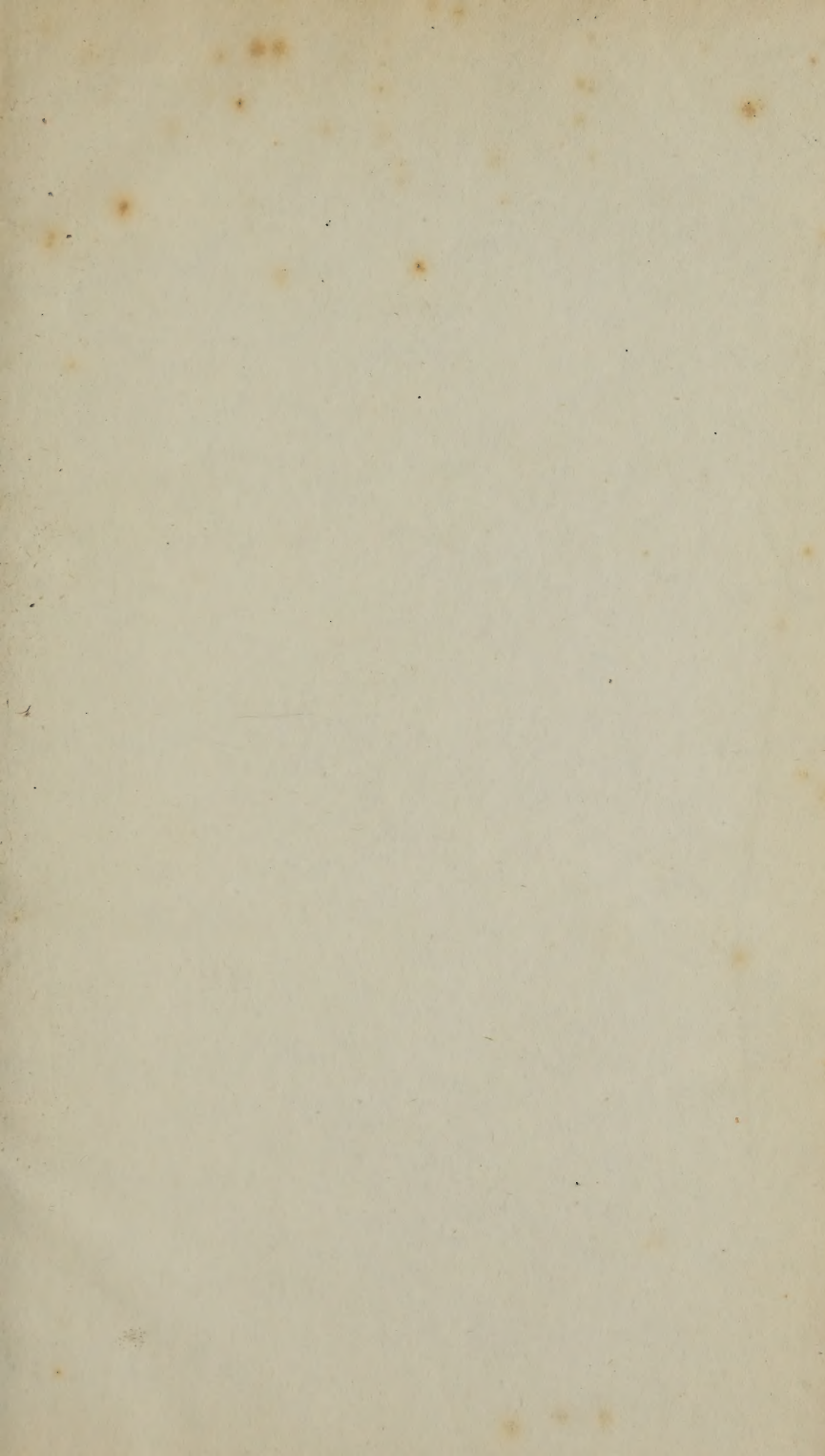
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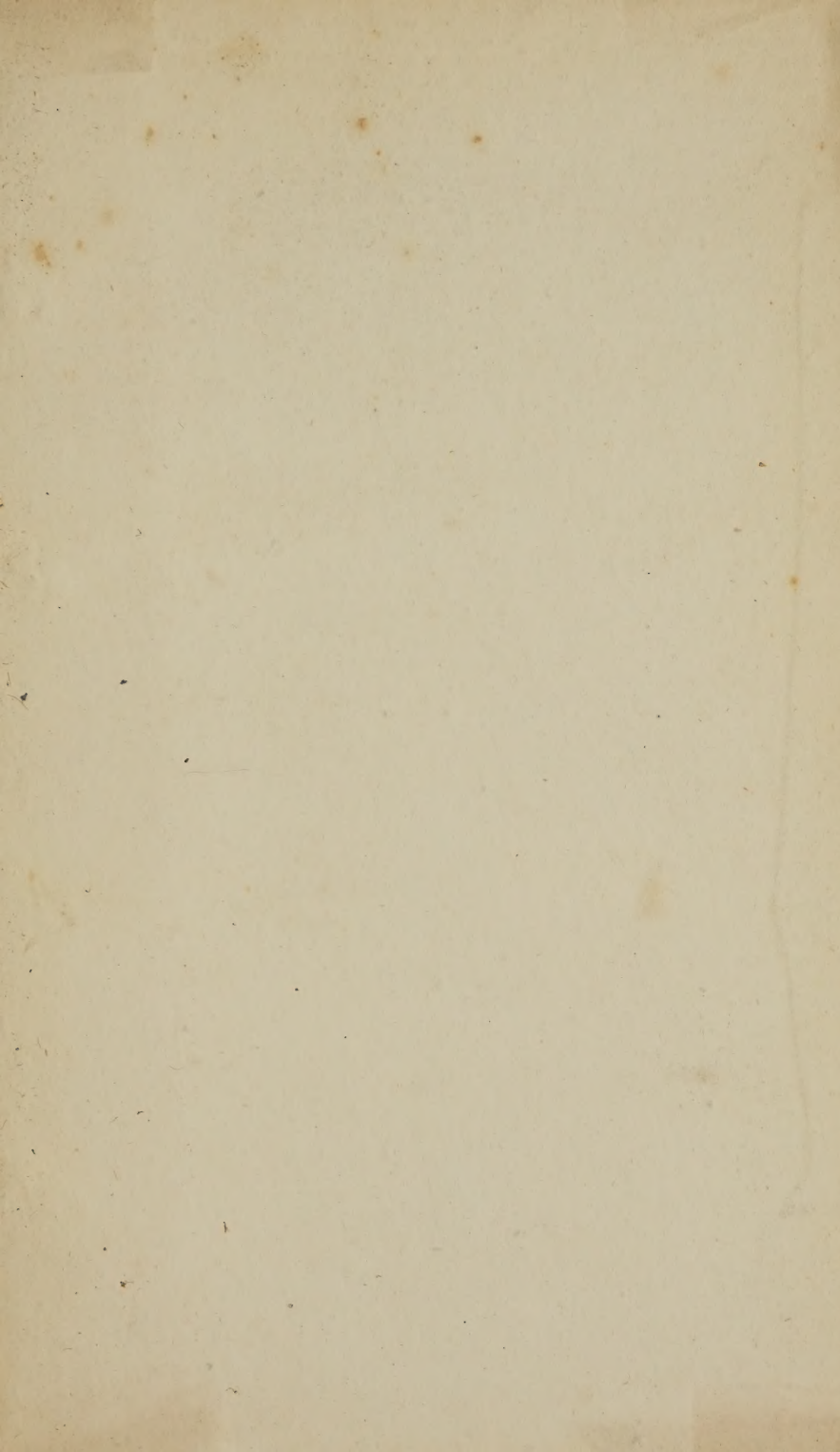
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